

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

SANTINIKETAN  
VISWA BHARATI  
LIBRARY

094

M896

Pt. 4













# ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

## ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

## THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION<sup>\*</sup> AND INSTITUTIONS.

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,  
AND ILLUSTRATED BY REMARKS,

BY

J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D.,

LATE OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE

## PART FOURTH.

COMPARISON OF THE VEDIC WITH THE LATER REPRESENTATIONS  
OF THE PRINCIPAL INDIAN DEITIES



London.

TRÜBNER & CO., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.

—  
1863.

**HERTFORD**  
PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN

## P R E F A C E .

---

THE object which I have had in view in the present Volume is to compare the representations which are given of the Indian deities Brahmā, Vishnū, and Rudra, and of the goddess Ambikā, in the Vedic Hymns and Brāhmaṇas, with the accounts which we find in the legendary poems called Itihāsas and Purāṇas, and to shew how far, and by what steps in each case, the earlier conceptions were gradually modified in the later works.

The First Chapter (pp. 3–53) treats of the deity who is described in the later hymns of the Rig-veda, and in the Atharva-veda, under the different titles of Viśvakarman, Hiranyagarbha, and Prajāpati, and appears to correspond with the Brahmā of the more modern legendary books.

Though this god was originally unconnected with Vishnū and Rudra, while at a subsequent period he came to be regarded in systematic mythology as the first person in the triad of which they formed the second and third members, yet the general idea entertained of his character has been less modified in the course of his history than is the case in regard to the other two deities.

Brahmā was from the beginning considered as the Creator, and he continued to be regarded as fulfilling the same function even after he had sunk into a subordinate position, and had come to be represented by the votaries of Vishṇu and Mahādeva respectively as the mere creature and agent of one or other of those two gods (see pp. 156, 162, 193, 226, 230). In later times Brahmā has had few special worshippers ; the only spot where he is periodically adored being at Pushkara in Rajputana.\* Two of the acts which the earlier legends ascribe to him, the assumption of the forms of a tortoise and of a boar, are in later works transferred to Vishṇu (see pp. 23, 29 ff., 374).

The Second Chapter first of all describes the original conception of Vishṇu as he is celebrated in the hymns of the Rig-veda (pp. 54–83). The particular attribute by which he is there distinguished from every other deity is that of striding across the heavens by three paces. This phrase is interpreted by one of the ancient commentators as denoting the threefold manifestations of light, as fire on earth, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as the sun in the sky ; and by another as designating the three stages of the sun's daily movement, his rising, culmination, and setting. The latter explanation seems to satisfy best the idea of movement expressed in the description ; but it must be confessed that an obscurity rests over this conception. Some of the highest divine functions and attributes are also assigned to Vishṇu ; and we might

\* See Professor H. H. Wilson's Essay on the Padma Purāna, in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, No. X. p. 309, and the same author's Oxford Lectures, p. 21.

thus be led to suppose that the authors of these hymns regarded him as the Supreme Deity. But this supposition is invalidated by the fact that Indra is sometimes associated with Vishṇu in the performance of these functions, and that several other deities are magnified in terms of similar import (pp. 84–101). The Third Section (pp. 101–106) treats of Vishṇu as one of the sons of Aditi. The origin here assigned to this god would lead us to conclude that he was originally considered as of no higher rank than the other beings who bear the same name of Ādityas. The Fourth Section contains the legends relating to the same god in the Brāhmaṇas, in which he is identified with sacrifice ; while in one of them he is spoken of as a dwarf. The later accounts of the dwarf incarnation are next adduced as recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas (pp. 107–131). In the Fifth Section a passage is quoted from the Nirukta (pp. 131 ff.) in which the gods are classified, and the most prominent places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu or Indra, and Sūrya, who seem to have been regarded by the author as the triad of deities in whom the Supreme Spirit was especially revealed, while Vishṇu and Rudra are merely mentioned as gods who were worshipped conjointly with Indra and Soma, respectively. The later triad of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra, seems therefore to have been then unknown. The remainder of this Section, and pp. 377–413 of the Appendix, are chiefly occupied by quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, containing a great variety of details relating to Rāma and Krishṇa, the two heroes

who came ultimately to be regarded as incarnations of Vishṇu; and an attempt is made by an examination of these texts to elucidate the question whether or not a divine nature was ascribed to these two personages by the authors of the two poems as they originally stood. The passages adduced from the Mahābhārata relating to Krishṇa make frequent mention of Māhādeva also, and illustrate the conceptions entertained of him at that epoch of Indian history. This Section contains also many texts which indicate the existence of a strong rivalry between the adherents of these two gods. In different passages here cited, Vishṇu and Rudra (Māhādeva) are both described by their respective votaries as one with the Supreme Spirit; while in some places they are identified with one another.

The Third Chapter traces the mythological history of Rudra as he is represented in the Rig-veda (pp. 252–267), in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (267–276), in the Atharva-veda (276–282), in the Brāhmaṇas (282–296), in the Upanishads (297–305), and in various further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas which describe some of this god's proceedings, and indicate the struggles of his votaries to introduce his worship, as illustrated in the story of Daxa's sacrifice (305–332). A summary of the conclusions deducible from these Sections is given in pp. 332–343, to which I refer. Pages 343–356 contain an enquiry into the origin of the Linga worship, though unfortunately nothing better than a negative result is obtained. This Chapter concludes with an account of the different representations of the goddess called variously

Ambikā, Umā, Kālī, Karālī, Pārvatī, Durgā, etc., which we find in the Kena and Mundaka Upanishads, in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, in the Rāmāyaṇa, Harivansha, and Mahābhārata, and in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa.

A further indication of the various matters illustrated in this Volume will be obtained by consulting the Index under the names Brahmā, Vishṇu, Rāma, Krishṇa, Umā, etc.

It will be apparent to all Sanskrit scholars that the main results at which I have arrived in regard to Vishṇu, Rudra, and Ambikā, are not new. Rosen (in the notes to his translation of the R. V. p. li.), Burnouf (Pref. to Bhāg. Pur. vol. iii. p. xxii.), and Wilson (Pref. to transl. of R. V. i. p. xxiv.), had already drawn attention to the text of Yāska and to the Commentary of Durga, by which it is shewn that the three steps of Vishṇu were interpreted by the ancient commentators in the manner which I have indicated in pp. 55 f.

In the same way Wilson, Weber, and Whitney (see pp. 332 ff. of this Volume), had pointed out that the Rudra of the Rig-veda is very different from the Rudra or Mahādeva of the Purāṇas. And in pp. 357 ff. I have quoted the dissertations of Professor Weber on the mythological history of Ambikā or Umā. The whole, therefore, that I can claim to have effected is to have brought together, and to have illustrated to the best of my power, all the most important texts which I could discover to have any bearing on the subjects which I have handled.

My best thanks are due to the different scholars who

are mentioned in the course of the Work as having given me assistance ; and in particular to Professor Aufrecht, whose name recurs perpetually in the following pages, and who has favoured me with the most valuable suggestions and information in respect particularly to the sense of the Vedic texts, which long and careful study has rendered him so competent to interpret.

## C O N T E N T S.

PAGES.

- iii.—viii. PREFACE.
- 3— 53. CHAPTER I. TEXTS FROM THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRAHMANAS, AND PURANAS, ETC., RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, AND TO THE GOD VIŚVAKARMAN, HIRANYAGARBHA, PRĀJAPATI, OR BRAHMĀ.
- 3— 18. SECT. I. Texts from the Rig-veda, and Atharva-veda, regarding the Creation and the deities Viśvakarman, Brāhmaṇaspati, Daxa, Aditi, Hiranyagarbha, Skambha, etc.
- 18— 53. SECT. II. Creation; Primeval Waters; Mundane Egg; Brahmā or Prajāpati; Morality of the Indian gods; Nature of the gods, etc.; according to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, and the Harivāṁsa.
- 54—251. CHAPTER II. VISHNU, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, THE BRAHMANAS, THE ITIHASAS, AND THE PURANAS.
- 54— 83. SECT. I. Passages in the Hymns of the Rig-veda relating to Vishṇu.
- 84—101. SECT. II. Subordinate position occupied by Vishṇu in the Hymns of the Rig-veda, as compared with other deities, Indra, Varuṇa, etc.
- 101—106. SECT. III. Vishṇu as one of the twelve Ādityas, according to the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas.

## PAGES.

- 107—131. SECT. IV. Legends regarding Vishṇu from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Āranyaka, the Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.
- 131—251. SECT. V. Vishṇu, as represented in the Nirukta, and his Character and Incarnations as described in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas; with Notices of Mahādeva. !
- 252—372. CHAPTER III. RUDRA OR MAHADEVA, AND AMBIKA OR UMA, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRAHMANAS AND UPANISHADS, AND IN THE ITIHASAS AND PURANAS.
- 252—267. SECT. I. Rudra, as represented in the Hymns of the Rig-veda.
- 267—276. SECT. II. Passages relating to Rudra, and to Ambikā, from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā of the white Yajur-veda.
- 276—282. SECT. III. Passages relating to Rudra, Bhava, Sarva, etc., from the Atharva-veda.
- 282—296. SECT. IV. Passages relating to Rudra from the Satapatha and Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇas; and from the Mahābhārata.
- 296—305. SECT. V. Passages relating to Rudra from the Upanishads.
- 305—331. SECT. VI. Some further Texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas relative to Rudra.
- 332—356. SECT. VII. Conclusions deducible from the preceding Sections in regard to the mythological history of Rudra: Enquiry in regard to the origin of the Linga worship.
- 356—372. SECT. VIII. Earlier and later representations of Ambikā, Umā, Kālī, Karālī, Pārvatī, or Durgā, according to the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, the Kena and Muṇḍaka Upanishads, the Taittirīya Āranyaka, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.

## PAGES.

- 373—427. APPENDIX, CONTAINING CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONAL TEXTS.
- 373—374. Passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad regarding the Mundane Egg.
- 374—375. Passages from the Rāmāyaṇa regarding Brahmā.
376. Passage from the Rāmāyaṇa regarding 'Vishṇu's three steps.
- 377—413. Passages from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata relating to the legendary history of Rāma.

## E R R A T A .

---

- Page 83, line 8 from the bottom, *for "A. V. 525, 5," read "5, 25, 5."*
- „ 130, line 1, and line 5 from the bottom, *for "sect. 21," read "sect. 23."*
- „ 224, verse 20, *for "Devakā," read "Devakī."*
- „ 240, line 33. The reference (221) should have been placed after the word "Vishṇu" in the next line.
- „ 252, line 13, *for "representation," read "representations."*
- „ 256, line 10, *for "your," read "thy."*
- „ 257, line 18, *for "is celebrated," read "is devoutly celebrated by heroes."*
- „ 266, line 11 from the bottom, *for "R. V. x. 126, 1," read "R. V. x. 136, 1."*
- „ 267, line 22, *for "Rudrāy adhanur," read "Rudrāya dhanur."*
- „ 282, line 22, *for "tsayaitāni," read "tasyaitāni."*
- „ 283, lines 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, and 34, *for "asato 'smi," read "ato 'smi."*
- „ 284, lines 23 and 27, and page 385, lines 3, 7, 11, 15 and 19, *for "I am greater than one who does not exist," read "I am greater than this."*
- „ 300, line 4, *for "34, 4," read "32, 4."*
- „ 307, line 7, *for "48," read "44."*
- „ 309, line 17, *for "Gandavas," read "Gandharvas."*
- „ 310, line 23, *for "Vibhūshana," read "Vibhīshana."*
- „ —, line 8 from the bottom, *for "Vana-pava," read "Vana-parva."*
- „ 311, last line. Compare A. V. xi. 2, 7, in pp. 278, 279.
- „ 350, line 15, *for "26," read "28."*
- „ 394, line 12 from the bottom, *for "490," read "390."*
- „ 395, line 14 from the bottom, *for "sect. x. 40, 44," read "sect. 40, 44."*
- „ 404, line 10, omit the words, "Aranya Kānda."

## ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

### PART FOURTH.

#### PLAN OF THE PRESENT VOLUME.

REFERENCE has already been made in the Second Part of this work (pp. 212-216) to the great difference which is discoverable between the mythology of the Vedas and that of the Indian epic poems and Purāṇas; and this difference was there illustrated by comparing the representations of Vishṇu and Rudra which are given in the hymns of the Rig-veda, with those which we find in the productions of a later age. On the same occasion I intimated my intention of treating the same subject in greater detail in a subsequent portion of my work. In pursuance of this design, I propose to collect in the present volume the most important texts regarding the origin of the universe, and the characters of the three principal Indian gods, which occur in the Vedic hymns, and Brāhmaṇas, and to compare these passages with the later legends and popular speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas.

This gradual modification of Indian mythological conceptions will indeed be found to have already commenced in the Rig-veda itself, if we compare its later with its earlier portions; it becomes more clearly discernible when we descend from the hymns to the Brāhmaṇas; and continues to exhibit itself still more prominently in the Purāṇic writers, who, through a long course of ages, gave free scope to their fancy in the embellishment of old, and the invention of new, legends in honour of their favourite gods, till at last the repre-

sentations given of the most popular divinities became not only at variance with the characteristics ascribed to their prototypes in the Vedas, but even in some respects different from the descriptions which occur in the older Purāṇas themselves.

These successive mutations in Indian mythology need not occasion us any surprise, as they merely afford another exemplification of a process which may be remarked in the history of all nations which have given free scope to thought, to feeling, and to imagination, in matters of religion.

In carrying out the plan just sketched, I shall, first of all, quote the texts in the Vedic hymns which refer to the creation of the world, and to the god Hiranyagarbha or Prajāpati; these shall be succeeded (2) by passages from the Brāhmaṇas, and (3) by quotations from Menu, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas having reference to the same subjects.

I shall then proceed in a similar order with the various texts which relate to the gods Vishṇu and Rudra, with occasional notices of any other Indian deities whose history it may appear desirable to illustrate.

## CHAPTER I.

TEXTS FROM THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRAHMANAS, AND PURANAS,  
ETC., RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, AND  
TO THE GOD HIRANYAGARBHA, PRAJAPATI, OR BRAHMA.

SECT. I.—*Texts from the Rig-veda regarding the creation and Hiranyagarbha.*

SPECULATIONS ABOUT CREATION,—RIG-VEDA, x. 129.

R. V. x. 129, 1 ff.—*Na asad āśid no sad āśit tadānīm na āśid rajo  
no ryoma puro yut | kim āvarivāḥ kuha kasya śarmann ambhaḥ kim āśid  
gahanaṁ gabhiram |* 2. *Na mrityur āśid amṛitaṁ na tarhi na rātryā  
ahna<sup>1</sup> āśit praketaḥ | ānīd avātaṁ svadhayā tad ekaṁ tasmād hānyad  
na paraḥ kiñchanāsa |* 3. *Tama āśit tamasā gūḍkam agre<sup>2</sup> apraketaṁ  
salilāṁ sarvam ā idam | tucchyaṇa ābhv apihitam yad āśit tapasas tad  
mahinā jyayataikum |* 4. *Kāmas<sup>3</sup> tad agre samararttatādhi manaso retaḥ  
prathamān yad āśit | sato bandhum asati niravinduḥ hrīdi pratishyā  
kavayo manīshā |* 5. (Vāj. S. xxxiii. 74) *Tiraśchino vitato raśmir eshām*

<sup>1</sup> The Vishṇu Purāṇa, 1. 2, 21 f., quotes (from some source which is not indicated) a verse which seems to be in some degree founded on the text before us and employs it in support of the Sāṅkhya doctrine of Pradhāna: *Veda-vīda-vido vīrō niyatā  
Brahma-vādināḥ | paṭhanti rui tam evānthatam Pradhāna-pratipādakam |* 22. *Nāho  
na rātrir na nabho na bhūmir nāśit tamo jyotir abhūd na vā 'nyat | śrotrādi-  
buddhyāmpalabhyām ekam prādhūnikam Brahma pumāns tadāśit |* “Brahmans learned in the tenets of the Veda, firm assertors of its principles, repeat the following statement establishing the doctrine of Pradhāna. 22. ‘There was neither day nor night, neither sky nor earth; there was neither darkness nor light, nor anything else. There was then the One, Brahma in the form of Pradhāna, the Male, incomprehensible by the ear, or other senses, or by the intellect.’”

<sup>2</sup> These words are quoted by Kullūka or Manu, i. 5, of which passage this may be the germ.

<sup>3</sup> In the passages which I shall quote from the Sātapha Brāhmaṇa, etc. further on, we shall see that the creative acts of Prajūpati are constantly said to have been preceded by desire: *so 'hāmayata*, “he desired,” etc.

*adhaḥ svid āśid upari svid āśit | retodhā āśan mahimāna āśan svadhā  
avastāt prayatiḥ parastāt | 6. Ko anga veda ka iha pravochat kuta ājātā  
kuta iyaṁ visrishthiḥ | arvāg devā asya visarijanena atha ko veda yata  
ābabhūva | 7. Iyaṁ visrishthiḥ yata ābabhūva yadi vā dadhe yadi vā na |  
yo asyādhyaxah parame vyoman sa anga veda yadi vā na veda |*

"There was then neither nonentity, nor entity; there was no atmosphere, nor sky beyond it. What covered [all?] where was the receptacle of each thing? was it water, 'the deep abyss?' 2. Death was not then, nor immortality; there was no distinction of day or night: That One breathed calmly, with *svadhā* (nature); there was nothing different from It [that One] or beyond It. 3. Darkness there was; originally enveloped in darkness, this universe was undistinguishable water; the empty<sup>4</sup> [mass] which was concealed by a husk [or by nothingness] was produced, single, by the power of austerity (or heat). 4. Desire first arose in It, which was the first germ of mind. This the wise, seeking in their heart, have discovered by the intellect to be the bond between nonentity and entity. 5. The ray which shot across these things,—was it above, or was it below? There were productive energies, and mighty powers; Nature (*svadhā*) beneath, and Energy (*prayati*) above. 6. Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence, this creation? The gods are subsequent to its formation; who then knows from what it arose? 7. From what source this creation arose and whether [any, one] created it or not,<sup>5</sup>—He who in the highest heaven is its ruler, He knows, or He does not know."

See Professor Müller's translation of this remarkable hymn, his enthusiastic appreciation of its merits, and his remarks in regard to its age, in his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 559-566; and Professor Goldstücker's observations on the same subject in his "Pānini," pp. 144 f.

#### VISVAKARMAN,—RIG-VEDA, x. 81 AND 82.

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff. (=Vāj. S. 17, 17-23).—*Ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni  
juhvad rishir hotā nyashidat pitā nah | sa, āśishā dravīnam ichhamāna*

<sup>4</sup> See Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the words *ābhū* and *tuchhya*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ob einer sie schuf oder nicht.* Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the root *dhā* (p. 903).

*prathama-chhad avarān āviveśā* | 2. *Kiṁ svid āśid adhishṭhānam ārambhāṇi kathamāt svit kathū 'sīt | yato bhūmiṁ janayan Viśvakarmā vi dyām aurṇod mahinā viśvachaxāḥ* | 3. (A. V. 13, 2, 26) *Viśvataśchaxur uta viśvatomukho viśvatobhūr uta viśrataspāt | sam bāhubhyāṁ dhamati sam patatrair dyārā-bhūmī janayan deva ekāḥ* | 4. *Kiṁ svid vanāṁ ka u sa ṛixā āsa yato dyārā-prithivī nishṭataxuḥ | maniṣhiṇo manasā pṛichhatedu tad yad adhyatishṭhad bhuvanāni dhārayan* | 5. *Yā te dhāmāni paramāni yō'ramā yā madhyamā Viśrakarmann utemā | śixā sakhibhyo harishi sradhāraḥ svayaṁ yajasra tānvāṁ ṛidhānaḥ* | 6. (=S. V. 2, 939.) *Viśvakarmān havishā vārṣidhānaḥ svayaṁ yajasva prithivīṁ uta dyām<sup>7</sup> | muhyantu anye abhito janāśā<sup>8</sup> ihaśmākam maghavā sūrir astu* | 7. (=Vāj. S. 8, 45.) *Vāchaspatiṁ Viśvakarmāṇam ūtayō manoju-vaṁ rāje adyā huema | sa no viśvāni haranāni joshud viśraśambhūr avase sūdhukarmā* |

R. V. x. 82, 1 ff. (=Vāj. S. 17, 25-31).—*Chaxushas pitā manasā hi dhīro ghrītam<sup>9</sup> cne ajanad namnamāne | yadā id antā adadrihanta pūrre ād id dyārā-prithivī aprathetām* | 2. *Viśvakarmā vimanā ād vihāyā dhātā ṛidhātā paramoṭa saṁdrīk<sup>10</sup> | teshāṁ iṣṭāni sam iṣṭā madanti yatrā sapta ṛishīn para ekam āḥuḥ* | 3. (=A. V. 2, 1, 3.) *Yo naḥ pitā janitā yo ṛidhātā dhāmāni veda bhurāṇi viśvā | yo devānāṁ nāmadhā eka era taṁ sampraśnam bhurāṇi yanti anyā* | 4. *Te āyajanta drarīnaṁ sam asmai ṛishayah pūrve jaritāro na bhūnā | asūrtte sūrtte rājasī nishatto ye bhūtāni samakṛiṇvann imāni* | 5. *Paro divā para enā prithivīya paro devebhīr asurair yad asti | kaṁ svid 'garbham prathamaṁ dadhre āpo yatra devāḥ samapaśyanta viśre* | 6. *Tam id garbham prathamaṁ dadhre āpo yatra devāḥ samagachhanta viśve | ajasya nābhāv adhy ekam arpitāṁ yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tashthuḥ* | 7. *Na taṁ vidātha ya imā jajāna anyad yushmākam antaram babhūva | nīhārena prārvitā jalpyā cha asutripa ukthaśāś charanti* |

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff.—“Our father, who, a rishi and a priest, celebrated a sacrifice, offering up all these worlds,—he earnestly desiring substance, veiling his earliest [form], entered into later [men]. 2. What

<sup>6</sup> The readings in the A. V. differ a good deal from those of the R. V.

<sup>7</sup> Instead of *prithivīṁ uta dyām* the S. V. reads *tunvāṁ svā hi te*.

<sup>8</sup> Instead of *janāśāḥ* the Vāj. S. reads *sapatnāḥ*.

<sup>9</sup> Compare R. V. v. 83, 8.

<sup>10</sup> See R. V. iv. 1, 6, and iv. 6, 6, and Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 26, p. 141.

was the position, what, and of what kind was the beginning, from which the all-seeing Viśvakarman produced the earth, and disclosed<sup>11</sup> the sky by his might? 3. The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth, blows it forth<sup>11</sup> with his arms and with his wings. 4. What was the forest, what was the tree, from which they fashioned the heaven and the earth? Enquire mentally, ye sages, what that was on which he took his stand, when establishing the worlds. 5. Grant, Viśvakarman, to thy friends those thy abodes which are the highest, and the lowest, and the middle. Do thou who art rich in oblations, augmenting thyself, worship thyself<sup>12</sup> at the sacrifice. 6. Do thou, Viśvakarman, growing by the sacrifice, thyself offer up heaven and earth. Let other men who are against me become fools. May Maghavan [or the opulent god] be here our sage. 7. Let us to-day invoke at our sacrifice the lord of speech, who is swift as thought, Viśvakarman, for succour. May he who is the source of all prosperity, the beneficent, with a view to our protection, receive graciously all our invocations."

R. V. x. 82, 1.—“The protector of the eye, wise in mind, generated moisture when these two [worlds] were bowing down. When their eastern ends were fixed, then the heaven and earth extended. 2. Viśvakarman is wise, pervading, the creator, the disposer, and the highest object of vision. The objects of their desire inspire them with gladness in the place where men say that the One dwells beyond [the abode of] the seven rishis. 3. He who is our father, our creator, disposer, who knows all regions and worlds, who alone assigns to the gods their names,<sup>13</sup> to him the other worlds go as their refuge(?). 4. The former rishis, his worshippers, who formed these creatures in the remote, the near, and the lower atmosphere, offered to him substance in abundance. 5. That which is beyond the sky, beyond this earth, beyond gods and spirits,—what earliest embryo did the waters<sup>14</sup> contain, in which all the gods were beheld? 6. The waters contained that earliest embryo in which all the gods were collected. One

<sup>11</sup> Compare R. V. x. 72, 2, below.

<sup>12</sup> See Roth S. V. *tanu*, and R. V. x. 7, 6, vi. 11, 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Nāma cha pitū era karoti* | Mahidhara.

<sup>14</sup> Compare verses 1 and 3 of R. V. x. 129, above, p. 3.

[receptacle] rested upon the navel of the unborn, wherein all the worlds stood. 7. Ye know not him who produced these things; something else is within you. The chanters of hymns go about enveloped in mist, and unsatisfied with idle talk."

I have placed these two hymns together, as they are so similar in character. The verses of which they are made up, are all to be found in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, (xvii. 17-23, and 25-31) in the same order in which they occur in the Rig-veda; and without any various readings of importance. Some of them also occur in the Nirukta; viz., R. V. x. 81, 6 in Nir. x. 27; R. V. x. 82, 2 in Nir. x. 26; the second half of R. V. x. 82, 4 in Nir. vi. 15; and R. V. x. 82, 7 in Nir. Parīśiṣṭā, ii. 10. Professor Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, (pp. 141, f.) offers some remarks on the 2nd verse of the second, and the 6th verse of the first, of the hymns before us, which I shall translate. He renders the former verse thus: "Viśvakarman, wise and mighty in act, is the creator, the orderer, and the highest image [for the spiritual faculty]. That which men desire is the attainment of good in the world where the One Being dwells beyond the seven rishis." He then proceeds to observe: "Viśvakarman, who is no mythological personage, but the 'creator of all things,' and who in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 12, 61,<sup>15</sup> is so far rightly identified with Prajāpati, is here celebrated as equally wise in design, and powerful in execution (the highest conception which can be attained by man); and from him the fulfilment of every desire is obtained beyond the starry heaven, where he resides alone, without the numerous deities of the popular creed. . . . . The legend, which relates that Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, after he had offered up all beings in sacrifice, concluded by offering up himself, belongs, in my opinion, to the numerous class of stories which have arisen out of a misunderstanding of Vedic passages, viz., in the present instance, verses 1 and 5 of R. V. x. 81."

The legend here referred to by Professor Roth is given by Yāska, Nirukta, x. 26:

*Tatretihāsam āchaxate | Viśvakarmā Bhauranah sarramedhe sarvāṇi  
bhūtāni juhavāñchakāra sa ātmānam apy antato juhavāñchakara | tad-  
abhibhūdīny eshā rig bhavati 'ya imā riśā bhuvanāni juhvad' iti |*

<sup>15</sup> *Prajāpatir Viśvakarmā vimuñchatu.*

"Here they tell a story: Viśvakarman sōn of Bhuvana offered up all creatures at an universal sacrifice (*sārnamedha*). He finally offered up himself also. The following verso (R. V. x. 81, 1) is descriptive of this, viz., 'he who offering up all worlds,' etc."

On the 6th verse of the first of the hymns before us (R. V. x. 81), Professor Roth remarks thus: "For the correct understanding of the second pāda (the latter half of the first line), and similar passages, the reader should compare R. V. x. 7, 6, *yathā 'yaja ritubhir deva devān evā yajasva tanvāñ sujāta* | 'As thou (o Agni) at the measured times, o god, didst sacrifice to the gods, so sacrifice also to thyself.' Agni is to accept the offering for himself also. In the same way are the words of the 5th verse of the hymn before us to be understood; *svayañ yajasva tanvāñ r̥idhānah* | 'sacrifice to thyself for thine own glorification': the idea of self-immolation has arisen from a misunderstanding of the word *tanū*,<sup>16</sup> and of the construction of the root *yaj*. The 1st verse of the same hymn (R. V. x. 81, 1) is, as it appears to me, to be understood in a similar manner: 'He who received all these creatures as offerings.' In the passage before us (the 6th verse of R. V. x. 81) the words would therefore be rendered as follows: 'Viśvakarman, glorify thyself by the sacrifice, offer up to thyself heaven and earth.' The idea of sacrifice is introduced, because every portion of the created universe which is given as a possession to the gods, comes to them in the shape of a sacrifice. The god who takes anything into his possession, is said to offer it to himself. The various reading which we find in the Sāma-veda, ii. 939, as compared with the verse before us (viz., *tanvāñ srā hi te*, 'offer thy body, for it is thine,' instead of *prithirīm uta dyām*, 'offer earth and heaven') may be an amendment in support of the legend."

I do not know whether this view is consistent with the 6th and 7th verses of the Purusha Sukta. See the First Part of this work,

<sup>16</sup> In his remarks on the word *Tanūnapāt* in p. 117 of his Illustrations, Professor Roth observes: "The signification has been overlooked, which *tanū* obtains in the older Sanskrit, as well as in Zend and modern Persian, as it there designates our own person, our self, in contrast to things belonging to us. Hence I might explain the word *Tanūnapāt* as meaning 'his own son.' Agni is his own son, because he springs into life either as lightning, or from the friction of wood, without being the product of similar phenomena, or powers." See also Boehltingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the word *Tanūnapāt*.

pp. 7, 8. Perhaps both conceptions (that of the gods sacrificing themselves, and that of their sacrificing to themselves) may have been entertained by the Vedic writers.

[I may here remark that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ii. 6, 15 ff., gives a sort of paraphrase on the Purusha Sūkta. The author then puts into the mouth of Brahmā the following lines (verses 21 ff.), which are intended to illustrate the 7th and following stanzas of that allegorical hymn :

21. *Yadā 'sya nābhyaḍ nalināḍ aham āsam mahātmanah | nāvindam  
yajñā-sambhārān Purushāvayavān rite |* 22. *Teshu yajñasya paśavah  
sa-vanaspatayah kuśah | idañcha deva-yajanañ kālaśchoru-guṇānvitah |*  
23. *Vastūny oshadhayah snehā rasa-loha-mṛido jalām | richo yajūṁshi  
sāmāni chāturhotrañcha sattama |* 24. *Nāmadheyāni mantrāścha daxin-  
āścha vratāni cha | devatānukramah kalpah saṅkalpas tantram eva cha |*  
25. *Galayo matayaś chaiva prāyaśchittam samarpanam | Purushāv-  
ayavair ete sambhārāḥ sambhṛitā mayā |* 26. *Iti sambhṛita-sambhārāḥ  
Purushāvayavair aham | tam eva Purushañ yajñāñ tenaivāyajam  
iśvaram |*

"21. When I was produced," says Brahmā, "from the lotus sprung out of the navel of that great Being, I found no materials for sacrifice excepting the members of Purusha. 22. Among them were the victims, the sacrificial posts, the kuśa grass; they formed the sacrificial ground, and the seasons with their various qualities. The utensils, the grains, the unctuous substances, the flavours, the metals, the earths, the water, the verses of the Rich, the Yajush, and the Sāman, the functions of the four priests, the names [of the rites], the hymns, the gifts, the vows, the list of deities, the ritual rules, the designs, the forms, the arrangements, the meditations, the expiation, the dedication, all these essentials of sacrifice were derived by me from the members of Purusha. Having thus drawn from the members of Purusha all these appliances, I by this means offered up Purusha, the lord [himself], as a sacrifice."

In his note on the Nirukta, vi. 15, Professor Roth translates the 4th verse of the second hymn before us (R. V. 82), as follows : "They who in still, in moving, and falling vapour (*rajas*) created those beings . . . . . furnished to him the material." In his Lexicon, however, he renders the word *asūrtta*, not by "still," but by

"distant;" and quotes A. V. x. 3, 9, as another passage in which it occurs.

BRAHMANASPATI, DAXA, AND ADITI,—RIG-VEDA, X. 72.<sup>17</sup>

R. V. x. 72, 1 ff.—*Devānām nu rayañ jānā prarochāma vipanyayā | uktheshu śākyamāneshu yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge<sup>18</sup> | 2. Brahmanaspatir etā saṁ karmāra<sup>19</sup> ivālhamat | devānam pūrrye yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata<sup>20</sup> | 3. Devānām yuge prathame asataḥ 'sad ajāyata | tad ūśāḥ anv ajāyanta tud Uttānapadas pari | 4. Bhūr jajñe Uttānapado bhura āśā ajāyanta | Aditer Daxa ajāyata Daxād u Aditiḥ pari | 5. Aditiḥ hi ajanishṭa Daxa yā duhitā tava | Tām devā anv ajāyanta bhadrā amṛita-bandharaḥ | 6. Yad devā adah salile<sup>21</sup> susamrabdhāḥ atishṭhata | atra vo nrityatām iva tīvra reñur apāyata | 7. Yad devā<sup>22</sup> yatayo yathā bhuvanāni apin-vata | atra samudre āgūlham ā sūryam ajabhartana | 8. Ashṭau putrāśo Aditer ye jātās tanvas pari | devān upa prait saptabhiḥ parā Mārttāṇḍam aśyat<sup>23</sup> | 9. Saptabhiḥ putrair Aditer upa prait pūrvaṁ yugam | prajāyai mrityave tvat punar Mārttāṇḍam ābhārat<sup>24</sup> |*

"1. Let us celebrate with praise the births of the gods, in uttered hymns, [every one of us], who may behold them in [this] later age. 2. Brahmanaspati blew forth all these [births] like a blacksmith. In the former age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-

<sup>17</sup> See Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma Veda, under the word *yuga*.

<sup>18</sup> Karmāraḥ | sa yathā bhastrayā 'gnim upadhamaty evam udapādayat | (Sāyana) "As a blacksmith blows up a fire with a bellows, so he created them." Compare R. V. x. 81, 3, above p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Compare Atharva-veda x. 7, 25.—*Brihanto nāma te devā ye 'sataḥ pari jajñire | ekāṁ tad aṅgam Skambhaya asad āhuḥ paro janāḥ |* "Great are those gods who sprang from nonentity. Men say that that remote nonentity is one member of Skambha." This production of the gods out of nothing seems to be contrary to the doctrine of the Chhāndogya Upanishad. *Tad ha eke āhur "aśod eredam agre āśid ekam evāditiyāṁ tasmād asataḥ saj jāyeta"* | *Kutas tu khalu saumya evāñ syād iti hovācha katham dsataḥ saj jāyeta iti* | (Biblioth. Ind. vol. iii. pp. 389, 392.) "Some say 'this was originally non-existent, one without a second; therefore the existent must spring from the non-existent.' But how, gentle friend,' he said, 'can it be so? how can the existent spring from the non-existent?'"

<sup>20</sup> Compare R. V. x. 129, 1, 3, above, p. 3.      6

<sup>21</sup> This word *yatayaḥ*, "devotees," is applied to the Bhṛigus in R. V. viii. 6, 18. Here Sāyana makes it *mēghāḥ*, "clouds."

<sup>22</sup> *Parāśyat* = *upari prāxipat*, "tossed aloft" (Sāyana).

<sup>23</sup> *Abharat* = *āhārat* = *dyuloke adhārayat*, "placed in the sky" (Sāyana).

existent. 3. In the first age of the gods the existent sprang from the non-existent. Then the different regions sprang forth from Uttānapad. 4. The earth sprang from Uttānapad; and the regions sprang from the earth. Daxa sprang from Aditi, and Aditi [came] forth from Daxa. 5. For Aditi was produced, she who is thy daughter, o Daxa. After her the gods came into being, beneficent, sharers in immortality. 6. When ye, o gods, stood, strongly agitated, in that water, there a violent dust issued forth from you, as from [persons] dancing. 7. When ye, o gods, like devotees [or strenuous men], replenished the worlds, then ye disclosed the sun which had been hidden in the ocean [or in the sky]. 8. The eight sons who were born from the body of Aditi,—with seven [of these] she approached the gods, but cast away [the eighth] Mārttāñḍa [the sun]. 9. With seven sons [only] Aditi approached [the gods in?] the former age. Again, for birth as well as for death she disclosed Mārttāñḍa.<sup>24</sup>

In R. V. vi. 50, 2, mention is made of certain luminous gods (*sujyotishah*) as being the sons or descendants of Daxa (*Daxa-pitrīn*). These notices of Daxa which occur in the Rig-veda have been greatly developed in the later mythology, as may be seen by a reference to the passages given in the First Part of this work, pp. 25-27. Uttānapāda is said in the Vishnu Purāṇa to have been a son of Manu Svāyambhuva by Sūtarūpā (*ibid.* p. 25).

On the fourth verse of this hymn Yāska remarks as follows in the Nirukta, xi. 23: *Ādityo Daxa ity āhur Āditya-mudhye cha stutah | Aditir Dāxāyanī | "Aditer Daxo ajāyata Daxād u Aditiḥ pari" iti cha | tat katham upapadyeta | samāna-janmānau syātām ity api vā dera-dharmena itaretara-janmānau syātām itaredra-prakṛiti |* "Daxa is, they say, a son of Aditi, and is praised among the sons of Aditi. And Aditi is the daughter of Daxa, [according to the text] *Daxa* sprang from *Aditi*, and *Aditi* came forth from *Daxa*. How can this be possible? They may have had the same origin; or according to the

<sup>24</sup> The word *Mārttāñḍa* is compounded of two words *mārtta*, apparently derived from *mrityu*, death, and *ayu*, a egg, or place of production. The last line seems to contain an allusion to this derivation of the word. The Harivāṁsa v. 519, thus interprets the word: *Na khalv ayam mrito 'yādastha iti mekhād abhāshata | ajñānāt Kāsyapa tasmād Mārttāñḍa iti chochyate |* "Kāsyapa, from affection, but in ignorance, said, 'he is not dead, abiding in the egg,' hence he is called Mārttāñḍa."

nature of the gods, they may have been born from each other,—have derived their substance from one another.”

Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (p. 151), translates the 4th and 5th verses of the hymn before us: “Bhū (the world) was born, and from her opened womb (Uttānapad) sprang the Spaces: from Aditi was born Daxa (spiritual force), and from Daxa again Aditi. Yes, Aditi was born, o Daxa, she who is thy daughter; after her the gods were produced, the blessed possessors of immortality.” He then proceeds to remark: “Daxa, spiritual force, is the male power, which generates the gods in eternity. As Bhū (the World or Being) and Space are the principles of the Finite, so to both of these is due the beginning of divine life.”

Sāyana annotates thus on the 8th verse of the hymn :

“*Ashṭau putrāsuḥ*” *putrā Mitrādayo* ‘diter bhavanti | “*Ye Adites tanas pari*” *śarīrāj* “*jātāḥ*” *utpannāḥ* | *Aditer ashṭa-putrā Ādhvaryyava-brāhmaṇe pariganītāḥ* | *tathā hi* | “*tān anukramishyāmo Mitrāścha Varuṇāścha Dhātāścha Aryamāścha Aṁśāścha Bhagāścha Vivasvān Ādityāśchotī*” | *tathā tatraivd pradeśāntare Adilim prastutya āmnātām* “*tasyā uchchheshaṇḍm adadhūs tat prāśnāt* | *sā reto ’dhatta tasyai chatvāra Ādityā ajāyanta sā dvitīyam apibad*” *ityādinā ashṭānām Ādityānām utpatlir varṇitā* |

“Eight sons, Mitra and the rest, were born to Aditi, who sprang from her body. Eight sons of Aditi are enumerated in the Brāhmaṇa of the Ādhvaryus, thus: ‘We shall state them in order, Mitra, Varuna, Dhātri, Aryaman, Aṁśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, and Āditya.’ In another part of the same work, after reference has been made to Aditi, it is recorded: ‘They placed before her the remnant of the sacrifice. She ate it. She conceived seed. Four Ādityas were born to her. She drank the second [portion],’ etc. Thus is narrated the birth of the eight Ādityas.”

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (3, 1, 3, 3 ff.) gives the following explanation of the same (the 8th) verse of this hymn :

*Ashṭau ha rai putrā Aditeḥ* | *Yāñś tv etad “devā Ādityā”* *ity āhaxate sapta ha eva te* | *avikṛitaṁ<sup>25</sup> ha* *ashṭamaṁ janayāñhakāra Mārttāñḍam* | *sandegeo<sup>26</sup> ha evāśa* | *yāvān evordhvas tāvāñś tiryāṇ*

<sup>25</sup> *Avikṛita kara-charaṇādi-vikāra iti tad-rahitam* | Comm.

<sup>26</sup> *Samyag upachitaḥ sama evāśit* | Comm.

*purusha-sammita ity u ha' eke āhuḥ | 4. Te u ha ete āchur devā Ādityā  
 “yad asmān anv ajanīmā tad amuyera bhūd | hanta imām vikaravāma”  
 iti | tam vichakrur yathā 'yam purusho vikṛitas tasya yāni māṁsāni  
 saṅkritya sannyāsus tato hastī samabhāvat | tasmād āhur “na hastinam  
 parigṛihṇiyāt purushājāno”<sup>27</sup> hi hastī” iti | yam u ha tad vichakruḥ sa  
 Vivasvān Ādityas tasya imāḥ prajāḥ |*

After quoting the text of the Rig-veda the author of the Brāhmaṇa proceeds :

“Aditi had eight sons. But there are only seven [gods] whom men call the Āditya deities. For she produced the eighth, Mārttāñḍa, destitute of any modifications of shape, (without hands and feet, etc.) He was smeared all over: of the dimensions of a man, as broad as long, say some. The Āditya deities said, ‘If in his nature he be not conformable to us, then it will be unfortunate; come let us alter his shape.’ Thus saying, they altered his shape, as this man is modified. An elephant-sprang out of those [pieces of] his flesh which they cut off, and threw away. Wherefore men say, ‘let no one take (?) an elephant, for an elephant partakes of the nature of man. He whom they then altered was Vivasvat (the Sun) the son of Aditi, from whom these creatures are descended.’”

#### HIRANYAGARBHA,—RIG-VEDA, X. 121.

R. V. x. 121, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 13, 4: A. V. 4, 2, 7)—*Hiranyagarbhah<sup>28</sup> samavarttatāgre bhūtasya jātaḥ<sup>29</sup> patir eka āśit | sa dādhārā prithivīm dyām utemām kasmai devāya<sup>30</sup> havishā vidhema | 2. (Vāj. S. 25, 13:*

<sup>27</sup> *Purushājānah purusha-prakritikah |* Comm.

<sup>28</sup> *Hiranye hiranya-purusha-rūpe brahmānde garbha-rūpena avasthitah Prajāpatir Hiranyagarbhah bhūtasya prāṇijātasya agre samavarttata prāṇijātotpatteḥ purā svayām śarira-dhārībabbhūva |* “Prajāpati Hiranyagarbha, existing as an embryo, in the egg of Brahmā, which was golden,—consisting of the golden male (*purusha*), sprang into being before all living creatures—himself took a body before the production of all living creatures.” Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 13, 4.

<sup>29</sup> *Jātaḥ.* Compare R. V. ii. 12, 1: R. V. x. 133, 2, *āśatrur Indra jajñishe* “Indra, thou hast been born without a rival,” and R. V. viii. 21, 13. . . . . *tvam anāpiṇ Indra janushā sanād asi* <sup>31</sup> “Indra of old art thou by nature without a fellow.”

<sup>30</sup> *Kasmai devāya | Kasmai Kāya Prajāpataye devāya |* “Kasmai, ‘to whom,’ is for *Kāya*, the dative of *Ka*, the god Prajāpati.” Comm. on Vāj. S. 13, 4. *Prajāpatir vai Kas tasmai havishā vidhema |* “*Ka* is Prajāpati: to him let us offer our oblations.” Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 7, 4, 1, 19.

A. V. 4, 2, 1.) *Ya ātmadā baludā yasya viśve upāsate praśishañ yasya devāḥ | yasya chhāyā 'mrītañ yasya mrītyuḥ kasmai derāya ityādi |* 3. (Vāj. S. 23, 3 : A. V. 4, 2, 2.) *Yuh prāṇato nimishato mahitvā eka id rājā jagato babbūra | ya īśe asya dripadaś chatushpadaḥ kasmai ityādi |* 4. (Vāj. S. 25, 12 : A. V. 4, 2, 5.) *Yasyeme himavanto mahitvā yasya samudrañ rasayā<sup>31</sup> sahāhuḥ | yasyemāḥ pradiśo yasya bāhū kasmai ityādi |* 5. (Vāj. S. 32, 6, 7 : A. V. 4, 2, 3, 4.) *Yena dyaur ugrā pṛithivī cha dṛīlhā yena sraḥ stabbitañ yena nākūḥ | yo antarice rajaś vimānāḥ kasmai ityādi |* 6. *Yum<sup>32</sup> krandasī<sup>33</sup> avasā tastabhāno abhy aixetām manasā rejumāne | yatrādhi sūru udite nibhāti kasmai ityādi |* 7. (Vāj. S. 27, 25 : A. V. 4, 2, 6, 8.) *Āpo ha yad brihatir viśvam ayan garbhāñ<sup>34</sup> dadhānā janayantir agnim | tato derānām samararūttasur ekaḥ kasmai ityādi |* 8. (=Vāj. S. 27, 26.) *Yas chid āpo mahinā paryapaśyat daxañ dadhānā janayantir yajñam | yo dereshv adhi deva eka asit kasmai ityādi |* 9. (=Vāj. S. 12, 102) *Mā no hiṁsij janitā yaḥ pṛithiryā yo vā dirañ satyadharma jajāna | yaś chāpaś chandrā brihatir jaśāna kasmai<sup>35</sup> ityādi |* 10. (=Vāj. S. 10, 20 : A. V. 7, 79, 4; 7, 80, 3 : Nir. x. 43.) *Prajāpate na tīrad etāny anyo riśvā jātāni pari tā babbūra | yathāmās te juhumas tan no astu vayañ syāma patayo rayīñām |*

“1. Hiranyagarbha arose in the beginning; he was the one born lord of things existing. He established the earth and this sky: to what god shall we offer our oblation? 2. He who gives breath, who

<sup>31</sup> On the word *rasi*, see the Second Part of this work, pp. 357 and 494.

<sup>32</sup> *Krandasī* | “This word is explained in Bochtingk and Roth’s Lexicon as meaning (not heaven and earth, but) two armies engaged in battle. See the references there given.

<sup>33</sup> Compare with verses 7 and 8, the preceding hymns, x. 129, 1, 3; x. 82, 5, 6; and x. 72, 6.

<sup>34</sup> I have observed another hymn in the R. V., the 168th of the tenth Mandala, of which the fourth verse ends with words similar to those which conclude the first nine verses of the 121st, except that instead of *kasmai* the 168th hymn has *tasmai*. I quote this verse with the last words of the 3rd. . . . . *kra svij jātaḥ kuta ābabhūva | 4. ātmā derānām bhūrānasya garbho yathāvāmā charati deva eshaḥ | ghoshā id asya śīqīre na rūpum tasmui Vātāya havishā vidhema |* “Where was he produced? whence has he sprung? 4. Soul of the gods, and source of the world, this deity marches at his will. His sounds are heard but [we see] not his form. to this Vāta (wind) let us offer our oblations.” Compare St. John iii. 8. “The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth.”

gives strength, whose command all, [even] the gods, reverence, whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death—to what god shall we offer our oblation? 3. Who by his might became the sole king of the breathing and winking world, who is the lord of this two-footed and four-footed [creation],—to what god, etc.? 4. Whose greatness these snowy mountains, and the sea with the Rāśī [river], declare,—of whom these regions, of whom they are the arms,—to what god, etc. 5. By whom the sky is fiery, and the earth fixed, by whom the firmament and the heaven were established, who in the atmosphere is the measurer of the aerial space;—to what god, etc.? 6. To whom heaven and earth, sustained by his succour, looked up, trembling in mind; over whom the sun shines,—to what god, etc.? 7. When the great waters pervaded the universe, containing an embryo, and generating fire, thence arose the one spirit (*asu*) of the gods,—to what god, etc.? 8. He who through his greatness beheld the waters which contained power, and generated sacrifice, who was the one god above the gods,—to what god, etc.? 9. May he not injure us, he who is the generator of the earth, who, ruling by fixed ordinances, produced the heavens, who formed the great and brilliant waters,—to what god, etc.? 10. Prajāpati, no other than thou is lord over all these created things: may we obtain that, through desire of which we have invoked thee; may we become masters of riches."

The whole of this hymn is to be found repeated in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, and most of the verses recur in the Atharva-veda. In making my translation, I have had the assistance of Mahidhara's Commentary on the former Veda, as well as of the version given by Professor Muller in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 569 f. In his annotations on verse 7, the commentator refers to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1:

*Āpo ha rā idam agre salilam erāsa* | "This [universe] was in the beginning waters, only water;" and explains the words *garbhāṁ dadhānāḥ*, "containing a germ," thus: *tathā garbhāṁ Hiranyagarbha-laxanāṁ dadhānāḥ dhārayantyāḥ ata eva agnim janayantīḥ agni-rūpaṁ Hiranyagarbhaṁ janayantyāḥ utpādayishyantyāḥ* | "And also containing an embryo (*garbha*) distinguished as the golden embryo (*Hiranyagarbha*); and consequently generating (being about to produce) fire,—*Hiranyagarbha* in the form of fire." The Atharva-veda reads this

seventh verse somewhat differently, thus (A. V. 4, 2, 6): *Apo agre viśvam avan garbhām dadhānā amritā ritajñāḥ | yāsu devīsh adhi devā asit kasmai ityādi |* “In the beginning, the waters, immortal, and versed in the sacred ceremonies, protected (covered?) the universe, containing an embryo; over these divine [waters] was the god,” etc. The verse which comes next, the seventh in the A. V., is the first in the R. V. The eighth in the A. V., which has none answering to it in the R. V., is as follows: *Apo vatsām janayantir garbhām agre samairayan | tasyota jāyamānasya ulba āśid hiranyayāḥ | kasmai devāya ityādi—*“In the beginning the waters, producing a child, brought forth an embryo, which as it was coming into life, was enveloped in a golden covering.”

The idea of the production of a god from the embryo generated in the waters, seems to be contained in the seventh verse of the hymn before us (R. V. x. 121, 7); but whether the author would have identified that god with the Brahmā of the later mythology, I will not decide. In the verse attached to the hymn as the 10th, at least, the deity celebrated in the hymn is addressed by the appellation of Prajāpati, which became a title of Brahmā. The last verse which I have quoted from the A. V. (iv. 2, 8) assigns a “golden covering” to the embryo produced by the waters.

In another part of the same Veda (A. V. x. 7, 28) the following verse occurs: *Hiranyāgarbham paramam anatyudyam janā viduḥ | Skambhus tadagre prāsiñchad hiranyam loke antarā |* “Men know Hiranyagarbha, the supreme, the ineffable: before him Skambha [the Supporter] shed forth gold in the midst of the world.”

I shall make some additional quotations from the hymn of the A. V. in which the last cited verse occurs, and the next following.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE ATHARVA-VEDA, X. 7, AND X. 8.

A.V. x. 7.—*Yasmin stabdhvā Prajāpatir lokān sarvān adhārayat | Skambhām tam brūhi katamah svid eva saḥ |* 8. *Yat paramam avamām yachcha madhyamam Prajāpatih sasrije viśva-rūpam | kiyata Skambhāḥ praviveśa tatra yan na prāviśat kiyat tad babbūva |* 9. *Kiyata Skambhāḥ praviveśa bhūtām kiyad bhavishyad anvāśaye 'sya | ekaṁ yad angam akri-not sahasradhā kiyata Skambhāḥ praviveśa tatra | . . . . 17. Ye purusho*

*brahma vidus te viduh parameshṭhinam | yo veda parameshṭhinañ  
yaścha veda Prajāpatim | jyeshṭham ye brāhmaṇam vidus te Skambham  
anusañviduḥ | . . . . 24. Yatra devā brahmarido brahma jyeshṭham upā-  
sate | yo vai tān vidyāt pratyaxaṁ sa brahmā reditā syāt | . . . . . 32.  
Yasya bhūmiḥ pramāṇa antarixam utodaram | diraṁ yaś chakre mārdhānaṁ  
tasmai jyeshṭhāya Brahmane namah | . . . . 35. Skambho dādhāru dyā-  
vā-prithivī ubho ime Skambho dādhārōr̄v antarixam | Skambho dādhāra  
pradiṣṭaḥ śad urvī(ḥ?) Skambha idam viśram bhuvanam āviveśa | 36. Yah  
śramāt tapaso jāto lokān sarvān samānaśe | somaṁ yaś chakre kevalām  
tasmai jyeshṭhāya brahmāne namah | . . . . 41. Yo vetaśaṁ<sup>35</sup> hiranyayaṁ  
tishṭhantam salile veda | sa rai guhyāḥ Prajāpatiḥ |*

A. V. x. 8, 2.—*Skambhenemē viśṭabhite dyauś cha bhūmiś cha tish-  
ṭhataḥ | Skambha idam sarvam ātmānād yat prāṇad nimishachcha yat |  
. . . . 11. Yad ejati patati yachcha tishṭhati prāṇad aprāṇan nimishach-  
cha yad bhucat | tad dādhāru prithivīm viśvarūpām tat sambhūya bhavaty  
ekam eva | . . . . . 44. Akāmo dhīro amṛitaḥ svayambū rasena ṭipto  
na kutaśchanonāḥ | tam eva ridvān na bibhūya mrityor ātmānām dhīram  
ajarañ yuvānam |*

A. V. x. 7, 7.—“Tell who that Skambha (supporter) is, on whom Prajāpati has supported, and established all the worlds. 8. How far did Skambha penetrate into that highest, lowest, and middle universe, comprehending all forms, which Prajāpati created; and how much of it was there which he did not penetrate? 9. How far did Skambha penetrate the past? and how much of the future is contained in his receptacle? how far did Skambha penetrate into that one member which he separated into a thousand parts? . . . . . 17. Those men who know Brahma (the divine Being?) in the Male (*Purusha*), know him who occupies the highest place (*Parameshṭhin*): he who knows Parameshṭhin, and who knows Prajāpati,—they who know the ancient Brāhmaṇa (Deity?), they know Skambha. . . . . 24. In the place where the gods, the knowers of Brahma, reverence the ancient Brahma,—that priest (*brahmā*) who knows them clearly, is the knower. . . . . 32. Reverence to that eldest Brahma, of whom the earth is the measure, the atmosphere the belly, who

<sup>35</sup> I know not whether this word has here its ordinary meaning, or the same sense which is assigned to the word *vetaśa* in R. V. x. 95, 4, 5; Sātpatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 1, 1; and Nir. iii. 21.

made the sky his head. . . . . 35. Skamba established both those [worlds] the earth and sky, Skambha established the wide atmosphere, Skambha established the six wide regions, Skambha pervaded this entire universe. 36. Reverence to that eldest Brahma, who, sprung from toil and from devotion, has pervaded all the worlds, who made Soma for himself alone. . . . . 41. He who knows the golden reed standing in the water, is the mysterious Prajāpati."

A. V. x. 8, 2.—“These two [worlds] the earth and sky, stand, supported by Skambha. Skambha is all this which has soul, which breathes, which winks. . . . . 11. Whatevér moves, falls, or stands, whatever exists breathing, or not breathing, or winking,—all this, comprehending every form, sustains the earth; gathering together, that becomes one only. . . . . 44. Knowing him, the Soul, calm, undecaying, young, who is passionless, tranquil, self-existent, satisfied with enjoyment, wanting in nothing,—a man is not afraid of death.”

I quote these passages partly because they contain frequent references to Prajāpati, a name which occurs but sparingly in the Rig-veda; and partly because they celebrate a new god called Skambha, the “Supporter,” or “Propper,” whose personification may have been suggested by the function of “supporting” the earth and heavens, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, is frequently ascribed to Indra, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, and Savitri.

The verse last quoted (x. 8, 44) seems to contain the idea of the supreme Soul as the object of knowledge.

**SECT. II.—*Creation; primæval waters; mundane egg, Prajāpati, etc., according to the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu, the Rāmāyaṇa, Vishṇu Purāṇa, etc.***

The Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa contains the following legends about the creation.

I. Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 1 ff. (pp. 499 of Weber’s ed.)—  
*Asad vā idam agre āśit | tad āhuḥ ‘kim tad asad āśid’ iti | rishayo vāva te ‘agre ‘sad āśit’ tad āhuḥ | ‘ke te rishaya’ iti | prāṇā vā rishayas te*

*yat purd' smāt sarvasmād idam iehhantuḥ śramena tapasā 'rishaṁs tas-mād rishayah | 2. Su yo 'yam madhye prāṇa esha evendrah | tān esha prāṇūn madhyata indriyenaindhā | yad aindha tasmād Indhaḥ | Indho ha rai tām Indra ity āchaxale paroxum | paroxa-kāmā hi derās te iddhāḥ sapta nānā purushān asrijanta | 3. Te 'braran "na vā itthuṁ santah śaxyāmaḥ prajanayitum imān sapta purushān | ekam purushām karavāma" iti te etān · sapta purushān ekam purusham akurvan | yad ūrddhvān nābhes tau \*dvaū samaubjan | yad arān nābhes tau dvaū | paxaḥ purushaḥ | paxaḥ purushaḥ | pratishṭhā eka āśīt | . . . . . 5. Sa eva purushaḥ Prajāpatir abhavad ayam eva sa yo 'yam Agniś<sup>36</sup> chīyate | 6. Sa rai sapta-purusho bharati | sapta-purusho hy ayam purusho yach chatvāra ātmā trayah paxa-puchhāni | chatvāro hi tasya purushasya ātmā trayah paxa-puchhāni | atha yad ekena purushena ātmānam vardhayati tena vīryena ayam ātmā paxa-puchhāni udyachhati | . . . . . 8. So 'yam purushaḥ Prajāpatir akāmayata 'bhāyān syām prajāyeya' iti | so 'srāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata | sa śrāntas tepāno brahmaiva prathamam asrijata trayīm eva ridyām | sairāsmai pratishṭhā 'bharat tasmād āhur 'brahmāsyā sarrasya pratishṭhā' iti | tasmād anūchyā pratitishṭhati pratishṭhā hy eshā yad brahma | tasyām pratishṭhāyām pratishṭhitō 'tapyata | 9. So 'po 'srijata rācha eva lokād vāg erāsyā sū 'srijyata sū idām sarvam āpnōt | yad idām kiñcha yad āpnōt tasmād āpaḥ<sup>37</sup> | yad avṛiṇot tasmād rāḥ | 10. So 'kāmayata 'abhyo' 'dbhyo' 'dhi' prajāyeya' iti so 'nayā trayyā ridyayā saha apaḥ prāriśat tata āṇḍām samavarttata tad abhyamriśad 'astv' ity 'astu' bhāyo 'stv' ity eva tad abravīt | tato brahmaiva prathamam asrijyata trayy eva ridyā | tasmād āhur 'brahmāsyā sarrasya prathamajam' ity | apī hi tasmāt purushād brahmaiva pūrvam asrijyata tad asya tad mukham eva asrijyata | tasmād anūchānam āhur 'Agni-kalpa' iti mukham hy etad Agner yad brahma |*

"In the beginning this [universe] was indeed non-existent. But men say, 'what was that non-existent?' The rishis say that in the beginning there was non-existence. Who are these rishis? The rishis are breaths. Inasmuch as before all this [universe], they, desiring this [universe], strove (? *arishan*) with toil and austerity, therefore they are called *Rishis*. 2. This breath which is in the midst

<sup>36</sup> Compare Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 1, 2, 13, and 27 (pp. 502, 3); ix. 2, 2, 2 (p. 713); vi. 2, 1, 1; and xi. 1, 6, 14.

<sup>37</sup> Compare Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 1, 1, 3.

is Indra. He by his might kindled these breaths in the midst: inasmuch as he kindled them, he is the kindler (*Indha*). They call Indha Indra imperceptibly: for the gods love that which is imperceptible. They being kindled, created seven separate men (*purusha*). '3. They said, 'being thus, we shall not be able to generate these seven men; let us make one man.' So speaking, they made these seven men one man (*purushu*). Into the part above the navel, they compressed two of them, and two others into the part below the navel; [one] man [formed one] side; [another] man [another] side; and one formed the base. . . . . 5. This [one] man became Prajāpati. The man who became Prajāpati is the same as this Agni who is kindled on the altar. 6. He verily is composed of seven men (*purusha*): for this man is composed of seven men, since four [make] the soul, and three the sides and extremity (lit., tail). For the soul of this man [makes] four, and the sides and extremity three. Now inasmuch as he makes the soul [which is equal to four] superior by one man, the soul, in consequence of this [excess of] force, controls the sides and extremity [which are only equal to three]. . . . . 8. This man (*purusha*) Prajāpati desired, 'may I become more, may I be reproduced.' He toiled, he performed austerity. Having toiled and performed austerity, he first created the Veda (*brahma*), the triple science. It became to him a foundation; hence men say, 'the Veda (*brahma*) is the foundation of all this.' Wherefore having studied [the Veda] a man has a foundation (?), for this is his foundation, namely the Veda. Resting on this foundation, he performed austerity. 9. He created the waters from the world [in the form of] speech.<sup>38</sup> Speech belonged to him. It was created. It obtained (pervaded?) all this. Because it obtained (*āpnōt*) all this which exists, it (speech) was called waters (*āpah*); and because it covered (*arrinot*), it was called *rāh* (another name of water). 10. He desired, 'May I be reproduced from these waters.' So saying, with this triple science he entered the waters. Thence an egg arose. He pondered on it (?). He said, 'let there be,' 'let there

<sup>38</sup> This is illustrated by a passage in the Sātaptha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 2, 21 (617) which says: *vāg vā ajo vācho vai prajā Viśvakarṇā jajāna* | "Speech is the mover [or, the unborn]. It was from speech that Viśvakarman produced creatures." And in the Brāhmaṇa Aranyaka (p. 290 of Bibl. Ind.) it is said | *trayo lokā ete eva* | *vāg evāyāṁ loko mano 'ntarīka-lokāḥ prāṇo 'sau lokāḥ* | "It is they which are the three worlds. Speech is this world, mind is the aerial world, and breath is that world (the sky)."

be,' again, 'let there be.' From it the Veda was first created, the triple science. Hence men say, 'the Veda is the first-born of this whole [creation]. Further, [as] the Veda was first created from that Man, therefore it was created his mouth. Hence they say of a learned man that he is like Agni; for the Veda is Agni's mouth."

The same idea about Prajāpati being composed of seven men, occurs again in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 1 (p. 767).—*Yān rai tān sapta purushān ekan purusham akurvan sa Prajāpatir abhavat | sa prajā asrijata | sa prajāḥ srishṭrā nrddhca udakrāmat sa etaṁ lokam agachhad yatra eshu elat tapati | no ha tarhy anya etasmād atra yajñiya āsa tam devā yajñenaiva yashṭum adhriyanta | tasmād etad rishiṇā 'bhyanuktām 'yajñena yajñam ayajanta derā' ityādi |* "These seven men whom they made one man (*purusha*) became Prajāpati. He created offspring. Having created offspring, he mounted upwards; he went to this world where he scorches this. There was then no other object of worship: the gods began to worship him with sacrifices. Hence it has been said by the rishi (R. V. x. 90, 16), 'the gods worshipped the sacrifice with sacrifice.'" Part of the passage, Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 6 is repeated in Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2,\*2, 5.

II. In the preceding legend, the gods are represented as the creators of Prajāpati, who in his turn is stated to have generated the waters, and the mundane egg. In the following story, the order of production is different. The waters generate the egg, and the egg brings forth Prajāpati, who creates the worlds and the gods.

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff. (pp. 831 ff.).—*Āpo ha vā idam agre salilam evāsa<sup>39</sup> | tā akāmayanta 'kathaṁ nu prajāyemahi' iti tā aśrāmyaṁs tās tapo 'tapyanta | tāsu tapas tapyamānāsu hiran̄mayam āṅdaṁ sambabhūva | ajālo ha tarhi saṁrvatsara āsa | tad idān hiran̄mayam āṅdaṁ yāvat saṁrvatsarasya relā tārat paryaplavata | 2. Tataḥ saṁrvatsare purushāḥ samabharat sa Prajāpatih | tasmād u saṁrvatsare eva strī vā gaur vā rađabā vā rījāyate saṁrvatsare hi Prajāpatir ajāyata |*

<sup>39</sup> Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 7, 1, 17.—*Tasyāpa eva pratishṭhā | apsu hi ime lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ |* "Waters are its support: for these worlds are based upon the waters." Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 8, 6, 1 (=Bṛihad Aranyaka Upanishad, p. 971).—*Āpa ivedam agre āsuḥ | tā āpāḥ satyam asrijanta satyam Brahma Brahma Prajāpatim Prajāpatir devān |* "In the beginning waters alone formed this universe. These waters created Truth, Truth created Brahma, Brahma created Prajāpati, and Prajāpati the gods."

*sa idam hiranmayam āndañ vyarujañ | nāhu tarhi kāchana pratishtā  
āsa | tad enam idam eva hiranmayam āndañ yāvat sañvatsarasya velā āśit  
tāvad bibhrat paryaplaratu<sup>40</sup> | 3: Sa sañvatsare vyājihirshat | sa ‘bhūr’  
iti vyāharat sā iyam prithiry abhavat<sup>41</sup> ‘bhūva’ iti tad idam antarixam  
abhavat ‘svar’ iti sā asau dyaur abhavat tasmat u sañvatsare era kumāro  
vyājihirshati sañvatsare hi Prajāpatir vyāharat | . . . . 6. Sa sahas-  
rāyur jañne | sa yathā nadyai pāram parāpaśyed evam svasyāyushuh  
pāram parā chakhyau | 7. So ‘rchañ chhrāmyam chachāra prajākāmāḥ |  
sa ātmānā era prajātīm adhalla ‘sa āsyenaiva devān asrījata | te devā  
divam abhipadya asrījyanta tad devānām devatām yad dirum abhipadya  
asrījyanta | tasmai sasrījānāya dicerāsa<sup>42</sup> | tad reva devānām Uerutvām  
yad asmai sasrījānāya dicerāsa | . . . . 14. Tā vā etāḥ Prajāpater  
adhi devatāḥ asrījyanta Agnir Indraḥ<sup>43</sup> Somah Parameshthi prajāpat-  
yah | . . . . 18. Sa Prajāpatir Indram putram abrarād ityādi |*

“In the beginning this universe was waters, nothing but water. The waters desired, ‘how can we be reproduced?’ So saying, they toiled, they performed austerity. While they were performing austerity, a golden egg came into existence. ‘Being produced, it then became a year. Wherefore this golden egg floated about for the period of a year. 2. From it in a year a man (*puruṣa*) came into existence, who was Prajāpati. Hence it is that a woman, or a cow, or a mare, brings forth in the space of a year, for in a year Prajāpati was born. He divided this golden egg. There was then no resting-place for him. He therefore floated about for the space of a year, occupying this golden egg. 3. In a year he desired to speak. He uttered *bhūḥ*, which became this earth; *bhūrāḥ*, which became this firmament; and *svarāḥ*, which became that sky. Hence a child desires to speak in a year, because Prajāpati spoke in a year. . . . . 6. He was born with a life of a thousand years. He perceived the further end of his life, as [one] may perceive the opposite bank of a river. 7. Desiring

<sup>40</sup> *Tasya Prajāpater āspadañ kimapi na babhūva sa cha nirādhāratvāt sthātum  
asakwanā idam eva bhinnam hiranmayāydam pumāḥ sañvatsara-paryantam bibhrat  
dhārayan tāv evōpsu paryasravat |* “There was no resting place for Prajāpati; and he, being unable to stand, from the want of any support, occupying this divided golden egg for a year, floated about on these waters.” Comm.

<sup>41</sup> Compare vol. iii. of this work, p. 68, and Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 141.

<sup>42</sup> *Divevāsa | ākāśa iva babhūva |* Comm.

<sup>43</sup> In R. V. x. 134, 1 ff. Indra is said to be the son of a mother whose name is not mentioned.

offspring, he went on worshipping and toiling. He conceived progeny in himself: with his mouth he created the gods. These gods were created by attaining heaven. This is the godhead of the gods (*devāḥ*) that they were creating by attaining heaven (*divam*). To him while he was continuing to create, heaven, as it were, arose (?). This is the godhead of the gods, that to him as he was continuing to create, heaven, as it were, arose. . . . . 14. These [following] gods were created from Prajāpati, Agni, Indra, Soma, and Parameshthīn, son of Prajāpati. . . . . 18. Prajāpati said to his son Indra," etc.

In the next passage, Prajāpati is said to have taken the form of a tortoise :

Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5 (p. 609).—*Sa yat kūrmo nāma etad rā rūpaṁ kṛitrā Prajāpatih prajā asrijata | yad asrijata akarot tad yad akarot tasmāt kūrmah | Kaśyapo rai kūrmas tasmād āhuḥ ‘sarvāḥ prajāḥ Kāśyapya’ iti | sa yaḥ sa kūrmo ‘sau sa Ādityaḥ |* “Having assumed the form of a tortoise, Prajāpati created offspring. That which he created, he made (*akaret*); hence the word *kūrma*. Kaśyapa means tortoise; hence men say, ‘all creatures are descendants of Kaśyapa.’ This tortoise is the same as Āditya.”

In the later mythology it is Vishṇu who assumes the form of a tortoise :

Thus in the chapter of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa descriptive of Vishṇu’s incarnations it is said (i. 3, 16): *Surāsurāṇām udadhim mathnatām mathanāchalam | dadhre kumātha-rūpena prishthe ekādaśe vibhuḥ |* “In his eleventh incarnation, the Lord in the form of a tortoise supported on his back the churning-mountain, when the gods and Asuras were churning the ocean.”

In its application of the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 37, 5, the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa 14, 1, 2, 11 (p. 1025) makes the following allusion to the elevation of the earth by a boar: “*Iyat� agre āśīd* (Vāj. S. 37, 5) *iti | iyati ha rā iyam agre prithiv� āśa prādeśa-mātri | tām Emūsha iti varāha<sup>44</sup> ujaghāna | so ‘syāḥ patiḥ Prajāpatiḥ* \*tenaiva enam etan-mithunena priyena dhāmnā<sup>45</sup> samardhayati kṛitsnaṁ karoti ityādi |

“‘She (the earth) was formerly so large,’ etc.; for formerly this earth

<sup>44</sup> See R.V. viii. 66, 10.

<sup>45</sup> In regard to these words compare Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, 3, 9, 4, 20.

was only so large, of the size of a span. Emūsha, a boar, raised her up. Her lord, Prajāpati, in consequence, prospers him (the boar ?) with love (?) and the object of his desire, and makes him complete," etc.

I quote somé further texts from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa relativé to Prajāpati.

In the following he is said to have in the beginning constituted the universe, and to have created Agni (see above, pp. 19, 22).

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 4, 1 (p. 151).—*Prajāpatir ha rā idam agre eka evāsa | sa aixata 'kathaṁ nu prajāyeya' iti so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata so 'gnim era mukhāj janayāñchakre ityādi |* "Prajāpati alone was all this [universe] in the beginning. He considered, 'how can I be reproduced?' He toiled, and performed austerity. He generated Agni from his mouth."

In the next passage he is identified with Daxa :<sup>46</sup>

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 4, 1 (p. 173).—*Prajāpatir ha vā eten-āgṛe yajñeneje prajākāmo 'bahuḥ prajayā paśubhiḥ syām śriyaṁ gachhe-yaṁ yaśaḥ syām īnnādaḥ syām' iti | sa vai Daxo nāma ityādi |* "Prajāpati formerly sacrificed with this sacrifice, being desirous of progeny, [and saying] 'may I abound in offspring and cattle, attain prosperity, become famous, and obtain food.' He was Daxa."

In S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 8, 1, 14 (p. 565) Prajāpati is said to be the supporter of the universe (a function afterwards assigned to Vishnu): *Prajāpatir vai bharataḥ sa hīdaṁ survam bibhartti |* "Prajāpati is Bharata (the supporter), for he supports all this universe."<sup>47</sup>

Compare the first verse of the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, where Brahmā is called the preserver of the world (*bhuwanasya goptū*).

In the next passage Prajāpati is represented as desirous, not to create, but to conquer, the worlds :

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 2, 4, 1 (p. 977).—*Prajāpatir akāmayata*

<sup>46</sup> See R. V. x. 72, 4, 5 (above pp. 10, 11).

<sup>47</sup> In R. V. i. 96, 3, the epithet *Bharata* is applied to Agni. The commentator there quotes another text, no doubt from a Brāhmaṇa, *esha prāṇo bhūtvā prajā bibhartti tasmād esha bharataḥ* [ "He becoming breath, sustains all creatures; hence he is the sustainer." ]

*'ubhau lokāv abhijayeyāñ devalokañcha manushya-lokañcha'* ityādi | “Prajāpati desired, ‘may I conquer both worlds,’ that of the gods, and that of men,” etc.

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 6, 6, 1 (p. 997) Purusha Nārāyaṇa is introduced: *Purusho ha Nārāyaṇo 'kāmayata 'atitishṭheyāñ sarvāñi bhūtāny aham eva idāñ sarrāñ syām' iti | sa etam purusha-medham pañcha-rātrañ yajñakratum apaśyat tam āharat tena ayajata tena iṣṭvā 'tyatishṭhat sarvāni bhūtāni idāñ sarvam abhavat | atitishṭhati sarvāni bhūtāni idāñ sarvam bharati ya evāñ vīdrāñ purusha-medhena yajate yo rā etad evāñ redū |*

“Purusha Nārāyaṇa desired, ‘may I surpass all created things; may I alone become all this?’ He beheld this form of sacrifice called *purusha medha* (human sacrifice) lasting five nights (?). He took it; he sacrificed with it. Having sacrificed with it, he surpassed all created things, and became all this. That man surpasses all created things, and becomes all this, who thus knowing, sacrifices with the *purusha medha*,—he who so knows this.” The Purusha-sūkta is shortly afterwards quoted.

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 2, 3, 1 (p. 838) Brahma (in the neuter) is introduced as being the original source of all things: *Brahmā rā idāñ agre āśit | tad derāñ asrijata | tad derāñ śrīshṭvā eshu lokeśhu vyārohayad asminn era loke 'gnīñ Vāyum antarixe diry eva sūryam |* “In the beginning Brahma was all this.” He created the gods. Having created the gods, he placed them in these worlds, in this world Agni, Vāyu in the atmosphere, and Sūrya in the sky.”

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 1 (p. 1000) Brahma is described as sacrificing himself: *Brahma rai srayambhu tapo 'tapyata | tad aixata 'na vai tapasy ānanyam asti hanta aham bhūteshv ātmānañ juhavāni bhūtāni cha ātmani' iti | tat sarveshu bhuteshv ātmānañ hutvā bhūtāni cha ātmani sarveshām bhūtānām śraishṭhyāñ svārājyam ādhipatyam paryait | tathaiva etad yajamānah sarvamedhe sarvān medhān hutvā sarvāñi bhūtāni śraishṭhyāñ svārājyam ādhipatyam paryeti |* “The self-existent Brahma performed austerity. He considered, ‘in austerity there is not infinity. Come let me sacrifice myself in created things, and created things in myself.’ Then having sacrificed himself in all created things, and all created things in himself, he acquired superiority, self-fulgence, and supreme dominion (compare Manu, xii. 91),

Therefore a man offering all oblations, all creatures, in the *śarvamedha* (universal sacrifice), obtains superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion.”<sup>48</sup>

---

The following is the account of the creation, given at a later period by Manu, i. 5 if., founded, no doubt, on the passages of the *Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa*, given above (pp. 19, 21, 22), or some other ancient source of the same character, with an intermixture of more modern doctrines :

*Āśid iduñ tamobhūtam aprajñātām alaxanām | apratarkyam arījñeyam  
prasuptam iva sarrataḥ | 6. Tataḥ sravambhār bhagavān aryakto ryañjā-  
yann idam | mahābhūtādi rrīttanjāḥ prādūrāśit tamonudāḥ | 7. Yo 'sāv  
atīndriya-grāhyāḥ sūxmo 'ryaktaḥ sunātānaḥ | sarva-bhūtamayo 'chint-  
yāḥ sa eva sravam udbabbhau | 8. So 'bhidhāya śarīrāt svāt sisṛixur  
vividhāḥ prajāḥ | apa era sasarjjādau tāsu vījam avāsrijat | 9. Tad  
āṇḍam abhavad haimāñ sahasrāñśu-samaprabham | tasmiñ jajñe svayam  
Brahmā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ | 10. Āpo nārā iti proktā āpo vai nara-  
sūnavāḥ | tā yad asyāyanam pūrraṁ tena Nārāyanāḥ smṛitāḥ | 11. Yat  
tat kāraṇam aryaktām nityām sadusadūtmakam | tad-visṛishṭāḥ sa purusho  
loke Brahmeti kīrtyātē | 12. Tasminn ānde sa bhagavān ushitrā parivat-  
saram | sravam evātmano dhyānāt tad āṇḍam akarod dridhā | 13. tābhāñ  
sa śakalābhyañcha divam ḫhūmīñcha nirmame ityādi |*

5. “This universe was enveloped in darkness, unperceived, undistinguishable, undiscoverable, unknowable, as it were entirely sunk in sleep. 6. Then the irresistible self-existent Lord, undiscerned, causing this universe with the five elements and all other things, to become discernible, was manifested, dispelling the gloom. 7. He who is beyond the cognizance of the senses, subtle, undiscernible, eternal, who is the essence of all beings, and inconceivable, himself shone forth. 8. He desiring to produce various creatures from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and deposited in them a seed. 9. This [seed] became a golden egg, resplendent as the sun, in which he himself was born as Brahmā,<sup>49</sup> the progenitor of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called *nārā*, because they are the offspring of Nara; and

<sup>48</sup> See the discussion on the sense of R. V. x. 81, 1, 5, 6 (above, pp. 7-9).

<sup>49</sup> Or, in which Brahmā himself was born, etc.

since they were formerly his receptacle, he is therefore called Nārāyaṇa. 11. Being formed by that First Cause, undiscernible, eternal, which is both existent and non-existent, that Male (*purusha*) is known in the world as Brahmā. 12. That lord having continued a year in the egg, divided it into two parts by his mere thought. 13. With these two shells he formed the heavens and the earth; and in the middle he placed the sky, the eight regions, and the eternal abode of the waters."

It will be observed from verses 9-11, that the appellation *Nārāyaṇa* is applied to *Brahmā*, and that no mention is made of *Vishnu*.

On verse 8 Kullūka annotates thus: ‘*Tad aṇḍam abharad haimam’ iti | tad vijam Parameśvarechhayā haiman aṇḍam abharad haimam iva haimāṁ śuddhi-guṇa-yogād na tu haimam era | tadiyaika-śakalena bhū-mi-nirmāṇasya vaxyamāṇatrād bhūmeśchāhaimatrasya pratyaxatrād upa-chārāśrayanām | . . . . . tasminn aṇḍe Hiranyagarbho jātarān yena pūrra-janmani ‘Hiranyagarbho ’ham asmi’ iti bhedābheda-bhāvanayā Parameśvaropāsanā kṛitā tadiyāṁ linga-śarīrārachhinnā-jīram anupra-riṣya svayam Paramātmaiva Hiranyagarbha-rūpatayā prādurbhūtah | “That [seed] became a golden egg,’ etc. That seed by the will of the deity became a golden egg. Golden, i.e. as it were golden, from the quality of purity attaching to it, and not really golden; for since the author proceeds to describe the formation of the earth from one of the halves of its shell, and since we know by ocular proof that the earth is not golden, we see that a mere figure of speech is here employed. . . . In that egg Hiranyagarbha was produced; i.e. entering into the soul,—which was invested with a subtle body,—of that person by whom in a former birth the deity was worshipped, with a contemplation on distinctness and identity, expressed in the words, ‘I am Hiranyagarbha,’ the supreme spirit himself became manifested in the form of Hiranyagarbha.”*

The creation is narrated in a similar manner, but without the introduction of any metaphysical elements, in the *Harivāṁśa*, vv. 35 ff.: *Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān sisrixur vividhāḥ prajāḥ | apa eva sasarij-jā-dau tūṣu vijam avāriyat | apo nāra iti proktā apo rai nara-sūnavaḥ | ayanaṁ tasya tāḥ pūrvam tena nārāyaṇaḥ smritah | hiranyavarṇam abhavat tad andam udakeśayam | tatratrā jajñe svayam Brahmā svayambhūr iti naḥ śrutam | Hiranyagarbho bhagavān ushitvā parivatsaram | tad*

*andam akarod draidhañ diram bhuvam aihāpi cha | tayoḥ śakalayor  
madhye ākūśam asrīyat prabhuh | apsu pāriplavām prīthvīm diśascha  
daśadhā dadhe |*

“Then the self-existent lord, desiring to produce various creatures, first of all formed the waters, and deposited in them a seed. The waters are called *nūrā*, for they are the offspring of Nara. They were formerly his receptacle; hence he is called *nārāyaṇa*. That seed became a golden-coloured egg, reposing on the water: in it the self-existent Brahmā himself was born, [or, in it he himself was born as the self-existent Brahmā], as we have heard. The divine Hiranyagarbha having dwelt [in the egg] a year, divided it into two parts, heaven and earth. In the midst between these two shells, the Lord created the æther, and the earth floating about on the waters, and placed the regions in ten directions.”

In a later part of the same work we find another account of the production of Hiranyagarbha:

Harivamśa, vv. 12, 425 ff.—*Jagat-srashṭu-manā devaś chintayāmāsa  
pūrvataḥ | tasya chintayato raktrād nīṣritah purushah kila | tataḥ sa  
purusho devañ kiñ karomīty upashthitah | pratyuvācha smitañ kṛtvā  
deva-devo jagat-patiḥ | ‘vibhajātmānam’ ityaktrā gato ‘ntardhānam  
iśvaraḥ | antarhitasya derasya saśārīrasya bhāsvataḥ | pradīpasyeva  
śāntasya gatis tasya na vidyate | tatas teneritām vāñiñ so ‘nvachinlayata  
prabhuh | “Hiranyagarbho bhagaran ya esha chhandasā stutah | ekah  
prajāpatih pūrvam ‘abharad bhurāndhipah | tudā-prabhṛiti tasyādyo  
yajña-bhāgo vidhīyate | ‘vibhajātmānam’ ity uktas tenāsmi sumahāt-  
manā | katham ātmā vibhajyah syāt saṁśayo hy atra me mahān” |*

“Being desirous to create the world, the deity formerly meditated. As he meditated, a man (*purusha*) issued from his mouth. This man then approached [or adored] the deity, [saying] ‘what am I to do?’ The god of gods, the lord of the world, answered smiling, ‘divide thyself.’ Having thus spoken the lord vanished. The path of the radiant embodied deity, when he has vanished, is not known, like that [of the flame] of an extinguished taper. The lord then meditated [thus] upon the word which the deity had uttered: ‘This divine Hiranyagarbha, who is celebrated in the Vedic hymn, was formerly the one sole Prajāpati, the ruler of the world. Thenceforward the first half of the sacrifice is allotted to him. *Divide thyself*,—thus have I been

commanded by that mighty being. But how is the self to be divided? Here I have great doubt.''" Then follow the verses which have been quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 10, to which I refer.

The Rāmāyaṇa, which I quote first according to the recension of Schlegel (which here coincides with the Serampore edition), thus describes the origin of the world :

Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's ed.), ii. 110, 2 ff.—*Imāṁ loka-samutpattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me* | 3. *Sarvaṁ salilam evāśit prīthivī yatra nirmitā* | *tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr daivataih saha* | 4. *Sa varāhas tato bhūtvā projjahāra vasundharām* | *asrijachcha jagat sarvaṁ saha putraiḥ kṛitātmabhiḥ* | 5. *Ākāśa-prabhavo Brahmā śāśvato nityam aryayah* | *tasmād Marichiḥ sañjajñe Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutah* | 6. *Vivasvān Kaśyapāj jajñe Manur Vicasvataḥ smṛilah* | *sa tu Prajāpatiḥ pūrram ityādi* |

Vaśishtha says, "Lord of the world, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, in which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, *with the deities*. 4. He then, becoming a boar,<sup>50</sup> raised up the earth, and created the whole world *with the saints, his sons*. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the æther; from him was descended Marichi; the son of Marichi was Kaśyapa. 6. From Kaśyapa sprang Vivasvat, and Manu is declared to have been Vivasvat's son. He (Manu) was formerly the Prajāpati," etc.

It will be observed that here it is Brahmā who assumes the form of a boar to raise up the earth from under the ocean. In the *Gauda* recension of Gorresio, however, this function is transferred to Vishṇu; and this I regard as a proof that this recension of the text is more modern than that followed by Schlegel. I have indicated by italics in my translations, the important points in which the two recensions differ from one another.

Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio's ed.), ii. 119, 2 ff.—*Imāṁ loka-samutpattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me* | 3. *Sarvaṁ salilam evāśit vasudhā yena nirmitā* | *tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṇur aryayah* | 4. *Sa varāho*

<sup>50</sup> Compare Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, quoted above, p. 23.

'tha bhātve mām ujjahāra vasundharām | asrījachcha jagat sarvam sacharācharam avyayam | 5. Ākāśa-prabhavo Brahmā śāśvato nityam avyayaḥ | tasmād Marīchiḥ sañjajñe Marīcheḥ Kāśyapaḥ sutah | 6. Tataḥ paryāya-sargena Vivasvān asrījad Manum ityādi |

"Lord of the world, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, through which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, the *imperishable Vishnu*. 4. He then, becoming a boar, raised up this earth, and created the whole world, *moveable and immovable, imperishable*. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the æther; from him was descended Marīchi; the son of Marīchi was Kāśyapa. 6. By successive creation, Vivasvat created Manu," etc.

It will be noticed that at the end of the 3rd sloka, the reading of the first recension, viz., *Brahmā svayambhūr daivataih saha*, "Brahmā, the self-existent, *with the deities*," is, in the second, changed into *Brahmā svayambhūr Vishnur avyayaḥ*, "Brahmā, the self-existent, the *imperishable Vishnu*," whereby Brahmā becomes a mere manifestation of Vishnu,—a character of which we have no hint in the earlier recension. Similarly the words which are given in Schlegel's recension, at the close of the 4th sloka, viz., *sāha putraih kṛitātmabhiḥ*, "with the saints, his sons," are in the other recension altered into *sacharācharam avyayam*, "*moveable and immovable, and imperishable*"—epithets descriptive of the world. This second alteration was rendered necessary by the first: for as soon as the god who is the subject of the passage had been changed from Brahmā to Vishnu, the mention of sons became inapplicable; as Vishnu is not described in the accounts of the creation as having any sons, whereas Brahmā is. Compare with the 5th verse of the passage before us (in Schlegel's text), the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, i. 7, 1 ff.; and i. 7, 26, quoted in the First Part of this work, pp. 25, 26. The accounts of Brahmā's descendants are not, however, always consistent. See *Manu*, i. 32 ff., and *Vishnu Purāṇa*, i. 7, 12 ff., quoted in pp. 15 and 25 of Part First.

Before proceeding to quote the other texts which I have to adduce regarding the egg of Brahma, I shall here introduce two quotations, to show

how the assumption of the form of a boar, ascribed in the older recension of this passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, to Brahmā, is in works of a later date, represented as the act of Viṣhṇu. The first passage is from the rapid enumeration of the twenty-two incarnations of Viṣhṇu, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 7 : *Dvītyaṁ tu bhavāyātasya rasā-tala-gatāṁ mahīm | uddharishyann upādattā yajñeśaḥ saukarām vapuh |* “Secondly, with a view to the creation of this universe, the lord of sacrifice, being desirous to raise up the earth, which had sunk into the lower regions, assumed the form of a boar.”

The second passage to be adduced, is from the Viṣhṇu Purāṇa, i. 4, 1 ff. (p. 27 ff. of Wilson’s English trans.), and has been already partly quoted in the First Part of this work, pp. 19, 20 :

*Maitreya uvācha | Brahmā Nārāyanākhyo ’sau kalpādau bhagavān yathā | sasarjja sarra-bhūtāni tad āchaxva mahāmune<sup>61</sup> | Parāśara uvācha | prajāḥ sasarjja bhagarān Brahmā Nārāyaṇātmakah | prajāpati-patir devo yathā tan me niśāmaya | atīta-kalpāvasāne niśā-suptotthitah prabhuh | sattrodriktaḥ talo Brahmā śūnyām lokam arairātu | Nārāyaṇaḥ paro ’chintyah pareshām apī sa prabhuh | Brahma-svarupī bhagavān anādiḥ sarra-sambhavaḥ | toyāntah sa mahīm jñātvā jagaty ekārṇavo prabhuh | anumānād tad-uddhāraṁ karttu-kāmaḥ Prajāpatih | akarot sa tanūm anyām kalpādīshu yathā purā | matsya-kūrmādikām tadvad vārūhaṁ vapur āsthitah | reda-yajñumayaṁ rūpam aśeṣa-jagataḥ sthitau | sthitah sthirātmā sarrātmā paramātmā Prajāpatih | junaloka-gataih siḍḍhaiḥ Sanakādyair abhishṭutah | pravīrśa tada toyam ātmādhāro dharādharah | nīriya tam tada devī pātāla-talam āgatam | tushṭāva pranatā bhūtvā bhakti-namrā rasundharā | Prīthvy uvācha | Namas te*

<sup>61</sup> I take the opportunity of quoting here an answer given in the Viṣhṇu Purāṇa, i. 3, 1 ff. (p. 21 of Wilson’s trans.), to the question how it is conceivable that Brahmā should create;—an answer which if admitted as the only solution of the problem, would have rendered many speculations of the Indian philosophers unnecessary. *Maitreya uvācha | nirgunaṁyāprameyasya śuddhasyāpyamalatmanah | kaihaṁ sargādikarttryvitam Brāhmaṇo’bhypapadyate | Parāśara uvācha | saktayah sarva-bhāvanām achintyā [?] jñāna-gocharāḥ | yato’to Brahmaṇas tāstū sargādyā bhāva-saktayah | bhavanti tapasāṁ śreshtha pāvakasya yathoshtutū |* “Maitreya asks: How can the agencies of creation, etc., be possible to Brahma, who is devoid of the [three] qualities, immeasurable, pure, and free from stain? Parāśara answers: Since powers which could not be imagined, are actually known to belong to all natures, therefore, o chief of ascetics, these powers of creative agency, etc., belong to the essence of Brahmā, as heat is an attribute of fire.”

*sarva-bhūtāya tubhyam śankha-gadā-dhara | mām uddharāsmād adya tvāṁ  
 tvatto 'ham pūrram utthitā | . . . . sambhaxayitrā sakalaṁ jāgaty  
 ekārṇavikrite | śesha trām era Gorinda chintyamāno manīshibhiḥ | bhavato  
 yat paraṁ rūpaṁ tanna jānāti kaśchana | aratāreshu yud rūpaṁ tad  
 archanti diraukasah | trām ārādhya paraṁ Brahma yātā muktim mu-  
 muxarah | Vāsudevam anārādhya ko moxam samarāpsyati | . . . . tvāṁ  
 yajñas tvāṁ vashatkāras trām oṁkāras trām agnayaḥ | . . . . Evaṁ  
 samstūyamānastu Pṛithivyā pṛithivī-dharaḥ | sāṅka-svara-dhvaniḥ śrīmān  
 jagarjja parighurgharam | tataḥ samutxipyā dharām sa daṁshṭrayā  
 mahāvarāhaḥ sphuṭa-padma-lochanaḥ | rasātalād utpala-patra-sannibhaḥ  
 samutthito nīla ivāchalo mahān | . . . eraṁ samstūyamānastu Paramātmā  
 mahīdharaḥ | ujjahāra mahīn xipraṁ nyastarāmścha mahāmbhasi |  
 tasyopari jalauघasya mahatī naur iva sthitā | ritatatrāt tu dehasya na  
 mahī yāti samplaram |*

"Maitreya said : Tell me, great Muni, how, at the beginning of the Kalpa, that divine Brahmā called Nārāyaṇa created all beings. Parāśara replied : Hear from me how the divine Brahmā, lord of the Prajāpatis, who was formed of Nārāyaṇa, created living beings. At the close of the past (or Pādma) Kalpa, Brahmā, the lord, endowed predominantly with the quality of goodness, awoke from his night-slumber, and beheld the universe void. He [was] the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa, who cannot even be conceived by others, existing in the form of Brahmā, the deity without beginning, the source of all things. [The verse given in Manu i. 10, and the Harivanśa, v. 36, regarding the derivation of the word Nārāyaṇa, is here quoted.] This lord Prajāpati, discovering by inference,—when the world had become one ocean,—that the earth lay within the waters, and being desirous to raise it up, assumed another form, taking the body of a boar consisting of the Vedic sacrifices, as he had before, at the commencement of the [previous] Kalpas, taken the shape of a fish, a tortoise, etc. Then Prajāpati, residing in the entire existing universe, the unchanging, supreme, and universal soul, sustainer of soul, and supporter of the earth, hymned by Sanaka and other saints, entered the water. Beholding him then descended to Pātāla, the goddess Earth, reverential, and prostrated through devotion, sang his praise : ' Reverence, bearer of the shell and club, to thee who art all things : raise me to-day from this place : by thee have I been formerly lifted. . . . Having swallowed up the universe, when the world has become one

ocean, thou, Govinda, sleepest, meditated upon by the wise. No one knows that which is thy highest form : the gods adore that form which [thou takest] in thy incarnations. Worshipping thee, the supreme Brahma, men desirous of final liberation have attained their object. Who shall obtain liberation without adoring Vāsudeva? . . . . . Thou art sacrifice, thou art the *rashatkāra* (a sacrificial formula), thou art the *oṁkāra*, thou art the fires. . . . . Being thus celebrated by the Earth, the glorious upholder of the earth, with a voice like the chanting of the Sāma-veda, uttered a deep thundering sound. Then the great boar, with eyes like the expanded lotus, tossing up the earth with his tusk, rose up resembling the leaf of the blue lotus, from the lower regions, like the great blue mountain . . . . [The boar is then again lauded by Sanandana and other saints, in a hymn, in the course of which his different members are compared in detail to different parts of the rite of sacrifice, etc.—See Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāna*, p. 31.] . . . . Being thus hymned, the supreme Soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted the earth up quickly, and placed it upon the great waters. Resting upon this mass of waters, like a mighty ship, the earth does not sink, owing to the expansion of its bulk.”<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Another instance in which an act ascribed to Brahmā by earlier writers is transferred to Vishṇu in the later Purānas, may be found in the story of the deluge in the Mbh., Vanaparva, 12, 797 ff. (see the Second Part of this work, pp. 329-332); towards the conclusion of which, vv. 12, 797 f., the Fish declares himself to be Brahmā: *Athābravīd animishas tān ṛishīn sa hitas tada | ahum Prajāpatir Brahmā yat-parain nādhigamyate | matsya-rūpena yūyañcha mayā 'smād moxitābhayāt |* “Then the god (*lit.* the unwinking), kindly-disposed, said to those rishis, ‘I am the Prajāpati Brahmā, above whom no Being is discoverable: by me in the form of a fish you have been delivered from this danger.’” Compare the story as told in the Bhāg. Pur., (and see Burnouf, Pref. to Bhāg. Pur., iii. p. xxiii.). Bhāg. Pur. viii. 24, 4: *Ity uktv Vishnurātēna bhagavān Vādarāyanīḥ | uvācha charitām Vishṇor matsya-rūpena yat kritam | Suka uvācha | . . . . 7. āśīd atīta-kalpānte Brāhma naimittiko layah | samudropaplutās tatra lokā bhūrādayo nripa | 8. Kālenāgata-nidrasya dhātuḥ sisayi- shor bali | mukhato niḥśritān vedān Hayagrivo 'ntike 'harat | 9. Jñātvā tad dānaven- drasya Hayagrīvasya cheshtitam | dadhāra sapharīrūpam bhagavān Hariḥ iśvara ityādi |* “Being thus addressed by Vishnurāta, the divine Vādarāyani related the deed of Vishṇu done by him under the form of a fish. Suka said . . . . 7. At the end of the past Kalpa there was a Brāhma, or partial, dissolution of the universe (see Wilson's Vish. Pur., pp. 56, and 630); in which the earth and other worlds were submerged under the ocean. The powerful Hayagrīva [coming] near, snatched away the Vedas which had issued from the mouth of the creator, who from drowsiness, which had supervened through time, was disposed to sleep. Having discovered this act of Hayagrīva, chief of the Dūnavas, the divine lord, Hari, took the form of a saphari-fish,” etc.

The Linga Purāna, which is of the Suiva class, and has not, as such, any interest in glorifying Viṣṇu, describes Brahmā as the deity who took the form of a boar : Part i. 4, 59 ff. : *Rātrau chaikārṇave Brahmā nashṭe sthāvara-jangame | sushvāpāmbhasi yas tasmād Nārāyaṇa iti smṛitāḥ | śarvarya-ante prabuddho vai dṛishṭvā śūnyaṁ charācharam | srashṭum tadā matīṁ chakre Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varah | udakair aplutām xmāṁ tāṁ samādāya sanātanaḥ | pūrva-vat sthāpayāmāsa vārāhaṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ |* “In the night, when all things moveable and immovable had been destroyed in the universal ocean, Brahmā slept upon the waters, and is hence called Nārāyaṇa. At the close of the night, awaking, and beholding the universe void, Brahmā, chief of the knowers of Brahma, then resolved to create. Having assumed the form of a boar, this eternal [god] taking the earth, which was overflowed by the waters, placed it as it had been before.”

---

To return to the mundane egg. In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa i. 2, 45 ff. we have the following account of its production, in which the simplicity of the older mythical conceptions is destroyed by the inter-mixture of metaphysical ideas borrowed from the Sāṅkhyā philosophy. In fact, though it forms the subject of a magniloquent description, the egg was an element in the cosmogonic traditions with which any writers less ingenious and fanciful than the authors of the Purāṇas, would, perhaps, have found it somewhat inconvenient to deal in such a way as to harmonize with their philosophical speculations : *Ākāśa-vāyu-tejāṁsi salilam prithivī tathā | śabdādibhir gunair brahman saṁyuktānūttarot-taraiḥ | sāntā ghorāścha mūḍhāścha viśeshās tena te smṛitāḥ | nānā-viryyāḥ pṛithag-bhūtās tatas te saṁhatiṁ vinā | nāśaknuvan prajaḥ srashṭum asamāgamyā kṛitsnaśāḥ | sametvānyonya-saṁyogam parasparsa-saṁśrayāḥ | eka-saṅghāta-laxyāścha samprāpyaikyam aśeshataḥ | Purushādhishṭhitatvāchcha Pradhānānugrahenā cha | mahadādayo viśeshāntā andam utpādayanti te | tat kramena vivridhām tu jala-budbuda-vat eamam | bhūtebhyo 'ṇḍam mahābuddhe vrīhat tad udake śayam | prākṛitam Brahma-rūpasya Viṣṇoḥ saṁsthānam uttamam | tatrāvyakta-sa-rūpo 'sau vyakta-rūpi jagat-patiḥ | Viṣṇur Brahma-evarūpeṇa svayam eva vyavasthitāḥ | Meru-tulyam abhūt tasya jarāyuścha mahidharāḥ |*

*garbhodakaṁ samudrāścha tasyāsan sumahatmanah | sādri-dvīpa-samudraścha sajjotir loka-sangrahah | tasminn ande 'bhavad vipra ea-derāsuramānushah | vāri-vahny-anilākāśais tato bhūtādinā vahih | vṛitaṁ daśagunair ḍṇḍam bhūtādir mahatā tathā | aṣyaktenārrito brahmaṁs taih sarvaih sahito mahān | ebbhir āvaraṇair andam saptabhih prākritair vrittam | nārikela-phalasyāntar vijām vāhyadulalair iva | jushan rajo-guṇāṁ tatra svayaṁ viśveśvaro Hariḥ | Brahmā bhūtā 'sya jagato visrishṭau sampravarttate |*

“Æther, air, fire, water and earth, when joined in order, with sound and the other qualities•in succession, are then called specific, being soothing, terrific, or stupefying,<sup>53</sup> but being of different powers, and separated from one another, they could not, without contact, and without being combined together, produce living creatures. [At length] having attained to mutual conjunction, becoming associated with each other, having a tendency to amalgamation, and having so attained an entire unity,—being presided over by Purusha (spirit) and prospered by Pradhāna (matter),—these principles, commencing with Mahat(intellect), and down to the gross elements iinclusive, generate an egg. Gradually augmented from the elements, smooth like'a bubble of water, that vast egg, resting on the water, was the material and appropriate receptacle of Vishṇu in the form of Brahmā. There undiscernible in his essence, Vishṇu, the lord of the world, himself abode in a discernible shape, in the form of Brahmā. It was like mount Merū; the mountains were the womb, and the seas were the uterine fluids of that vast [production]. In that egg, o Brahmān, were collected the worlds, with their hills, continents, and oceans, the luminaries, the gods, Asuras, and men. This egg was enveloped externally by water, fire, air, æther, and the source of the elements (*bhūtādi*, i.e. *ahankāra*) increasing in tenfold progression ; and in the same way *ahankāra* was invested by *Mahat*; and *Mahat* with all these [aforesaid principles] was surrounded by the indiscreet principle (*Pradhāna*). The egg is enveloped in these seven material coverings, as the seed within the cocoa-nut is surrounded by the outward husks. Assuming there the quality of passion (*rajas*) Hari, the universal lord, himself becoming Brahmā, engages in the creation of this world.”

<sup>53</sup> See Wilson's Sankhya Karikā, pp. 119 ff., and Vishṇu Pur., p. 17.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa does not connect the egg any further with the creation, or tell us how it became divided, etc. etc.

The Linga Purāṇa, Part i., 3, 28 ff., gives a similar description of the egg : *Mahadādi-viśeshāntū hy andam utpādayanti cha | jala-bud-buda-vat tasmāt avatīraṇaḥ Pitāmahāḥ | sa eva bhagarān Rudro Viśnur viśvagataḥ prabhuḥ | tasminn ande tv īme lokā antar viśvam idam jagat | andam daśa-guṇenaiva nabhasā vāhyato vritam | ākāśaś chārvritas tadvat ahankāreṇa śabdajah | mahatā śabda-hetur vai prādhānenāvritah svayam | saptāṇḍāvaraṇāny āhus tasyātmā Kamalāsanaḥ | koṭi-koty-oyutāny atra ohāṇḍāni kathitāni tu | tatra tatra chaturvāktrā Brahmāṇo Harayo Bhavāḥ | sriṣṭāḥ pradhānena tadā labdhvā Sambhostu sannidhim ityādi |*

"And these principles, from Mahat to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg, like a bubble of water, from which issued the Parent [of the universe] who was the same as divine Rudra, and Vishṇu, the omnipresent lord. Within that egg were these worlds,—this entire universe. The egg was externally invested with a tenfold æther; in like manner, the æther, sprung from sound, was surrounded by *ahankāra*; the cause of sound (*ahankāra*) by Mahat, and the latter itself by Pradhāna. These men call the seven coverings of the egg; its soul is *Kamalāsana* (Brahmā). Here ten thousand crores of crores of eggs are specified, in which four-faced Brahmās, *Haris*, and *Bhavas* (*Sivas*) were created by Pradhāna, which had attained to proximity with Śambhu (*Siva*).

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa has the following passage on the same subject in the third Book, in answer to an enquiry how the Prajāpatis created the world :

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 20, 12 ff.—*Maitreya evācha | Daivena durvitarkyena pareñānimishena cha | jātavobhād bhagavato mahān asid guna-trayat |* 13. *Rajuh-pradhānād mahatas trilingo daiva-choditāt | jātāḥ sasarjja bhatadir viyadādīni panchaśāḥ |* 14. *Tūni chaikaiqśāḥ srashṭum asam-arthāni bhautikam | sañhatya daiva-yogena haimam andam avāśrijan |* 15. *So 'śayishṭābdhi-salile anda-kosho nirātmakaḥ | sāgram vā varsha-sāhasram anvaravatsit tam iśvaraḥ |* 16. *Tasya nābher abhūt padmaṁ sahasrārkorudīdhiti | sarva-jīva-nikūyauko yatra svayam abhūt Svarāt |* 17. *so 'nuviśṭo bhagavatā yaḥ śete salilāśaye | loka-saṁsthām yathā-pūrvaṁ nirmame saṁsthayā svayā |*

"Maitreya said :

12. "The Great principle (Intelligence) arose from the three qualitics

agitated by the Divine Being in consequence of an inscrutable destiny, supreme, and ever wakeful. 13. Springing from the Great principle (in which the quality of passion prevailed, and which was impelled by destiny),\*the source of the elements (*bhūtādi* or *ahankāra*) created the æther and other principles, in groups of five. 14. These principles being severally unable to create, deposited, when united by the action of destiny, a golden egg formed of the elements. 15. This egg-shell lay lifeless on the waters of the ocean : the Lord dwelt in it for a complete [period of a] thousand years. 16. From his navel sprang a lotus splendid as a thousand suns, the abode of all living things, where *Svarāt* (Brahmā) himself was born. 17. He penetrated by the Divine Being who reposes on the receptacle of waters, constructed as before, the substance (*sāṁsthā*) of the worlds with his own substance.”

The same ideas are repeated in a later chapter of the same book :

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 26, 50 ff. : *Etāny asaṁhatya yadū mahad-ādīni saptavai | kala-karma-gunopeto jagadādir upāriśat |* 51. *tatas tenānuvid-dhebhyo* [xubhitebhyaḥ, Comm.] *ṣuktebhyo ṣṇḍam achetanam | utthitam Purusho yasmād udatishtad asau Virāt |* 52. *Etad ḥṇḍam viśeshākhyam krama-vriddhair daśottaraiḥ | toyādibhiḥ parivritam pradhānenāvritair vahīḥ | yatra loka-vitāno 'yaṁ rūpam bhagavato Hareḥ |* 53. *hiran-mayād anda-koshād utthāya salile śayāt | tam āviśya mahādevo bahudhā nirbibheda kham* [chhidram, Comm.] 54. *nirabhidyatāsyā prathamam mukhaṁ rāṇī tato 'bhavad ityādi |*

50. “When these seven principles, *Mahat* and the rest, remained uncombined, the [god who is the] source of the universe entered into them, united with time, action, and the qualities. 51. Then out of these principles penetrated by him, and combined, there arose a lifeless egg, from which sprang Purusha, viz., that *Virāt*. 52. This egg, named *Viśeṣha* (the specific) was surrounded by water, and other elements gradually increasing in extent by a tenfold progression, which in their turn were externally invested by *Pradhāna*. In this egg [was formed] this expanse of worlds, which is the form of the divine Hari. 53. Having arisen out of the envelopment of this golden egg reposing upon the water, the great god, pervading it, opened up many apertures. 54. First his mouth was divided, from which speech issued,” etc.

The same process is also described in the second book of the same

Purāṇa, sect. 5, 32 ff.; but it is unnecessary to adduce more than a verse or two of the passage.

34. *Varsha-pūga-sahasrāntे tad aṇḍam udakeśayam | kāla-karma-svabhāva-stho jīvo 'jivam ajivayat |* 35. *sa eva purushas tasmiāl aṇḍam nirbhidya nirgataḥ | sahasrōr̥-anghri-bāhv-axaḥ sahasrānana-śirshavān |*

34. "At the end of many thousand years, the Life (Jīva) residing in time, action, and nature, gave life to that lifeless egg reposing on the water. 35. Splitting the egg, Purusha issued forth with a thousand thighs, feet, arms, eyes, faces, and heads."

The same subject is yet again referred to in another text of the same work.

Bhāg. Pur. ii. 10, 10 f.: *Purusho 'ṇḍam vinirbhidya yadādau sa vinirgataḥ | ātmano 'yanam anvichann apo 'sraxīch chhuchiḥ śuchiḥ | tāsv avātsit svasrishṭāsu sahasra-parivatsarān | tena Nārāyaṇo nāma yad āpah purushodbhavāḥ |*

10. "When, splitting the egg, Purusha first issued from it, seeking a receptacle for himself, he created the pure waters, himself pure.

11. In these waters created by himself he dwelt a thousand years. Hence he is named Nārāyaṇa, because the waters were produced from Purusha."

The story about the sexual intercourse of Brahmā with his own daughter, which is sometimes alluded to in the Purāṇas, is thus noticed in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 1, 7, 4, 1 ff.—*Prajāpatir ha vai svāṁ duhitaram abhidhhyau divāṁ vā ushasāṁ vā 'mithuny enayā syām' iti tam sam-babhūva |* 2. *Tad vai devānāṁ āga āsa 'ya itthaṁ svāṁ duhitaram asmākāṁ svasārāṁ karoti' iti |* 3. *Te ha devā īchur 'yo 'yāṁ devaḥ paśūnāṁ iṣṭe 'tisandhaṁ vā ayaṁ charati ya itthaṁ svāṁ duhitaram asmākāṁ svasārāṁ karoti vidhyemam' iti |* tam Rudro 'bhyāyatya vivyādha tasya eāmi retaḥ prachaskanda tathā id nūnāṁ tad āsa | 4. *Tasmād etad rishinā 'bhyanuktam 'pitā yat svāṁ duhitaram adhishkan xmayā retaḥ sañjagmāno nishiñchad' iti tad āgni-māṛutam ity ukthaṁ tasmiṁs tad vyākhyāyate yathā tad devā retaḥ prājanayan | teshāṁ yadā devānāṁ krodho ryaid atha Prajāpatim abhishayaṁs tasya tam śalpaṁ nirakṛitan |* sa vai yajña eva Prajāpatih |

"Prajāpati cast his eyes upon his own daughter, either the Sky, or the Dawn, [desiring] 'May I pair with her.' So [saying] he had intercourse with her. 2. This was a crime in the eyes of the gods, who said : ' [He is guilty] who acts thus to his own daughter, our sister.' 3. The gods said : ' This god who rules over the beasts, commits a transgression in that he acts thus to his own daughter, our sister : pierce him through.' Rudra assailed (?) and pierced him. Half of his seed fell to the ground. So it happened. 3. Accordingly this has been said by the ṛishi (R. V. x. 61, 7), 'when the father approaching his daughter, uniting with the earth, discharged his seed,' etc. This is a hymn addressed to Agni and the Maruts; and it is there related in what manner the gods generated this seed. When the anger of the gods had passed away, they applied remedies to Prajāpati, and cut out of him the arrow (?). Prajāpati is sacrifice."

The following is the context of the passage of the Rig-veda referred to in the preceding legend. It is obscure and difficult to translate, even with the aid of Sāyana's Comment, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Müller. The commentator regards verses 5-7 as intended to show how "Rudra Prajāpati created Rudra Vāstoshpati with a portion of himself:" (*Yathā sraṁśena bhagavān Rudraḥ prajāpatir Vāstoshpatiṁ Rudram asrijat tad etad-ādibhir tisribhir vadati.*)

R. V. x. 61, 4 : *Krishṇā yad gosu arunīshu sīdad diro napāta Aśvinā hure vām | vītam me yajñam āgatam me annām ravarvānsā na isham asmrīta dhrū | 5. Prathishta yasya vīrakarmam ishād anushṭhitam nūnaryyo apauhat | punas tad ḫvrihati yat kanāyā duhitur ā anubhṛitam anarvā | 6. Madhyā yat kartram abhavad abhike kāmañ kṛiṇrāne pitari yuratyām | manānag reto jahatur riyanā sānau nishiktañ sukritisaya yonau | 7. Pitā yat svām̄ duhitaram adhishkan xmayā retaḥ sañjagmāno nishiñchat | srādhyo ajanayan brahma devā vāstoshpatiṁ vrata pām̄ nirataxan |*

"When the night stands among the tawny cows (rays of the dawn), I invoke you twain, Aśvins, sons of the sky.. Come to my sacrifice, come to my oblation, desiring it as food, ye who do not disappoint my longings."<sup>54</sup> 5. That friend of men, whose prolific, hero-generating

<sup>54</sup> Such is the meaning given by Professor Roth to *asmrita-dhrū*. Sāyana renders it, *asmrita-drohau mayi droham asmarantau* | "not forgetting injury—not forgetting injury to me."

[seed] was diffused, disseminated it far and wide, after it had been sent forth. Again the irresistible [god] expands that [germ] which had been fostered in [the womb of] his youthful daughter. 6. [They then did] that which was to be done by contact in the midst, when the father loved the youthful damsel,—approaching each other, they discharged a little seed, which was shed on the surface of the place of sacrifice. 7. When the father, impregnating his own daughter, uniting with the earth, discharged his seed, the contemplative gods generated prayer, they fashioned Vāstoshpati, the protector of sacred rites."

The same story is repeated in the later literature, as in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa iii. 12, 28 ff., only that Vāch is the daughter of Brahmā who is there spoken of: *Vāchaṁ duhitaraṁ tanvīṁ Svayambhū haratīm manah | akāmāṁ chakame zattah sakāma iti naḥ śrutam |* 29. *tam adharme krita-matim vilokya pitaraṁ sutah | Marīchi-mukhyā munayo viśrambhāt pratyabodhayan |* 30. *Naitat pūrvaih kritaṁ tvad ye na karishyanti ohāpare | yas tvāṁ duhitaraṁ gachher anigrīhyāṅgajam prabhuh |* 31. *tejiyasāṁ api hy etad na suslokyaṁ jagadguro | yad vrittum anutishthan vai lokah xemaya kalpate |* 32. *tasmāi naṁ bhagavate ya idam svena rochishā | ātmasthaṁ ryañjyāmāsa sa dharmam pātum arhati |* 33. *Sa itthāṁ grīñataḥ pyutrān puro drishṭvā prajāpatin | prajāpati-patis tanvāṁ tatyujā vriditas tada | tāṁ diśo jagrihur ghorāṁ nīhāraṁ yad vidus tamah |*

"We have heard, o Kshattriya, that Svayambhū (Brahmā) had a passion for Vāch, 'his slender and enchanting daughter, who had no passion for him. The Munis, his sons, headed by Marīchi, seeing their father bent upon wickedness, admonished him with affection: 'This has never been done by those before you, nor will those after you do it,—that you, being the lord, should sexually approach your daughter, not restraining your passion. This, o preceptor of the world, is not a laudable deed even in glorious personages, through imitation of whose actions men attain felicity. Glory to that divine being (Vishnu) who by his own lustre revealed this [universe] which abides in himself,—he must maintain righteousness.' Seeing his sons, the Prajāpatis, thus speaking before him, the lord of the Prajāpatis (Brahmā) was ashamed, and abandoned his body. This dreadful body the regions received, and it is known as foggy darkness.'

This legend of Brahmā and his daughter, though, as appears from the

passage in the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, it has occasioned scandal among the Indian writers from an early period, is not to be regarded in the same light as many other stories regarding the licentious actions of some of the other gods. The production of a female and her conjunction with the male out of whom she was formed, is regarded in Manu i. 32, as one of the necessary stages in the cosmogonic process (and finds its near parallel in the book of Genesis): *dvidhā kṛtvā "tmano dehaṁ arddhena purusho 'bhavat | arddhena nārītasyām sa Virājam asrijat prabhūḥ |* “Dividing his own body into two, [Brahmā] became with the half a man, and with the half a woman, and in her he created (i.e. according to the commentator, begot)<sup>55</sup> Virāj.” Compare also the passage from the Vishṇu Purāṇa i. 7, 12 ff. quoted in the First Part of this work, p. 25.<sup>56</sup> On the injustice of ascribing an immoral character to the Hindu writings, or to the deities whom they describe, on the ground of such legends as the one before us, or of the dialogue between Yama and Yamī in the 10th hymn of the tenth Mandala of the Rig-veda, see some instructive remarks by Prof. Roth in the 3rd Vol. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, pp. 332–337.

The case is different, however, with another class of stories, which are frequently to be met with in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, in which various adulterous amours, of the Aśvins, Indra, Vāruna, and Krishṇa, are described.—See the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 150, the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, v. 10, 316 ff. Indische Studien, i. 198; the Rāmāyaṇa i. 48, 16 ff., Schlegel’s ed.; and the passages quoted from the Mbh. in the First Part of this work, pp. 70, 165 (with Note 9), and 166. In all these cases a licentious character is evidently attributed to the gods.<sup>57</sup> In the case of Krishṇa the following is the reasoning by which the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa attempts to quiet the scruples of some of the purer-minded

<sup>55</sup> *Maithuna-dharmena Virāt-saṇjñam purusham nirmitavān |*

<sup>56</sup> “The Matsya P. has a little allegory of its own on the subject of Brahmā’s intercourse with S’atarūpā; for it explains the former to mean the Vedas, and the latter the Sāvitri, or holy prayer, which is their chief text; and in their cohabitation there is therefore no evil: *Veda-rāśiḥ smṛito Brahmā Sāvitri tad-adhishṭhitā | tas-mānna kaścid doshaḥ syāt Sāvitri-gamane vibhoḥ |*”—Wilson’s Vishṇu Pur. p. 53, note.

<sup>57</sup> Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, however, attempts to explain allegorically not only the dalliance of Brahmā with his own daughter, but also the adultery of Indra with Ahalyā.—See the passage quoted from him and translated in Müller’s Anc. Sansk. Lit., pp. 529 f.

among the devotees of the pastoral deity, and to vindicate his morality, by seeking to impart a mystic character to those loose adventures which had been the occasion of scandal to them, though, no doubt, well suited to the taste of his coarser worshippers.

Bhāg. Pur., x. 33, 27 ff.—*Rājā uvācha | saṁsthāpanāya dharmasya  
praśamāyetarasya cha | aratirno hi bhavagān amśena jagadīśvaraḥ |* 28.  
*Sa kathuñ dharma-setūnām vaktā karttā 'bhiraxitā | pratipam ācharad  
brahmaṇ parādārābhīmarśanam |* 29. *Āptakamo Yādu-patiḥ kṛitavān  
vai jugupsitam | kimabhiprāya etañ naḥ saṁśayaṁ chhindhi suvrata |*  
•*Srī-Suka uvācha |* 30. *Dharma-vyatikramo dr̥iṣṭa iśvarānāncha sāha-  
sam | tejīyasām na doṣhāya vahneḥ sarvabhujo yathā |* 31. *Naitat samā-  
charej jātu manasā 'pi hy anīśvaraḥ | rinaśyatī ācharan mauḍhyād  
yathā 'rudro 'bdhijām visham |* 32. *Iśvarānām vachāḥ satyām tathaivācha-  
ritaṁ kvachit | teshām yat sva-vacho yuktam buddhimāns tat samā-  
charet |* 33. *Kuśalācharitenāishām iha svārtho na vidyate | viparyayena  
vā 'nartha nirahaṅkārinām prabho |* 34. *Kimutākhila-sattvānām tiryā-  
marttya-divaukasām | iśitū cheśitavyānām kuśalākuśalānvayaḥ |* 35. *Yat  
pāda-paṅkaja-parāga-nisheva-triptā yoga-prabhāva-vidhutākhila-karma-  
bandhāḥ | svairām charanti munayo 'pi na nāyamānās tasyechhayā 'ttā-  
vapushāḥ kuta eva bandhāḥ |* 36. *Gopinām tat-patiñāncha sarveshām eva  
dehinām | yo 'ntaś charati so 'dhyaxāḥ kridāneneha deha-bhūk |* 37.  
*Anugrahāya bhūtānām mānushām deham āśritaḥ | bhajate tādriśīḥ  
kridāḥ yāḥ śrutiā tat-paro bhavet |* 38. *Nāsūyan khalu Krishnāya  
mohitās tasya māyayā | manyamānāḥ sva-parśvasthān svān svān dārān  
Vrajaukasāḥ |* 39. *Brahma-rāttre upāvṛitte Vāsudevānumoditāḥ | ani-  
ohantyo yayur gopyāḥ sva-gṛihān bhagavat-priyāḥ<sup>58</sup> |*

"The king said : 27. The divine lord of the world became partially incarnate for the establishment of virtue, and the repression of its opposite. 28. How did he, the expounder, author, and guardian of the bulwarks of righteousness, practise its contrary, the 'corruption of other men's wives ? 29. With what object did the lord of the Yadus (Krishna) perpetrate what was blameable? Resolve, devout saint, this our doubt. Suka said: 30. The transgression of virtue, and the daring acts which are witnessed in superior beings, must not be charged as faults to those glorious persons, as no blame is imputed to

<sup>58</sup> This passage is partly quoted in my Mata-parikshā, published in Calcutta in 1852, p. 87; and in Prof. Banerjea's Dialogues, p. 383 f.

fire, which consumes fuel of every description. 31. Let no one other than a superior being ever even in thought practise the same: anyone who, through folly, does so, perishes, like any one not a Rudra [drinking] the poison produced from the ocean.<sup>59</sup> 32. The word of superior beings is true, and so also their conduct is sometimes [correct]: let a wise man observe their command, which is right. 33. These beings, o king, who are beyond the reach of personal feelings, have no interest in good deeds done in this world, nor do they incur any detriment from the contrary. 34. How much less can there be any relation of good or evil between the lord of all beings, brute, mortal, and divine, and the creatures over whom he rules? (i.e. since he is entirely beyond the sphere of virtue and vice, how can any of his actions partake of the nature of either?) 35. Since Munis, who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen from the lotus of his feet, and by the force of abstraction have shaken off all the fetters of works,—since even they are uncontrolled, and act as they please, why should there be any restraint upon him (the Supreme Deity) when he has voluntarily assumed a body? 36. He who moves within the *gopis* (milkmen's wives) and their husbands, and all embodied beings, is their superintendent, who only in sport assumed a body upon earth. 37. Taking a human form out of benevolence to creatures, he practises sports such as that those who hear of them may become devoted to himself. 38. The [male] inhabitants of Vraja harboured no ill-will to Krishna, since, deluded by his illusion, they each imagined that his own wife was by his side. 39. When Brahmā's night had arrived, the *gopis*, beloved and gladdened by Krishna, departed unwillingly to their own homes."

This passage is followed by an assurance on the part of the author of the Purāṇa, that the person who listens with faith to the narrative of Kṛishṇa's sports with the cowherds' wives, or who repeats it to others, shall attain strong devotion to that deity, and shall speedily be freed from love, that disease of the heart.

I quote the remarks of the commentator, Śrīdhara Svāmin, on verses 30 ff. of this passage : 30. *Parameśvare kaimutikā-nyāyena parihartum sāmānyato mahatāṁ vīttam āha 'dharmavyatikrama' iti | saha-saṅcha drishṭam Prajāpatindra-Soma-Viśvāmittradināṁ tachcha teshāṁ*

<sup>59</sup> This refers to the poison drunk by 'Siva at the churning of the ocean. See Rāmāyaṇa i. 45, 26, Ed. Schlegel, and Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, note p. 78.

*tejasvināṁ doshāya na bhavatīti | 31. Tarhi 'yad yad āharati śreshthah'* iti nyāyenānyo 'pi kuryād ity āśaṅkyāha 'naitad' iti | *anśvaro dehādi-parā-tantra yathā Rudra-vyatirikto visham ācharan bhazayan | 32. Ka-thām tarhi sadāchārasya prāmāṇyam ata āha 'iśvarānām' iti | teshām vachāḥ satyam atas tad-uktam āchared eva | ācharitaṁ krachit satyam atah 'sva-vacho yuktam' teshām vachasā yad uktam aviruddham tat tad evācharet | 33. Nanu tarhi te 'pi kim evāṁ sāhasam ācharanti tatrāha 'kusale'ti | prārabdha-karma-xapana-mātram eva-teshām kṛityam na an-yad ity arthaḥ | 34. Prastutam āha 'kimuta' iti | kuśalākuśalānvayo na vidyate iti kim punar raktaryam ity arthaḥ | 35. Etad eva sphuṭi-karoti | yasya pāda-paṅkaja-parāgasya nisheraṇena triptā yadrā yasya pāda-paṅkaja-parāgē nisherā yeshām te tathā te cha te triplāścha iti bhaktā ity arthaḥ | tathā jñāninaś chu na nahyamānā bandhanam aprāp-nuvantah | para-dāratram gopinām angīkṛitya parihritatam | 36. Idānīm bhagavataḥ sarvāntaryāminah para-dāra-sevā nāma na kāchid ity āha 'gopinām' iti | yo 'ntaś charaty adhyaxo buddhy-ādi-sāxī sa eva kṛida-nena dehabhāk na tv asmad-ādi-tulyo yena doshaḥ syād iti | 37. Nanv evāṁ ched āptakāmasya nindite kutaḥ pravrīttir ity āha 'anugrahāya' iti | śringāra-rasākṛiṣṭa-chetuso 'ti-bahir-mukhān api sva-parān karttum iti bhāvah | 38. Nanv anye 'pi bhinnāchārāḥ sva-cheshtitam evam eva iti vadanti tatrāha 'nāśūyann' iti | evambhūtaśvaryyūbhāve tathā kurvantah pāpā jñeyā iti bhāvah |*

"In order to refute' [the charge of immorality] in regard to the Supreme Deity, by the *à fortiori* argument, the author states generally the conduct of great persons in the words 'the transgression,' etc. The 'daring acts witnessed,' etc., i.e. of Prajāpati, Indra, Soma, Viśvāmittra, and others; and it is not to be charged to them as a fault. 31. Having intimated the doubt that according to the reasoning 'whatever an eminent person does,'<sup>60</sup> etc., etc., there is a danger that another person may do the like,—he says 'Let no one do the same,' etc.; 'no one other than a superior being,' i.e. no one who is in subjection to a body, etc.; 'as anyone separate from Rudra using,' swallowing 'poison.' 32. Whence, then, is the authority for pure conduct? He tells us in the words, 'of superior beings,' etc. Their word is true; therefore let their declarations be followed. Their conduct is sometimes true [cor-

<sup>60</sup> This text, from the Bhagavad Gītā, will be quoted below.

rect]: therefore, let 'their correct words,' viz., that, not being contrary [to right], which is declared by their word, be followed. 33. In answer to the question whether these superior beings also thus practise 'daring acts,' he states, in the words 'good deeds,' etc., that they have no other concern whatever than merely to nullify the consequences of their commenced works [so as to prevent these works from interfering with their final liberation]. 34. He arrives at his main subject in the words 'how much less,' etc.: i.e. there is no such relation of good or evil: What more is to be said? 35. He makes this clear. [The first words here mean either] 'they who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen of the lotus of his feet;' or 'they who are worshippers of the pollen of the lotus of his feet, and are also satisfied, i.e. devotees;' further, who are wise men, not bound,—finding no restraint. The fact that the *gopis* were other men's wives is [here] admitted, and obviated. 36. Now he [further] asserts, in the words 'the *gopis*,' that in the case of the divine, all-pervading, Being there is no such thing as an attachment to *other men's* wives [since he pervades, and is one with, everything]. It is 'he who moves within,' the superintendent, the witness of the understanding, etc., who in sport takes a body; but he does not resemble such persons as ourselves, so that he should be in fault. 37. He now, in the words 'out of benevolence,' answers the question why, if the case be so, the Being who has no want unsatisfied should engage in acts which have been censured: the purport is, that he seeks to incline to himself such persons as are attracted by sensual love, and greatly devoted to external things.<sup>61</sup> 38. But do not others of a very different mode of life represent their own conduct as of this very description? In reference to this he says 'they harboured no ill-will,' etc. The drift is, that those who without such divine character act in the same way are to be considered sinners."

The following is the passage referred to by the commentator in his annotation on verse 31. It will be seen that it inculcates a doctrine diametrically opposed to that urged in the earlier part, at least, of the argument by which the author of the Bhāgavata endeavours to justify the adulteries of Krishna, and is perfectly coincident with the tenor of the condemnation which the same author (who is inconsistent with

<sup>61</sup> I find this sense of the word *bahirmukha* in Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary.

himself), had, in an earlier part of his work, pronounced on Brahman by the mouth of his sons (above, p. 40) :

Bhāgavad Gītā, iii. 20 ff.—*Karmanaiva hi saṃsiddham āsthitā Jana-kādayaḥ | loka-saṅgraham evāpi sampaśyan kartum arhasi |* 21. *Yad yad ācharati śreshṭhas tad evelaro janaḥ | sa yat pramāṇaṁ kurute lokas tad anuvarttate |* 22. *Na me Pārthāsti karttavyaṁ trishu lokeshu kiñchana | nānqvāptam avāptavyaṁ vartta eva cha karmani |* 23. *Yadi hy ahaṁ na vartteyaṁ jātu karmany atandritāḥ | mama varttmānu-varttante manushyāḥ Pārtha sarvaśaḥ |* 24. *Utsideyur ime lokā na kuryām karma ched aham | saṅkarasya chā karttā syām upahanyām imāḥ prajāḥ |* 25. *Saktāḥ karmany avidvāṁśo yathā kurvanti Bhārata || kuryād vidvāṁs tathā 'saktāś chikirshur loka-saṅgraham |* 26. *Na buddhi-bhedāṁ janayed ajñānām karma-sanginām | joshayet sarva-kar-māni vidvān yuktaḥ samācharan |*

“ 20. For it was by works that Janaka and other sages attained perfection. You also ought to act, seeking the edification of mankind.”<sup>62</sup> 21. Whatever a person of eminence practises, that the rest of men also [do]. Whatever authoritative example he sets, the people follow. 22. There is nothing in the three worlds, son of Prithā, which I have to do, nor anything unattained which I have to attain; and yet I continue in action. 23. If I were not to continue diligently engaged in works, o son of Prithā, men would follow my course in every respect. 24. These people will be ruined if I do not practise works; and I shall occasion a confusion of castes: I shall destroy these subjects. 25. In the same way as the ignorant, who are attached to works, perform them, so let the wise man perform them without attachment, seeking the edification of mankind. 26. Let not the wise man create a difference of opinion among ignorant persons who are attached to works: let him fulfil all ceremonies with alacrity, while he practises them with abstracted mind.”

I quote here some other interesting legends which I have observed in the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa regarding Prajāpati, the creation of the gods, and the manner in which they acquired immortality, and became

<sup>62</sup> Compare Raghuvanśa iii. 46. . . . *pathaḥ sucher darśayitāra ṛṣvarā malīmasām ādādate na paddhatim |* “Our lords, who point out to us the pure way, do not [themselves] pursue an unclean path.”

superior to the Asuras, or to other deities. The first two tell how Prajāpati himself became immortal.

---

Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 1, 3, 1 (p. 761 ff.)—*Prajāpatih prajā asrijata | sa ūrddhvēbhyā eva prānebhyo devān<sup>63</sup> asrijata ye 'vāñchah prānās tebhyo martyāḥ prajāḥ | athordhvam eva mrityum prajābhyo 'ttaram asrijata |* 2. *Tasya ha Prajāpater ardhām eva martyam āśid ardhām amṛitam | tad yad asya martyam āśit tena mrityor abibhet | sa vibhyad imām prāviśad drayam bhūtvā mṛichcha āpaścha |* 3. *Sa mrityur devān abravit 'kva nu so 'bhūd yō no 'śrīshṭa' iti | 'tvad bibhyad imām prāvixad' iti | so 'bravīd 'taṁ vā anvichhāma taṁ sambharāma na vā ahaṁ taṁ hiñsishyāmi' iti | taṁ devā asyā udhi samabharan | yad asya apsv āśit tāpaḥ samabharann atha yad asyān tām mrīdam | tad ubhayān sambhritya mṛidañcha apaścha iṣṭakām akurvān̄ tasmād etad ubhayam iṣṭakā bhavati mṛichchāpaścha |* 4. *Tad etā vā asya tāḥ pañcha martyāś tanvā āsan loma tvañ māñsam asthi majjā atha etā amṛitā mano vāk prāṇāś chaxuh śrotram | . . . . . 6. Te devā abruvann 'amṛitam imān̄ karavāma' iti | tasya etābhyaṁ amṛitabhyaṁ tanubhyaṁ etam martyām tanūm parigṛihya amṛitām akurvann ityādi | . . . . . 7. . . . . tato vai Prajāpatir amṛito 'bhavat . . . | . . .*

x. 1, 4, 1.—*Ubhayān̄ ha etad agre Prajāpatir āsa martyān̄ chaiva amṛitañcha | tasya prānā evāmṛitā āsuḥ śarīraṁ martyam | sa etena karmanā etayā āvritā ekadhā 'jaram amṛitam ātmānam akuruta |*

“Prajāpati produced creatures. From his upper breaths he created the gods, and from his lower breaths mortal creatures. After the creatures he created Death the devourer. 2. Of this Prajāpati, half was mortal, and half immortal. With that part of him which was mortal, he was afraid of Death. Fearing, he entered this [earth], having become two things, earth and water. 3. Death said to the gods, ‘what

<sup>63</sup> The gods are sometimes mentioned in the Rig-veda (see i. 34, 11; i. 45, 2), as being thirty-three in number. Here is an enumeration of them in the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 5, 7, 2 (p. 401): *Aśhau Vasava ekādaśa Rudrā dūdaśūdityā īme ova dyūvā-prithivī trayastrīmīśau | trayastrīmīśād vai devāḥ Prajāpatiś ohatustrīmīśāḥ |* “There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, and these [two] heaven and earth are the [thirty-second and] thirty-third. There are thirty-three gods, and Prajāpati is the thirty-fourth.”

has become of him who created us?' [They answered], 'fearing you, he has entered this earth.' Death said, 'let us search for, and collect him. I will not kill him.' The gods then collected him on this [earth]. The part of him which was in the waters, they collected those waters, and the part which was in this [earth], they [collected] that earth. Having collected both of these, the earth and the waters, they made a brick. Hence these two things make a brick, viz., earth and water.

4. Then these five parts of him were mortal, hair, skin, flesh, bone, and marrow; and these immortal, mind, voice, breath, eye, ear . . . . .

6. The gods said, 'let us make him immortal.' So [saying], having surrounded this mortal part with these immortal parts, they made it immortal . . . . thence Prajāpati became immortal . . . ."

x. 1, 4, 1.—"Prajāpati was formerly both of these two things, mortal and immortal. His breaths were immortal, and his body mortal. By this rite, by this ceremonial, he made himself uniformly undecaying and immortal."

---

The next extracts tell how the gods acquired immortality.

Satapatha Brähmana, x. 4, 3, 1 ff. (p. 787): *Esha vai mrityur yat  
cāmvatsarah | Esha hi martyānām aho-rātrābhyaṁ āyuh xi<sub>noty</sub> atha  
mrīyante tasmād esha eva mrityuḥ | sa yo ha etam mrityum sañvatsaraṁ  
veda na ha asya esha purā jaraso 'ho-rātrābhyaṁ āyuh xi<sub>noti</sub> sarvaṁ  
ha eva āyur eti |* 2. *Esha evāntakah | esha hi martyānām aho-rātrā-  
bhyaṁ āyusho 'ntām gachhaty<sup>61</sup> atha mrīyante | tasmād esha evāntakah |  
sa yo haitam antakām mrityum sañvatsaraṁ veda na ha asya esha purā  
jaraso 'ho-rātrābhyaṁ āyusho 'ntām gachhati sarvaṁ ha eva āyur eti |*

3. *Te devā etasmād antakād mrityoh sañvatsarāt Prajāpator bibhayāñ-  
chakrur 'yad vai no 'yam aho-rātrābhyaṁ āyusho 'ntām na gachhed' iti |*

4. *Te etān yajñakratūṁs tenire 'gnihotram darśa-pūrṇamāsau chāturmās-  
yāni paśubandham saumyam adhvaram | te etair yajña-kratubhir yaja-  
mānā na amritatvam ānaśire |* 5. *Te ha apy Agnīm chikyire | te 'pari-  
mitā eva pariśrita upadadhur aparimitā yajushmatir aparimitā lokam-  
prīñā yathā idam apy etarhy eke upadadhati iti devā akurvann iti te ha  
naiva amritatvam ānaśire | te 'rchantah śrāmyantaś cherur amritatvam  
avarurutsamānāḥ | tān ha Prajāpatir uvācha 'na vai me sarvāñi rūpāny*

<sup>61</sup> *Gachhati-gamayati* | Comm.

*upadhattha ati vaiva rechayatha na vā 'bhyāpayatha tasmād na amṛitā bhavatha' iti | 7. Te ha uchuh | 'tebhyo vai naś tvam eva tad brūhi ya-thā te sarvāṇī rūpāny upadadhāma' iti | 8. Sa ha uvācha shashṭiṁ cha trīṇi cha śatāni pariśrita upadhatta shashṭiṁ cha trīṇi cha śatāni yajush-matīr adhi shat-trīṁśatam atha lokamprinā daśa cha sahasrāny ashtau cha śatāny upadhatta atha me sarvāṇī rūpāny upadhāsyatha atha amṛitā bhavishyatha' iti | te ha tathā devā upadadhūs tato devā, amṛitā āsuḥ | 9. Sa mṛityur devān abravid 'ittham eva sarve manushyā amṛitā bhavishyanty atha ko mahyam bhāgo bhavishyati' iti | te ha uchur 'na ato 'parah kaśchana saha śarīrena amṛito 'sad yadā eva tvam etam bhāgam harāsai | atha ryāvṛitya śarīrena [śarīram vihāya, Comm.] amṛito 'sad yo 'mṛito 'sad vidyayā vā karmanā vā' iti | yad vai tad abruran 'vidyayā vā karmanā vā' ity eshā haiva sā vidyā yad Agnir etad u haiva tal karma yad Agnih | 10. Te ye evam etad vidur ye vaitat karma kurvate mṛitvā punah sambhavanti | te sambhavanta era amṛitatvam abhi sambhavanti | atha ye evāṁ na vidur ye vaitat karma na kurvate mṛitvā punah sambhavanti te etasyairvannam punah punar bhavanti |*

Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 787.—“It is this year which is death; for it wears away the life of mortals by days and nights, and then they die; wherefore it is it which is death. Whoso knows this death [which is] the year,—it does not wear away his life by days and nights before [the time of] his decay: he lives through his whole life. 2. This [the year] is the ender; for it by days and nights brings on the end of the life of mortals, and then they die: hence it is the ender. Whosoever knows this ender, death, the year, it does not by days and nights bring on the end of his life, before his decay: he lives through his whole life. 3. The gods were afraid of this ender, death, the year [which is] Prajāpati, ‘lest he should by days and nights bring on the end of our life.’ 4. They performed these rites of sacrifice, viz. the *agnihotra*, the *darśa*, and *pūrṇamāsa*, the *chāturmāsyas* (oblations offered at intervals of four months), the *paśubandha*, and the *saumya adhvāra*; but sacrificing with these rites they did not attain immortality. 5. They moreover kindled sacrificial fires; they celebrated *pariśritis*, *yajushmatīs*, *lokam-prinās*, without definite measure, as some now<sup>65</sup> celebrate them. So

<sup>65</sup> This seems to be a polemical hit aimed by the author of the Brāhmaṇa at some contemporaries who followed a different ritual from himself.

did the gods, but they did not attain immortality. They went on worshipping and toiling, seeking to acquire immortality. Prajāpati said to them, 'Ye do not celebrate all my forms; ye carry them to excess [?] and ye do not duly carry them out; hence ye do not become immortal.' 7. They said, 'Tell us how we may celebrate all thy forms.' 8. He said, 'perform 63 hundred *pariśrīts*, 63 hundred and 36 *yajush-matis*, and 10 thousand 8 hundred *lokamprinās*: ye shall then celebrate all my forms, and shall become immortal.' The gods celebrated accordingly, and then they became immortal. 9. Death said to the gods, 'In the same way all men will become immortal, and then what portion shall remain to me?' They said, 'no other person shall henceforward become immortal with his body, when thou shalt seize this portion [the body]: then everyone who is to become immortal through knowledge or work, shall become immortal after parting with his body.' This which they said, 'through knowledge or work,' this is that knowledge which is Agni, that work which is Agni. 10. Those who so know this, or those who perform this work, are born again after death; and being born, they are born for immortality. And those who do not so know, or those who do not perform this work, and are born again after death, become again and again his (death's) food.'

Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. i. 2, 12 (p. 828).—*Martyā ha rā agre devā  
asuh | sa yadaiva te sāmvatsearam āpur atha amritā asuh | sarvān rā  
sāmvarsarāḥ | sarvān rā uxayyam | etena u ha asya uxayyām sukritam  
bhavaty uxayyo lokaḥ |* "The gods were originally mortal."<sup>66</sup> When they obtained the year, they became immortal. The year is all: all is undecaying: by it a man obtains undecaying welfare, an undecaying world."

Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 2, 3, 6 (p. 839).—*Martyā ha rā agre devā  
asuh | sa yadaiva te brahmaṇā "pur (ryāptāh, Comm.) atha amritā asuh |*  
"The gods were originally mortal. When they were pervaded by Brāhma, they became immortal."

From the next passage, as from two others already quoted (p. 47), it appears that Prajāpati himself was not entirely exempt from the power of death. Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 4, 4, 1 (p. 790).—

<sup>66</sup> See Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 2, 8 (p. 146), quoted in Part II. of this work, p. 388, note 36, for another legend on this same subject, in which the gods are said to have become immortal by another means.

*Prajāpatiṁ vai prajāḥ srijamānam pāpmā mrityur abhipari-jaghāna | sa tapo 'tapyata sahasraṁ saṁvatsarān pāpmānaṁ vijihāsann ityādi |*  
 “Sin, death, smote Prajāpati when he was creating living beings.  
 He performed austerity for a thousand years, to get free from Sin.”

---

The following legend describes how the gods became distinguished from, and superior to, the Asuras. Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 5, 1, 12 ff. (p. 741).—*Devāścha Asurāścha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ Prajāpatoh pitur dāyam upeyur vācham eva satyāñrite satyañchaiva anritañcha | te ubhaye eva satyam avadān ubhaye 'nritam | te ha sadriśām vadantah sadriśā orāsuḥ |* 13. *Te devā utsrījyānritaṁ satyam anvālebhire | asurū u ha utsrījya satyam anritaṁ anvālebhire |* 14. *Tad ha idāṁ satyam ixāñchakre yad asureshv āsa ‘devā vā utsrījya anritaṁ satyam anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni’ iti tad devān ājagāma |* 15. *Anritam u ha ixāñchakre yad deveshv āsa ‘asurā vā utsrījya satyam anritaṁ anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni’ iti tad asurān ājagāma |* 16. *Te devāḥ sarvām satyam avadān sarvam asurā anritam | te devā āsakti<sup>67</sup> satyañ vadanta aishāvīratara īva āsur anādhyatarā ira | tasmād u ha etād ya āsakti satyañ vadaty aishāvīratara īvaiva bhavaty anādhyatara ira | sa ha tv evāntato bhavati<sup>68</sup> devā hy evāntato ‘bhurān |* 17. *Atha ha asurā āsakti anritaṁ vadanta ūsha īva pipisur<sup>69</sup> ādhyā irāsuḥ | tasmād u ha etad ya āsakti anritaṁ vadaty ūsha īvaiva pisyatī ādhyā ira bharati parā ha tv evāntato bhavati parā hy asurā abharan | tad yat tat satyañ trayī sū vidyā | te devā abruvan ‘yajñam kṛitvedām satyañ tanavāmahai’ | . . . . . 27. Teshu prete-shu trītya-savanam atanvata | tat samasthāpayan | yat samasthāpayām*

<sup>67</sup> *Āsakti satyam | kavalām satyam | Comm.*

<sup>68</sup> Some such preposition as *abhi* might appear to be wanted here; but Dr. Aufrecht suggests to me that *bhavati* may be taken in a pregnant sense as meaning, “he really exists, continues, or prevails.” Compare the words at the close of the 27th paragraph of this passage.

<sup>69</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me another passage of the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa where the word *pisyati* occurs, and which throws light on the one before us. The passage in question occurs in pp. 71, 72, of the Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 18: *Pesukām vai vāstu pisyati ha prajayā paśubhiḥ yasyaivaṁ vidusho 'nuh-tubhau bhavataḥ |* “His house becomes flourishing, he increases in progeny and cattle,—that man who, when he knows this, has the two *anushtubs*.” The commentator explains the word *pesukam* as equal to *abhivardhana-śilam*, “whose nature is to increase,” and *pisyati* as meaning *ativriddho bhavati*, “he becomes exceedingly augmented.”

*tat sarvāṁ satyam āpnuvaṁś tato 'surā apapupruvire | tato devā abhavan  
parā 'surāḥā | bharaty ātmanā parā 'sya dvishan bhrātrivyo bhavati ya  
evaṁ veda |*

"The gods and Asuras, both descendants of Prajāpati, obtained their father Prajāpati's inheritance, speech, true and false, both truth and falsehood. They both spoke truth, and both [spoke] falsehood. Speaking alike, they were alike. 13. Then the gods, abandoning falsehood, adopted truth ; while the Asuras abandoning truth, adopted falsehood. 14. The truth which had been in the Asuras, perceived this, 'the gods, abandoning falsehood have adopted truth ; let me go thither.' So [saying, truth] came to the gods. 15. Then the falsehood which had been in the gods, perceived, 'the Asuras, abandoning truth have adopted falsehood ; let me go thither.' So [saying, falsehood] came to the Asuras. 16. The gods [then] spoke entirely truth, and the Asuras entirely falsehood. Speaking truth alone (or devotedly) the gods became, as it were, weaker, and, as it were, poorer. Hence it happens that the man who speaks only truth, becomes as it were, weaker and poorer; but in the end he becomes [superior?] for the gods became so in the end. 17. Then the Asuras, speaking only falsehood, increased like saline earth, and became, as it were, rich. Hence it happens that he who speaks only falsehood, increases like saline earth, and becomes, as it were, rich; but is overcome in the end, for the Asuras were overcome. That which is truth is the triple science (the three Vedas). Then the gods said, 'let us, after performing sacrifice, spread truth.'" The gods then performed a variety of sacrifices, which were always interrupted by the arrival of the Asuras. At length, 27. "When these had gone, they instituted the third *savana*, and accomplished it. That which they accomplished, they obtained entirely true. Then the Asuras went away, and these gods became [superior and] the Asuras were worsted. The man who knows this becomes in his own person superior, and his hater, his enemy, is defeated."

The next legend explains how inequality was introduced among the gods. Satapatha Brahmana, 4, 5, 4, 1 (p. 397 f.)—*Sarve ha vai devā agre sadriśā āsuḥ sarve punyāḥ | teshāṁ sarveshāṁ sadriśānāṁ sarveshāṁ punyānāṁ trayo 'kāmayanta 'atishṭhāvānah syāma' ity Agnir Indrah Sūryah | 2. Te 'rchantah śrāmyantaś cheruh | te etān atigrāhyān da-*

driśus tān atyagṛihñata | tad yad enān atyagṛihñata tasmād atigrāhyā  
 nāma | te 'tishṭhāvāno 'bhavan | yathaite etad atishṭhā ira atishṭhā iva  
 ha vai bhavati yasya evāñ vidusha etān grahān grīhnanti | 3. No ha vā  
 idam agrō'gnau varoha āsa yad idam asmin varchaḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam  
 mayi varchaḥ syād' iti | sa etāñ graham apaśyat tam agṛihñita tato  
 'sminn etad varcha āsa | 4. No ha vā idam agre Indre oja āsa yad idam  
 asminn ojāḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayy ojāḥ syād' iti | sa etāñ graham  
 apaśyat tam agṛihñita tato 'sminn etad ojā āsa | 5. No ha rā idam agre  
 sūrye bhrājā āsa yad idam asmin bhrājāḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayi  
 bhrājāḥ syād' iti | sa etāñ graham apaśyat tam agṛihñita tato 'sminn  
 etad bhrājā āsa | etāni ha rai tejāṁsy etāni vīryyyany ātman dhatte yasya  
 evāñ vidusha etān grahān grīhnanti |

"Originally the gods were all alike, all pure. Of them, being all alike, all pure, three desired: 'May we become superior,' viz., Agni, Indra, and Sūrya (the sun). 2. They went on worshipping and toiling. They saw these *atigrāhyas*;<sup>70</sup> they took them over and above. Because they did so, these draughts (or cups) were called *atigrāhyas*. They became superior. As they [obtained?] thus, as it were, superiority, so superiority is, as it were, acquired by the man, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these *grahas* (draughts, or cups). 3. Originally there was not in Agni the same flame, as this flame which is [now] in him. He desired: 'May this flame be in me.' He saw this *graha*, he took it; and hence there became this flame in him. 4. Originally there was not in Indra the same vigour, etc., etc. [as in para. 3.] 5. Originally there was not in Sūrya the same lustre, etc., etc. [the same as in para. 3.] That man has in himself these forces, these energies, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these *grahas*."

<sup>70</sup> By this name are called "three particular *grahas*, or sacrificial vessels, with which libations were made in the Jyotishtoma sacrifice to Agni, Indra, and Sūrya." Prof. Goldstücker's Dict. The word is explained by Bochtlingk and Roth, as meaning "*haustus innoper hauriendus*," a draught to be drunk over and above; the designation of three fillings of the cup, which are drawn at the Soma offering.

## CHAPTER II.

VISHNU, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, THE BRAHMANAS, THE ITIHASAS, AND THE PURANAS.

SECT. I.—*Passages in the Hymns of the Rig-veda relating to Vishnu.*

R. V. i. 22, 16 ff. : 16. (=S. V. 2, 1024) *Ato devā arantu no yato Vishnur vichakrame | prithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ |* 17. (=S. V. i. 222; Vāj. S. 5, 15; A. V. 7, 26, 4.) *Idam Vishnur vichakrame tredhā nidadhe padam | samūlham asyā pāñsure [pāñseule] |* S. V. 18. (=S. V. 2, 1020; Vāj. S. 34, 43; A. V. 7, 26, 5.) *Trīṇi padā vichakrame Vishnur gopā adābhyaḥ | ato dharmāni dhārayan |* 19. (=S. V. 2, 1021; Vāj. S. 6, 4; A. V. 7, 26, 6.) *Vishnoḥ karmāni paśyata yato vratāni paspushe | Indrasya yujyah sakhā |* 20. (=S. V. 2, 1022; Vāj. S. 6, 5; A. V. 7, 26, 7.) *Tad Vishnoḥ paramam padām sadā paśyanti sūrayah | divivi chaxur ātatum |* 21. (=S. V. 2, 1023; Vāj. S. 34, 44.) *Tad vīprāso vipanyavo jāgrivāṁsaḥ samindhate | Vishnor yat paramam padam |*

16. “May the gods preserve us from the place from which Vishnu strode<sup>1</sup> through the seven regions of the earth.”<sup>2</sup> 17. Vishnu strode over this [universe]; in three places he planted his step: [the world,

<sup>1</sup> Mbh. Sānti-Parva, v. 13, 171: *Kramanūch chāpy aham Pārtha Vishnur ity abhisamjñitah |* “And from striding, o son of Pṛithvī, I am called *Vishnu*.”

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the words *prithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ*, the Sāma-veda reads, *prithiviyā adhi sānavaḥ*: “over the surface of the earth.” This verse, as well as the following ones, is rendered by Professor Benfey, in his translation of the Sāma-veda, as well as in his “Orient and Occident,” i. 30. He understands the place from which Vishnu strides to be the sun, referring to verse 20. For the sense given by Sāyana to this and the following verses, see Wilson’s translation of the Rig-veda and notes *in loco*. Compare also Rosen’s Latin version.

or, his step, was] enveloped in his dust.<sup>3</sup> 18. Vishṇu, the unconquerable<sup>4</sup> preserver, strode three steps, bearing from thence fixed observances. 19. Behold the acts of Vishṇu, through which this fitting (or intimate) friend of Indra perceived<sup>5</sup> religious ceremonics. 20. Sages constantly behold that highest position of Vishṇu, like an eye fixed in the sky. 21. Wise men, singing praises, and ever wakeful, light up<sup>6</sup> [by the power of their hymns?] that which is the highest station of Vishṇu."

The 17th verse of this hymn is quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 19;<sup>7</sup> where we have the following explanation of its purport:—

*Yad idam kiñcha tad arikramate Vishṇuh | tridhā nidhatte padam | tredhā-bhārāya prithiryām antarixe divi' iti Śākapūṇih | 'samā-rohane vishṇupade gayaśirasi' ity Aurnavābhāḥ | 'samūḍham asya pāṁsure' | pyāyane 'ntarixe padam na dṛiṣyate | apivā upamārthe syat | samūḍham asya pāṁsule iva padam na dṛiṣyato ityādi |*

"Vishṇu strides over this, whatever exists. He plants his step in a three-fold manner,—i.e. 'for a three-fold existence, on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky,' according to Śākapūṇi; or, 'on the hill where he rises, on the meridian; and on the hill where he sets,' according to Aurnavābha. 'Samūḍham asya pāṁsure,' i.e. his place is not seen in the atmosphere (*pyāyane antarixe*): or the phrase may be

<sup>3</sup> According to Benfey, translation of S. V. p. 223, note, this phrase, the world is veiled in Vishṇu's dust, means, it is subjected to him. In his "Orient and Occident," he explains it thus. "he is so mighty that the dust which his tread raises, fills the whole earth." Can this dust be understood of the dazzling brightness of the sun's rays, surrounding his progress, and obscuring his disk from the view of the observer? The prophet Nahum says, i. 3., "The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet."

<sup>4</sup> *Adābhya* may also mean "who cannot be deceived." The idea of Vishṇu being pre-eminently the preserver of the universe which became current in later times, may possibly have been derived from this verse.

<sup>5</sup> Sāyana gives to the root *spas* the sense of "hindering," or "touching." Benfey, in his S. V., renders *paspas* by "received," and, in the "Orient and Occident," by "firmly fixed." The sense, he says, is this: "Look to the sun, where the terminus lies from which Vishṇu started (verses 16, 21), and in which all the powers which work in Nature have their source." Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 138 f., thinks that the sense of "beholding" is suitable in all the texts where forms of the root *spas* occur in the R. V.

<sup>6</sup> Benfey renders *samindhate* "glorify." The Commentator on the Vaj. S. 31, 44, makes it *dīpayante*=*upāsate*. Roth, under the word, explains "they kindle [Agni?] when Vishṇu is in his highest position."

<sup>7</sup> Formerly cited in part in the Second Part of this work, p. 187.

metaphorical, ‘enveloped in the dust, as it were, his place is not seen,’ etc.

The following is the comment of Durgāchāryya<sup>\*</sup> on this passage of the Nirukta :

*Vishnur Ādityah | Katham iti yata āha ‘tredhā nidadhe padam’ ni-dhatte padāñ nīdhānam padaiḥ | kra tat tāvat | ‘prithivyām antarixe divi’ iti Sākapūñih | pārthiro ‘gnir bhūtrā prithivyāñ yat kiñcid asti tad vikramate tad adhitishṭhati | antarixe raidyutatmanā | divi suryāt-manā | yad uktam ‘tam ā akriñcan tredhā bhuve kam’ (R. V. x. 88, 10) iti | ‘samārohane’ udaya-girār udyan padam ekañ nīdhatte | ‘vishṇupade’ madhyandine ‘nlarixe | ‘gayaśirasy’ astañgirāv ity Aurnavābhā āchāryyo manyate |*

“Vishṇu is the sun [Āditya]. How so? Because [the hymn] says, ‘in three places he planted his step;’ i.e. plants his step, [makes] a planting with his steps. Where, then, is this done? ‘On the earth, in the firmament, and in the sky,’ according to Sākapūñi. Becoming terrestrial fire, he strides over,—abides in, whatever there is, on earth; in the shape of lightning, in the firmament; and in the form of the sun, in the sky. As it is said (in the R. V. x. 88, 10), ‘They made him to become threefold.’ Aurnavabha Achāryya thinks [the meaning is] this, ‘He plants one foot on the ‘samārohana (place of rising), when mounting over the hill of ascension; [another] on the ‘vishṇupada,’ the meridian sky; [a third] on the ‘gayaśiras,’ the hill of setting.”

It thus appears from the statement of Yāska that the two old writers whom he quotes, had proposed two different interpretations of Vishṇu’s steps.

First: Sākapūñi thought that the triple manifestation of the god, in the form of fire on earth, of lightning in the atmosphere, and of the solar light in the sky, was intended in the hymn. This three-fold distribution of divine agency is thus referred to in another interesting passage of the Nirukta, vii. 5 :

*Tiera eva devatā iti Nairuktā Agniḥ prithivi-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā ‘ntarixa-sthānaḥ Sūryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsām mahābhāgyād ekaikasyā api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanty api ‘vā karma-prithaktvād yathā hotādhvaryur brahma udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | api vā prithag eva syuḥ | prithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā ‘bhidhānāni ityadi |*

\* Already quoted in the Second Part of this work, p. 215.

"There are only three deities, according to the Nairuktas (etymologists), Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya, whose place is in the sky. These [deities] each receive many designations, in consequence of their greatness,<sup>9</sup> or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] *hotri*, *adhvaryyu*, *brahman*, and *udgātri* are applied to one and the same person. Or [the gods in question] may all be distinct, for distinct hymns and appellations are addressed to them," etc.<sup>10</sup>

According to Śākapūṇi, therefore, Vishṇu would be the god who is manifested in a three-fold form on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky.

Secondly : Aurṇavābha interprets the passage differently. He understands the three steps of Vishṇu, not of fire, lightning, and solar light, but of the different positions of the sun at his rising, his culmination, and his setting. According to him, therefore, Vishṇu is simply the sun.

Sāyana (see Professor Wilson's translation, p. 53, note) understands this passage as referring to the three steps of Vishṇu in his "Dwarf incarnation," of which I shall supply details further on. The commentator on the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā annotates thus, on 5.15 (= verse 17 of the hymn before us) :

*Vishṇus trivikramāvatāraṁ kṛitvā idam viśram vichakrame vibhajya kramate sma | tad evāha | tredhā padām nidadhe bhumāv ekam padam antarīce dvitīyām divi tritīyam iti kramād Agni-Vāyu-Sūrya-rūpena ity arthaḥ |*

"Vishṇu, becoming incarnate as *Trivikrama* (the god who stepped thrice) strode over,—i.e. stepped by separate strides over,—this whole [universe]. It is this that [the rishi] expresses [in the words] "In three places he planted his step,' i.e., one step on the earth, a second in the atmosphere, and a third in the sky : in the successive forms of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya."

The commentator combines the view that the Dwarf incarnation of

<sup>9</sup> Καὶ Γάια, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μερόφη μία. Eschylus Prom. Vinct. v. 217.

<sup>10</sup> In a previous part of this passage, vii. 4, it is said, *Mahābhāgyād devatāyā eka ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasyātmano'nye devāḥ pratyangānī bhavanti |* "From the greatness of the Deity one Soul is celebrated in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul," etc. Compare Mr. Colebrooke's Essays, i. 26 f.; or p. 12 f. of W. and N.'s Ed.

Vishnu is referred to in the hymn, with the conception that his different steps on the earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky, were taken in the successive characters of Agni, Vayu, and Surya, which is the interpretation of Sākapūṇi, as explained by Durga. There is no trace in the words either of Sākapūṇi, or of Aurnavābha, as handed down by Yāska of any allusion to such a Trivikrama incarnation of Vishnu.

I proceed to quote from the Rig-veda some further texts relative to Vishnu.<sup>11</sup>

R. V. i. 85, 7: *Te avardhanta sra-tavaso mahitranā ā nākaṁ tasthur uru chakrire saduḥ | Vishnur yad ha ārad vrishanam mada-chyutam rayo na siddann adhi bahrishi priye |*

"They (the Maruts) strong in themselves, increased in greatness. They ascended to heaven, and have made [for themselves] a spacious abode. When Vishnu assisted the hero [Indra?] who humbles pride,<sup>12</sup> they sat down like birds on the sacrificial grass which they love."

R. V. i. 90, 5, 9.—*Uta no dhiyo gṛ-agrāḥ Pūshan Vishno eva-yāvah | karta nah svastimataḥ | 9. śāṁ no Mitrah śāṁ Varunah śāṁ no bharatu Aryamā | śāṁ na Indro Brihaspatih śāṁ no Vishnur urukramah |*

5. "Pushan, Vishnu, swift goer, make our prayers to bring us cattle as their principal fruit: make us prosperous. . . . . 9. May Mitra, may Varuna, may Aryaman, may Indra, may Brihaspati, may the wide-striking Vishnu, all grant us prosperity."

I now come to a hymn which, with the exception of the last verse—(where two gods are alluded to)—is devoted exclusively to the celebration of Vishnu's praises.

R. V. 1, 154 (=Vāj. S. 5, 18; A. V. 7, 26, 1).—*Vishnor nu kaṁ vīryāṇi pravochām<sup>13</sup> yaḥ pārthivāni vimame rajānsi | yo askabhāyad uttarāṁ sadhasthaṁ vichakramānas tredhā urugāyah | 2. (=A. V. 7, 26, 2, 3;*

<sup>11</sup> The word occurs in R. V. i. 61, 7, *Mushāyad viṣṇuḥ pachatam ityādi*; but it may there be an epithet of Indra.

<sup>12</sup> Though the commentator *in loco* renders *mada-chyutam* by *madasya harshasyāsektaram*, "dispenser of joy," he interprets it in his note on R. V. i. 51, 2—where it is an epithet of Indra—by *satrūṇāṁ madasya garvasya chyāvayitāram*, "who brings down the pride of his enemies." In R. V. viii. 1, 21, the word *mada-chyut* is again applied to Indra, and in R. V. viii. 85, 5, to his thunderbolt.

<sup>13</sup> The same form of expression occurs in a hymn to Indra (R. V. i. 32, 1), *Indrasya nu vīryāṇi pravocham*, etc. Compare R. V. ii. 15, 1.

Nir. 1, 20) : *Pra tad Vishnuḥ stavate vīryena mṛigo na bhīmaḥ kucharo  
girishṭhāḥ<sup>14</sup> | yasyorushu trishu vikramaneshu adhixiyanti bhuvanāni  
viśvā |* 3. *Pra Vishnave śūsham etu manma girixite urugāyāya<sup>15</sup> vrishne  
yah idāṁ ṛirgham prayataṁ sadhastham eko vimame tribhir it padebhiḥ |*  
4. *Yasya tī pūrnā madhunā padāni axīyamānā svadhayā madanti | ya u  
tridhātu prithivīm uta dyām eko dādhāra bhuvanāni viśvā |* 5. *Tad asya  
priyam abhi pātho aśyām naro yatra devayavo madanti | urukramasya sa  
hi bandhur itthā Vishnoḥ pade parame madhva utsah |* 6. (Vāj. S. 6, 3 ;  
Nir. 2, 7) : *Tā rāmā rāstūni uśmasi gamadhyai yatra gāvo bhūri-śringā  
ayāsaḥ | atrāha tad urugāyasya vrishnāḥ paramam padam ava bhāti  
bhūri |*

“I declare the valorous deeds of Vishnu, who measured the mundane regions, who established the upper world, striding thrice, the wide-stepping. 2. Therefore is Vishnu celebrated for his prowess, terrible like a wild beast, destructive, abiding in the mountains [or, clouds, if this be an epithet of the god]; he within whose three vast paces all the worlds abide. 3. Let the hymn proceed [as a source of] strength to Vishnu, the dweller ‘in the aerial mountains, the wide-stepping, the vigorous, who alone measured with three steps this wide, stable firmament;—4. Whose three stations, replenished with honey, imperishable, gladden us spontaneously; who alone sustained the triple universe, the earth, and the sky, [yea] all the worlds. 5. May I attain to that beloved heaven of his, where men devoted to the gods rejoice; for (such a friend is he) there is a spring of honey in the highest abode of the wide-stepping Vishnu. 6. We desire to attain to those abodes of you two, where the many-horned and swiftly-moving cows abide. Here

<sup>14</sup> On this verse the Nirukta remarks: “*Kuchara*” iti charati karma kutsitam | atha ched devatābhīdhanām kva ayañ na charati iti | *girishṭhā* *giristhāyi* *giriḥ par-*  
*vataḥ* . . . . *tat-prakṛiti itarat sandhi-sāmānyād megha-sthāyī megho’pi girir etus-*  
*mūḍ eva |* “‘*Kuchara*’ is one who does (*charati*) a blameable action. If the word be a designation of the god, it will mean ‘where does he not go?’ ‘*Girishṭhāḥ*’ means ‘abiding in the mountains;’ for *giri* means ‘mountain.’” . . . . The author then gives various etymologies of the word *parvata*, “mountain,” one of which is that it is derived from *parvan*, “a joint;” and then proceeds: “From this sense is derived another (owing to the idea of joint being common to both), viz., that of ‘abiding in the clouds,’ for a cloud also is called *giri* for the same reason.” See Roth’s Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 17. The same comparison *mṛigo na bhīmaḥ kucharo gi-*  
*rishṭhāḥ* is applied to Indra in R. V. x. 180, 2 (=S. V. ii. 1223, and A. V. 7, 84, 3).

<sup>15</sup> *Urugāyasya = prithu-gamanasya adhikastuter vā*.—Sāyana on R. V. iii. 6, 4.  
*Urugāyasya = mahāgateh*.—Nir. ii. 7.

that supreme abode of the wide-stepping, vigorous [god] shines intensely forth."

I shall quote a portion of the explanation Sāyana gives of the words, *pārthivāni rajāñsi*, in the first verse of the preceding hymn : *Yo Vishnuḥ pārthivāni prithivī-sambandhīni rajāñsi rañjanātmakāni xity-ādi-loka-trayābhimānīny Agni-Vāyu-Āditya-rūpāñi rajāñsi vimame viśeṣheṇa nirmame | atra trayo lokā api prithivī-śabda-vāchyāḥ | tathā cha mantrāntaram* (R. V. i. 108, 9), ‘*yad Indrāgnī avamaszām prithivyām madhyamasyām paramasyām uta stha’ iti | Taittirīye’pi ‘yo’ syām prithivyām asy āyushā’ ity upakramya ‘yo dvitīyasyām tritīyasyām prithivyām’ iti | tasmāl lokatrayasya prīvithī-śabda-vāchyatram | . . . . yadvā yo Vishnuḥ pārthivāni prithivī-sambandhīni rajāñsi adhastana-sapta-lokān vimame | . . . . rajah-śabdo loka-vāchi ‘loka rajāñsy uchyante’ iti Yāskena oktatkavāt | . . . . athavā pārthivāni prithivī-nimittakāni rajāñsi lokān vimame | bhūr-ādi-loku-trayam ity arthaḥ | bhūmyām upārjita-karma-bhōgarthavād itara-lokānām tat-kāraṇatram |*

“[The meaning is], Vishnu who formed,—especially constructed,—the terrestrial [regions]; i.e., those connected with *prithivī* (the earth),—the regions (*rajāñsi*),—the things whose nature is to delight (*rañjanātmakāni*),—represented by the three worlds, the earth, etc., and existing in the form of Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya. Here all the three worlds are intended to be designated by the term *prithivī*. Thus another hymn [R. V. i. 108, 9, says] : ‘Whether, Indra and Agni, ye are in the lowest earth (*prithivī*), in the middle [earth], or in the highest,’ etc. In the Taittirīya also, [we have the words beginning with] ‘thou who art on this earth,’ etc., etc.; [and proceeding] ‘who in the second, or third earth,’ etc., etc. Hence the three worlds are intended to be signified by the word *prithivī*. . . . Or, [the meaning may be], the Vishnu who formed the terrestrial [regions], the regions connected with the earth, the seven worlds beneath the earth. The term *rajas* denotes a world, since Yāska says ‘worlds are called *rajāñsi*.’ . . . . Or [the sense may be], he made the terrestrial regions, the worlds caused by the earth, i.e. the three worlds, the earth, and the others. For as the other worlds are meant to be enjoyed as the rewards of merit acquired on earth, the latter is the cause of the former.”

The following is the passage of the Nirukta, iv. 19, referred to by Sāyana, which gives the meanings of *rajas*: *Rajo rajateḥ | jyotiḥ raja*

*uchyate | udakaṁ raja uchyate | lokā rajāṁsy uchyante | asrig<sup>16</sup>-ahani  
rajasī uchyete | 'rajāṁsi chitrā vicharanti tanyava' ity api nigamo  
bharati |*

"*Rajas*" is derived from the root *raj*. Light is called *rajas*. Water is called *rajas*. The worlds are called *rajāṁsi*. Blood (?), and day and night are called *rajasī*. There is also a text (R. V. v. 63, 5), "Brilliant and resounding [the Maruts] sweep over the worlds."—See also Nir. x. 44, and xii.<sup>17</sup> 23, and R. V. i. 90, 7.

In R. V. i. 164, 6, mention is made of six worlds (*rajāṁsi*): *vi yas  
tastamba shal imā rajāṁsi*, "who established these six worlds."

The verb *vimame* cannot, I think, have the meaning, which the commentator assigns to it, of "constructing." It occurs, not only in verse 1, of the hymn before us, but in verse 3 also, where it must have the sense of "measuring," or "traversing," as it could not fitly be said of Vishṇu that he constructed the firmament *with three steps*. The phrase *rajaso vimānah*, "measurer of the world," occurs in R. V. x. 121, 5 (above p. 14), and in R. V. x. 139, 5, quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 158. In R. V. i. 50, 7, the participle *mimānah* seems to have the same sense: *vi dyām eshi rajas prithv ahā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan  
janmāni sūrya |* "Sun, thou traversest the sky, measuring the broad space (*rajas*), and the days, with thy rays,<sup>18</sup> beholding created things."

The phrase *rajaso vimānah* occurs also in R. V. iii. 26, 7 (=Vāj. S. 18, 66), where Agni says of himself that he is *arkas tridhātū rajaso  
vimānah*<sup>19</sup> | "the threefold light, the measurer of the world," which the commentator explains thus: *tredhā ātmānam vibhajya tatra Vāy-  
ātmanā rajaso 'ntarixasya vimāno vimāta 'dhishṭhāta 'smi |* "Triply dividing myself, I am, in the character of Vāyu, he who abides in the atmosphere."

Compare, with the phrase before us, Habakkuk iii. 6: "He stood and measured the earth," etc.

I shall adduce one other passage (R. V. v. 81, 3 = Vāj. S. 11, 6), in which the same phrase occurs, where this function of measuring the

<sup>16</sup> Roth conjectures that the word *asrig* here is spurious.—Illust. of Nir., p. 46.

<sup>17</sup> The word *aktubhiḥ* is rendered "nights" by Yāskā in his explanation of this passage, Nir. xii. 23, and by the commentator; but the latter explains the same word by *raśmibhiḥ*, "rays," in his annotation on R. V. i. 94, 5.

<sup>18</sup> This verse is explained in a spiritual sense in Nirukta Parīśiṣṭā ii. 1.

world is ascribed to Savitri (the sun): *Yasya prayānam anv anye id yayur devā devasya mahimānam ojasā | yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa etaśo rajāṁsi devaḥ Savitā mahitrānā |* “He who measured out the terrestrial regions by his power, this god Savitri is a steed, whose course, and [whose display of] might, the other gods have followed with vigour.”

This text is quoted and commented on in the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 3, 1, 18 (p. 520). ‘*Yasya prayānam anv anye id yayur’ iti | Prājāpatir vā etad agre karmākarot | tut tato devā akurvan ‘derā devasya mahimānam ojasā’ iti | yajño rai mahimā | derā devasya yajñām viryyam ojasā ity etad | ‘yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa ebaśah’ iti | yad rai kiñcha asyām tut pārthivān tad esha sarvām vimimite | ruśmibhir hy enad abhyavatanoti | ‘rajāṁsi derāḥ Savitā mahitrānā’ iti | ime rai lokā rajāṁsy asāv Ādityo devaḥ Savitā | tān esha mahimnā vimimite |* “‘Whose course the other gods have followed.’ Prajāpati formerly performed this rite. The gods afterwards did it, [according to the words] ‘the gods [followed] his [display of] power with vigour.’ Power means sacrifice. This, [then, is said, that] the gods [followed] the sacrifice, the energy, of the god with vigour. ‘He who measured out the terrestrial [regions] is a steed.’ Whatever is on this [earth] is terrestrial. All this he measures out: for he stretches over [all] this with his rays. ‘The god Savitri [measured out] the regions by his power.’ These worlds are the regions: that Āditya (sun) is the god Savitri. He measures them out by his power.”

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa introduces the words *pārthivāni vimame rajāṁsi*, with a part of R. V. vii. 99, 2, at the close of its account of the Dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu, assigning to them, however, a different meaning from that which they have in the hymn,—Bhāg. Pur. viii. 23, 29: *Pāram mahimna uru-vikramato grināno yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa rajāṁsi marttyah | kiṁ jāyamāna uta jāta upaiti marttya ity āha mantra-drīg rishiḥ purushasya yasya |* “The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of this wide-striding (Vishṇu’s) greatness, computes the [particles of the] dust of the earth. Can the mortal who is being born, or has been born, attain to it? Thus speaks the rishi who saw a hymn regarding Purusha.”

This verse is explained by the commentator thus: *Uru bahu vikramato Vishnor mahimnah pāraṁ yo grināno bhavati sa marttyah pārthivāni rajāṁsy api vimame ganitavān | yathā pārthiva-paramānu-gana-*

nam aśakyañ tathā *Vishṇor guna-ganānam aśakyañ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha mantrō 'Vishṇor nu kañ rīryāñi' iti | etad era mantrāntarārthām sūchayann āha yasya puruṣhasya pūrṇa-mahimnāḥ pāram mantra-dṛṣṭi yishir Vaśiṣṭha ity evam āha | katham | kiñ jāyamāno jāto vā upaiti na ko'pi iti radānu unāntalrena erāha ity arthaḥ | tathā cha mantrō 'na te Vishṇo jāyamāno na jāto dera mahimnāḥ param antam āpa' iti |*

"The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of the greatness of the wide-striding Vishṇu, has computed also the particles of the dust of the earth. The meaning is, as the computation of the atoms of the earth is impossible, so also the enumeration of Vishṇu's qualities is impossible. Thus a hymn (R. V. 1, 154) says : *I declare the valorous deeds of Vishṇu*, etc. Alluding to the sense of another hymn, he says the same thing in these words : 'regarding the utmost limit of the full greatness of which Purusha, Vaśiṣṭha, the seer of a hymn, thus speaks : How? 'Can any man being born, or already born, attain it?' No one. By this expression he intimates its infinitude. Thus the hymn says : *No one who is being born, or has been born, has attained, o divine Vishṇu, to the furthest limit of thy greatness.*"

The sixth verse of the hymn before us is thus commented on in the Nirukta, ii. 6, 7 : *Sarce 'pi raśmayo gāra uhyante | . . . tāni vāṁ rāstūni kāmayāmahe gamāvāya yatra gāro bhūri-śringāḥ . . . ayāso 'yanāḥ | tatra tad urugāyasya Vishṇor mahāgateḥ paramam padam parārdhyastham arabhāti bhūri |* "All rays are called *gārah*." Then, after quoting the verse, the author proceeds to explain it : "We desire to attain to these regions of you two, where are the many-horned cows, . . . the moving. There the highest abode, situated in the loftiest place, of that wide-stepping, large-pacing, Vishṇu shines forth brightly."

The verse is rendered thus, by Roth (Illustrations of Nir., p. 19) : "May we arrive at your abodes, where the many-horned, moving, cattle are; for thence shines brilliantly down the highest place of the far-striding Showerer." Roth then proceeds to remark : "This verse occurs in a hymn to Vishṇu; consequently the dual *vām* ("of you two"), cannot refer to the deity of the hymn. Durga meets the difficulty, as the commentators frequently do with inconvenient duals, by saying *vām iti dampati abhipretya*, etc. "*vām* refers to the sacrificer and his wife." But here we have rather a proof of the fact that, in the arrangement of the Veda, many verses have been inserted in wrong

places. The verse is addressed to Mitra and Varuna; and, perhaps, belonged to one of the hymns to those two gods which immediately precede this in the Sanhitā. The verse has been introduced into the wrong place because Vishṇu is named in it. Compare verse 3. The inconvenient reading has been already altered in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (6, 3), which, instead of *tā vāṁ rāstūny uśmasi gamadhyai*, “we desire to go to these abodes of you two,” etc., reads, *yā te dhāmāny uśmasi*, etc., “to which realms of thine we desire,” etc., etc.

In the next hymn Indra and Vishṇu are jointly extolled :

R. V. i. 155.—*Pra vah pāntam<sup>19</sup> andhass dhiyāyate maha śurāya Vishnave oha archata | yā sānumi parvatānām adābhya mahas tasthatur arvateva sādhunā | 2. Tresham itthā samaraṇam<sup>20</sup> śimivator Indrā- Vishnū suta-pā vām urushyati | yā martyāya pratidhīyamānam it kri- śānor astur asanām urushyathah | 3. Tū īm vardhanti mahi asya paum- syam ni mātarā nayati retaso bhuje | dadhāti putro avaram param pitur nāma tritiyam adhi rochane dirah | 4. Tat tad id asya paumṣyañ gri- nīmasi inasya trātūr avṛikasya mīlhushah | yaḥ pārthivāni tribhir id rigāmabbhir uru kramishorugāyāya' jīvase | 5. Dve id asya kramane svardriśo abhikkhyāya martyo bhuranyati | tritiyam asya nakir ā da- dharshati vayaś chana patayantaḥ patatrināḥ | 6. Chaturbhiḥ sākāñ navatiñcha nāmabhis chakram na vrittam ryātīnr avīvipat | brihachchha- ritro vivimāna rikvabhir yuvā 'kumārah prati eti āharam |*

“Sing praises to the great hero (Indra), who desires the draught of your soma, and to Vishṇu, who both stood, great and invincible, on the summit of the [aerial] mountains, as if [mounted] on an excellent steed. 2. Indra and Vishṇu, the drinker of the libation escapes the assault, so fierce, of you two who are energetic,—who avert from the [pious] mortal that which is aimed at him,—the bolt of the archer Kriśānu. 3. These [libations] augment his (Vishṇu’s) virility; he conducts the parents (heaven and earth) to receive the fertilizing seed; the son has the inferior name; the superior belongs to the father; the third is above the light of heaven. 4. We celebrate this virility of him, the strong, the deliverer, the uninjuring, the fecundator, who with three steps traversed<sup>21</sup> far and wide the ‘mundane regions, for the sake

<sup>19</sup> *Pāntam*=*pānīyam*.—Nir. vii. 25.

<sup>20</sup> *Samaraṇam* s. = *sangrāma-nāma*.—Nigh. 2, 17.

<sup>21</sup> Compare R. V. i. 22, 17, 18 (above, p. 54, f.), and R. V. i. 154, 1, 3 (p. 58, f.)

of [granting us] a prolonged (*lit.* wide-stepping) existence.<sup>22</sup> 5. A mortal, contemplating, can approach two of the steps of this heavenly [deity]; but no one dare attempt his third step, not even the soaring, winged birds. 6. He has set in motion, like a rolling wheel, the revolutions of time (?), with their four times (?) ninety names (days?). Conceived by his encomiasts to be vast in body, the youthful, full-grown [deity], advances to the combat."

R. V. 1, 156.—*Bhavāmitro na śeyo gṛītāsutir vibhūta-dyumna evayā u saprathāḥ | adhā te Viṣṇo ridushā chid ardhyaḥ stomo yajñāścha rādhyo havishmatā | 2. Yaḥ pūrryāya vedhase navīyasse sumajjānaye Viṣṇave dadāśati | yo jātam asya mahato mahi brarat sa id u śravobhir yuṣyaṁ chid abhi asat | 3. Tam u stotāraḥ pūrryaṁ yathā vīda ritasya garbhāṁ janushā piparttana | ā asya jānanto nāma chid vivaktana mahas te Viṣṇo sumatim bhajāmahe | 4. Tam asya rājā Varuṇas tam Aśvinā kratuṁ sachanta mārutasya vedhasaḥ | dādhāra daxam uttamam ahar-vidam vrajam cha Viṣṇur sakhirān aporṇute | 5. Ā yo vivāya sacha-thāya dairya Indrāya Viṣṇuh sukrite sukrīttarāḥ | vedhā ajinvat tri-shadhaṣṭha āryyam ritasya bhāgē yajamānām ā bhajat |*

"Be to us beneficent like a friend [or like Mitra], worshipped with butter, greatly renowned, swiftly-moving, broadly diffused. Truly, Viṣṇu, thy praise is to be celebrated by the sage, and sacrifice is to be performed to thee by the worshipper. 2. He who worships Viṣṇu, the ancient, the disposer, the recent, the [god] with the noble spouse,<sup>23</sup>—he who extols the birth [or offspring] of this mighty Being, shall excel his rival<sup>24</sup> in [renown]. 3. Encomiasts, strive to the

<sup>22</sup> Compare R. V. vi. 69, 5 (p. 71, below).

<sup>23</sup> Sāyāna gives two explanations of the word *sumaj-jāni*. The first makes it *svayam evotpānnāya*, "born by his own power" (in proof of which sense he quotes Nir. vi. 22: *Sunat svayam ity arthaḥ* | "sunat means *svayam*, self.") The second meaning is thus stated: *Sutārām mādayati iti sunat | tadriśī jāyā yasya sa . . . . | tasmai sarva-jagan-mādāna-sīla-Srī-pataye* | "su-mat means 'greatly gladdening.' *Sumaj-jāni* then signifies 'one who has such a wife.' The phrase will thus mean, 'to the lord of Srī, whose nature it is to gladden the world.'" Dr. Aufrecht thinks that *jāni* has always the sense of wife, and supposes the wife here alluded to to be the world. Prof. Roth, Illust. of Nir., p. 90, supposes *sunat* to be derived from *su*, and to mean "easily," "gladly."

<sup>24</sup> Compare the words *yujyo vā sakha vā* in R. V. ii. 28, 10, where *yujya* is explained by Sāyāna as = *yojana-samarthaḥ pitrādir vā*; and R. V. i. 22, 19, where the same word *yujya* is said to be equivalent to *anukūla*, "friendly." Compare also *ayuja* in R. V. viii. 51, 2.

utmost of your skill to please him who, by his nature, is the primeval source of sacred rites. Knowing his name (renown?), declare, 'Vishnu, we seek the good will of thee, the mighty one.' 4. King Varuna and the Asvins wait on the decree of this ruler attended by the Maruts. Vishnu possesses excellent wisdom, which knows the proper day;<sup>25</sup> and with his friend, opens up the cloud. 5. The divine Vishnu, who has chosen companionship with the beneficent Indra, [himself] more beneficent,—this wise [god], occupying three stations, has gratified the Aryya, and renders the worshipper a sharer in the sacred ceremony."

R. V. i. 164, 36 (A. V. 9, 10, 17; Nir. Par. ii. 21).—*Sapta ardha-garbhā bhuranasya reto Vishnos tishṭhanti pradiṣā vidharmaṇi | te dhītibhir manasā te rīpaśchituh paribhurah pari bharanti riśrataḥ |* "Seven half-children (?), the prolific sources of the world, abide by the command of Vishnu in the function of supporting [the universe]. They by thought, and by mind, they intelligent, circling, revolve in every direction."

I do not attempt any explanation of this obscure and mystical utterance. Compare, however, R. V. ix. 86, 29, which will be quoted below, and in which the same words *pradiṣ* and *vidharman* occur.

R. V. i. 186, 10.—*Pro Aśrināv arase kṛiṇudheum pra Pūsharaṇaṁ svatavaso hi santi | advesho Vishnur Vātāḥ Ṛibhuxāḥ ačhā sumnāya vavrītiya devān |* "Dispose the Asvins, dispose Pūshan, to succour us, for they have power in themselves. Vishnu is free from malice, and so is Vāta (Vāyu) and Ṛibhuxan. May I incline the gods to be favourable to us."

R. V. ii. 1, 3.—*Tram Agne Indro vrishabhal satām asi trañ Vishṇur urugāyo namasyah | tvaṁ brahmā rayirid brahmanaspate trañ vidharttaḥ sachase purandhyā |* "Thou, Agni, art Indra, bountiful to the excellent; thou art Vishnu, the wide-stepping, the adorable; thou, Brahmanaspati, art a priest, acquainted with wealth; thou, sustainer, art associated with Purandhi (Devotion).

R. V. ii. 22, 1 (S. V. i. 457).—*Trikadrukeshu mahisho yavāśiraṁ tuviśushmas tripat somam apibad Vishṇunā gutaṁ yathā 'vaśat | sa īm māmāda māhi karma karttave mahām uruṁ sa enām saśchud devo devām satyam Indraṁ satya Induḥ |* "The great [Indra] of mighty force,

<sup>25</sup> See the interpretation of the word *ahariś* given by Sāyaṇa on R. V. i. 2, 2.

delighted, has drunk with Vishṇu the soma, mixed with barley-meal, poured forth at the *Trikadruka* festival, as much as he desired. He [Soma] has stimulated the great and vast [god, Indra,] to achieve mighty acts. He, the god, the true Indu (Soma), has attended him, the god, the true Indra."

R. V. iii. 6, 4.—*Mahān sadhasthe dhrura ā nishatto antar dyārā māhine haryamānah | āskre sapatnī ajare amṛakte sabardugha urugāyasya<sup>26</sup> dhēnū |* "The great [god, Agni,] firm, seated in his abode, aspires to [the space] between the mighty heaven and earth,—the two cows, joint-wives of the wide-stepping [god], aggressive,<sup>27</sup> undecaying, inviolable, dispensers of water."

R. V. iii. 54, 14.—*Vishṇunū stomaśah puru-dasmam arkā bhagasyeva kāriṇo yāmani gman | urukramah kakuhō yasya pūrtir na mardhanti yuvatayo janitrīḥ |* "Our hymns and praises have proceeded to Vishṇu, the worker of many wonders, like bards proceeding in the train of victory. He is the wide-stepping, the exalted, whose primeval, creative wives are indefatigable."

R. V. iii. 55, 10.—*Vishṇur gopāḥ<sup>28</sup> paramam pāti pāthah priyā dhāmāni amṛitā dadhānah | Agnīsh tā riśrā bhūrānāni veda mahād devānām asuratvam ekam |* "Vishṇu, a protector, preserves the highest heaven, sustaining the dear,<sup>29</sup> undecaying regions. Agni knows all these worlds: great and incomparable is the divine nature of the gods."

R. V. iv. 2, 4.—*Aryamanā Varunā Mitram eshām Iḍrā-Vishṇu Maruto Aśvinā uta | su-aśvo Agne su-rathah su-rādhāḥ ā id u raha su-havishe janāya |* "Agni, [do thou, who hast] beautiful steeds, a beautiful car, and great power, bring to the pious worshipper from among these [gods], Aryaman, Varuna, Mitra, Indra and Vishṇu, the Maruts, and the Aśvins."

R. V. iv. 3, 7.—*Kathā mahe pushṭim-bharāya Pūṣṇe kad Rudrāya su-makhāya havir-de | kad Vishṇave uru-gāyāya reto<sup>30</sup> bravuh kad Agne*

<sup>26</sup> *Prithugamanasya adhika-stuter vñ*; Sāyana, who names Agni as the god; though he makes heaven and earth to be the wives of the sun.

<sup>27</sup> Or, "united," according to Prof. Roth.

<sup>28</sup> Compare R. V. i. 22, 18. The word Vishṇu is here regarded by the commentator as an epithet of Agni, and rendered by "pervading."

<sup>29</sup> Or, "vast." The commentator renders the word *priya* by *aparimita*, "unmeasured," in his note on R. V. iii. 32, 7.

<sup>30</sup> Dr. Aufrecht suggests that the original reading here may have been *repas=āgas*,

*Sarave brihatyai* | “Why, Agni, [shouldst thou declare our sin] to the great supplier of nourishment, Pūshan? why to Rudra, the adored, the giver of oblations? why shouldst thou declare our sin to the wide-stepping Vishṇu? why to the great Saru (Nirṛiti?).”

R. V. iv. 18, 11.—*Uta mātā mahisham anvarenad amī tvā jahati putra devāḥ* | *Atha abravid Vṛittram Indro hanishyan sakhe Vishṇo vitaram vikramasva* | “And his mother asked the mighty [Indra], ‘My son, do those gods forsake thee?’ Then Indra, being about to slay Vṛittra, said, ‘Friend Vishṇu, do thou stride vastly.’”

The last words of this verse form the commencement of the 12th verse of the 89th hymn of the 8th Mandala, which I shall introduce here.

R. V. viii. 89, 12.—*Sakhe Vishṇo vitaram vikramasva dyaur dehi lokāñ rajrāya vishkubhe* | *hanāra Vṛittram riṇachāra sindhūn Indrasya yantu prasave visṛiṣṭāḥ* | “‘Friend Vishṇu, stride vastly;’ sky, give room for the thunderbolt to strike; let us slay Vṛittra, and let loose the waters; let them, when released, flow in the path [opened out by?] Indra.”

R. V. iv. 55, 4.—*Vi Aryamā Varuṇaś cheti panthām ihas-patiḥ su-vitaṁ gātum Agniḥ* | *Indrā-Vishṇū nrī-rād u shu starānā śarma no yan-tam amavād varūtham* | “Aryaman and Varuṇa point out our path; so too Agni, the lord of strength, [shews us] a prosperous road. Indra and Vishṇu, when they are lauded, according to human ability, bestow on us prosperity and strong protection.”

R. V. v. 3, 1–3.—*Tram Agne Varuno jāyase yat tvam Mitro bharasi yat samiddah* | *tve viśe sahasas-putra devās tram Indro dāśushe mar-yāya* | 2. *Tvam Aryamā bharasi yat kanīnām nāma sradhāvan guhyam bibharshi* | *añjanti mitraṁ sudhitām na gobhir yad dampatī samanasā kriṇoshi* | 3. *Tava śriye Maruto marjayanta<sup>31</sup> Rudra yat te janima chāru chitram* | *padaṁ yad Vishnor upamañ nidhāyi tena pāsi guhyām nāma gonām* |

“Thou, Agni [art] Varuṇa, when thou art born; thou art Mitra when thou art kindled: son of strength, in thee [reside] all the gods;

“sin.” But as the text stands he would connect *retas* with *śarave*, so as to give the sense, “our sin (understood), which is the occasion for the great arrow of destruction.”

<sup>31</sup> Compare R. V. vii. 3, 5.

thou art Indra to the man who sacrifices. 2. Thou art Aryaman when thou, self-controled, possessest the secret name of the maidens. Men anoint thee, like a benevolent friend, with milk, when thou makest husband and wife of one mind. 3. For thy glory, Rudra, [or, terrible Agni], the Maruts prepare that beautiful and wondrous birth of thine.<sup>32</sup> Through that which has been fixed as the highest abode of Vishṇu, thou possessest the mysterious name of the cows (stars, or rays.)

R. V. v. 46, 2-4 (= Vāj. S. 33, 48, 49).—*Agne Indra Varuṇa Mitra devāḥ śardhaḥ pra yanta Maruta uta Viṣhṇo | ubhā Nāsatyā Rudro adha gnāḥ Pūshā Bhagaḥ Sarasvatī jushanta |* 3. *Indragnī Mitrā-Varuṇā Adilīm svāḥ pṛithivīm dyām Marutāḥ parvatān apāḥ | hure Viṣhṇum Pūshaṇam Brahmanaspatim Bhagam nu Saṁsaṁ Savitāram ītaye |* 4. *Uta no Viṣhṇur uta Vāto asridho drarinodāḥ uta Soma mayas karat | uta Rībharāḥ uta rāye no Aśrinā uta Trasiṭā uta Vibhāvā anu mañṣate |*

2. “Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra, ye gods, give us strength, and ye host of Maruts and Vishṇu. May both the Aświns, Rudra, and the wives of the deities, with Pūshan, Bhaga, and Sarasvatī, be pleased with us. 3. I invoke, for our protection, Indra and Agni, Mitra and Varuṇa, Aditi, heaven, earth, sky, the Maruts, the mountains, the waters, Vishṇu, Pūshan, Brahmanaspati, Bhaga, Saṁsa, and Savitṛi. 4. And may Vishṇu, and the Wind, uninjuring, and Soma, the bestower of riches, give us happiness. And may the Rībhus, Aświns, Tvaṣṭri, and Vibhvan be favourable to us, so as to [grant us] wealth.”

R. V. v. 51, 9.—*Sajār Mitrā-Varuṇābhyaṁ sajūḥ somena Viṣhṇunā | ā yāhi Agne Atri-rat sute rāga |* “Associated with Mitra and Varuṇa, associated with Soma and Vishṇu, come Agni, and rejoice in our libation, as [in that of] Atri.”

R. V. v. 87, 1 (S. V. i. 462).—*Pra ro māhe matayo yantu Viṣhṇare Marutvate girijā evayāmarut | pra śardhāya prayajyare sukhādaye tarave bhandad-ishṭaye dhuni-vratāya śavase | . . . . 4. Sa chakramo māhato nir uru-kramāḥ samānasmāt sadasa evayāmarut | yadā ayukta tmanā svād adhi shubhīr viṣhpardhaso rimahaso jigāti śevridho nṛibhil | . . . . 8. Adresho no Maruto gātum ā ituna śrotā haraṁ jaritur evaya-*

<sup>32</sup> This refers, as Dr. Aufrecht suggests, to the production of lightning in the air at the time of a storm.

*marut | Vishnor mahaḥ samanyaro yuyotana smad rathyo na daṁsanā  
apa dveshaṁsi sanutah |*

“May your hill-born (or, voice-born), hymns proceed to the great Vishṇu, attended by the Maruts, o Evayāmarut, (swiftly-moving Marut?); and to the troop of Maruts, adorable, wearing beautiful rings, strong, worshipped by praise, to that power which delights in storm.<sup>33</sup> . . . 4. The wide-striding [god] strode forth from the great common abode, o Evayāmarut; when by himself he has yoked his emulous and vigorous [steeds], he issues from his own [abode] with his swift heroes, augmenting our felicity. . . . 8. Maruts, come without malice to our song, hear the invocation of your worshipper, Evayāmarut; of the same mind with the great Vishṇu, like men riding in chariots, drive our enemies away far from us by your might.”

The difficult hymn from which these verses are taken is quoted and translated in Prof. Benfey’s Glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 39 f.

R. V. vi. 17, 11.—*Vardhān yañ viśre Marutah sajoshāḥ pachat śatam  
mahishān Indra tubhyāñ | Pūshā Vishṇus trīṇi sarāñsi dhāvan vṛittra-  
hanam madiram añśum asmai |* “Fot thee, Indra, whom all the Maruts,  
in concert, magnified, Pūshān and Vishṇu cooked a hundred buffaloes.  
For him three lakṣ discharged the Vṛitra-slaying, exhilarating soma.”<sup>34</sup>

R. V. vi. 20, 2.—*Diro na tubhyam anu Indra satrā asuryañ devebhir  
dhāyi viśram | Ahiñ yad Vṛittram apo varrīvāñśāñ hann rījishin Vish-  
ṇunā sachānah |* “All divine power, like that of the sky, was completely  
communicated to thee, Indra, by the gods,<sup>35</sup> when thou, o impetuous  
[deity], associated with Vishṇu, didst slay Vṛittra Ahi stopping up the  
waters.”

R. V. vi. 21, 9.—*Pra útaye Varuṇam Mitram Indram Marutah krish-  
va avase no adya | pra Pūshanañ Vishṇum Agnim Purandhim Savitāram  
oshadhīḥ parvatāñścha |* “Dispose to-day to our help and succour  
Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, the Maruts, Pūshan, Vishṇu, Agni, Purandhi,  
Savitri, the plants and the mountains.”

R. V. vi. 48, 14.—*Tañ rāḥ Indram na sukratūñ Varuṇim iva māyi-*

<sup>33</sup> Or, “loud-resounding.”—Roth.

<sup>34</sup> To illustrate the last line, Dr. Aufrecht has pointed out to me another passage, R. V. viii. 66, 4: *Ekayā pratidhā pibat sākam sārañsi trīṁsatam | Indraḥ somarya kāñukā |* “Indra swallowed at one draught thirty lakes of Soma.” . . . This verse is quoted in Nir. v. 11. I have not attempted to translate the difficult word *kāñukā*, at the close. See Roth’s Illust. of Nir., p. 60, f.

<sup>35</sup> *Stotribhīḥ*, “worshippers,” according to Sāyana.

*nam | Aryamanām na mandraṁ sripa<sup>31</sup> bhojasām Vishnuṁ na stushe  
ādiśe |* “I praise thee (Pūshan?), beneficent like Indra, wondrous in power like Varuṇa, wise like Aryaman, conferring extended enjoyment like Vishnu, that thou mayest bestow wealth.”<sup>37</sup>

R. V. vi. 49, 13.—*Yo rajānsi vimame<sup>38</sup> pārthivāni triś chid Vishnur  
Manave bādhitāya | tasya te śarmann upa-dadyamāne rāyā madema tanvā  
tanā cha |* “May we, ourselves and our offspring, be gladdened by wealth, in the home given by thee, that Vishnu who thrice measured the mundane regions for Manu when he was oppressed.”<sup>39</sup>

R. V. vi. 50, 12.—*Te gio Rudraḥ Sarasvatī sajoshāḥ mīlhusmanto  
Vishnur mṛilantu Vāyuḥ | Ribhuxāḥ Vājo daivyo vidhātā Parjanyārātā  
pipyatām ishañ nah |* “May these dispensers of blessings, Rudra, Sarasvatī, Vishnu and Vāyu together be gracious to us. May Ribhuxan, Vāja, the divine Vidhātṛī (or disposer), Parjanya and Vāta increase our energy.”

R. V. vi. 69, 1–8.—*Saṁ rām̄ karmaṇā sam iṣhā hinomi Indrā-Vishnū  
apasas pāre asya | jushethām yajñām draviṇām cha dhattum arishṭair nah  
pathibhiḥ pārayantā |* 2. *Yā viśvāsām janitārā matīnām Indrā-Vishnū  
kalaśī soma-dhānā | pra vām giraḥ śasyamānā avantu pra stomaśo gīya-  
mānāśo arkaiḥ |* 3. *Indrā-Vishnū madu-patī madānām ā somaṁ yātām  
draviṇo dadhānā | saṁ rām añjantu aktubhir matīnām saṁ stomaśaḥ śa-  
syamānāśaḥ ukthaiḥ |* 4. *Ā vām aśrāso abhimāti-shāḥhaḥ Indrā-Vishnū  
sadhamādo vahantu | jushethām riśvā harānā matīnām upa brahmāṇi śri-  
ṇutām giro me |* 5. *Indrā-Vishnū tat panayāyjām rām̄ somasya made  
uru chakramāthe | akriṇutam antarixaṁ variyo apruthataṁ jīvase no ra-  
jāṁsi |* 6. *Indrā-Vishnū havishā vāvridhānā agrādvānā namasā rāta-  
havyā | ghrītāsuti draviṇām dhattam asme samudraḥ sthāḥ kalaśāḥ soma-  
dhānāḥ |* 7. *Indrā-Vishnū pibatam madhvo asya somasya dasrā jaṭharam  
prinethām | ā vām andhāṁsi madirāṇi agmann upa brahmāṇi śriṇutām  
havam me |* 8. (A. V. 7, 44, 1) *Ubhā jīgyathur na para jayethe na*

<sup>36</sup> The word *sripa* occurs also in R. V. i. 96, 3; i. 181, 3; iii. 18, 5; iv. 50, 2; viii. 25, 5; and viii. 32, 10=S. V. i. 217. By Yūska, Nir. vi. 17., it is derived from the root *srip*, “to go” (see Roth’s Illust., p. 83); and is rendered by Sāyana *sarpaṇa-sīla*, “going,” *prasṛita*, “extended,” etc. (see also Benfey’s Glossary to the S. V.)

<sup>37</sup> Such is the sense assigned to *ādiśe* by Sāyana: in Wilson’s Sanskrit Dictionary I find the word *pradeśana* rendered “a gift or offering, anything given to the gods, superiors, or friends,” etc.

<sup>38</sup> *Tribhir eva rikramāṇaiḥ parimitavīn |* “measured with three strides.”—Sāyana. Compare R. V. i. 154, 1, above (p. 58, ff.), and vii. 100, 4, below, (p. 75).

<sup>39</sup> *Asurair hīṁsītāya |* “injured by Asuras.”—Sāyana.

*parā jigye katdraśchanainoḥ | Indraścha' Vishno yad apaspridhethāṁ tredhā sahasraṁ vi tad airayethāṁ |*

"Indra and Vishnu, I stimulate you twain with this rite and oblation : at the conclusion of this ceremony do ye accept our sacrifice, and grant us wealth, conducting us to our object by secure paths. 2. Indra and Vishnu, ye who are the generators of all prayers, and the bowls which hold the soma-juice, may the words which are now recited gratify you, and the hymns which are sung with praises. 3. Indra and Vishnu, ye two lords of exhilarating draughts, come to the soma-juice, bringing with you wealth ; may the hymns uttered with praises anoint you<sup>40</sup> twain with the unguents of our prayers. 4. Indra and Vishnu, may your steeds, vanquishing foes, and sharing in your triumph, bear you hither. Accept all the invocations of our hymns, and hear my devotion and prayers. 5. Indra and Vishnu, this deed of you twain is worthy of celebration that, in the exhilaration of the soma-juice, ye took vast strides;<sup>41</sup> ye made the atmosphere wide, and stretched out the worlds, for our existence. 6. Indra and Vishnu, growing by our oblation, swallowers of the essence of the soma, ye who are worshipped with reverence, and to whom butter is presented; bring us wealth, for ye are the receptacle, the bowl, in which the soma is held. 7. Indra and Vishnu, workers of wonders, drink this sweet potion ; fill your bellies with soma ; the exhilarating soma-draughts have reached you ; hear my prayers and invocation. 8. Ye two have both conquered, and are not vanquished. Neither of these twain has been vanquished. Vishnu, when thou and Indra strove, ye scattered thrice a thousand [of your foes]."<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Compare R. V. iii. 17, 1.

<sup>41</sup> The commentator remarks on this : *Yadyapi Vishnor eva vikramas tathāpy chār-thatavād ubhayor ity uchyate* | "Though 'striding' is an act of Vishnu only, yet it is so [described as here] owing to both gods having one end in view." In R. V. vii. 99, 6 (see below), the epithet *urukrama*, "far-stepping," is applied in the same way to both those deities. In the Harivansa, 7418, it is applied to Siva.

<sup>42</sup> The commentator explains this as follows : *Yad yad vastu praty apaspridhethāṁ asuraiḥ saha aspridhethāṁ tredhā loka-veda-vāgītmanā tridhā sthitāṁ sahasram amitāṁ cha vi tad airayethāṁ vyakranethāṁ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha brāhmaṇam "ubhā jigyathur ity achchhāvākasya | ubhau hi tau jigyathur na parōjayeth na parōjigye iti na hi tayoḥ katuraśchana parājigye 'Indras cha' Vishno yad apaspridhethāṁ tredhā sahasraṁ vi tad airayethāṁ' iti | Indras cha ha eai Vishnus cha asurā yuyudhāte tān ha sma jitvā ūchatuh kalpāmahā iti | te ha tathā ity asurā ūchuḥ | so'bravīd Indro yāvād evāyaṁ Vishnus trir vikramate tāvad asmīkam alta yushmākam itarad iti | sa imān lokān vichakrame 'tho vedān atho vācham | tad ūhuḥ kiṁ tat sahasram*

R. V. vii. 35, 9 (=A. V. xix. 10, 9)—*Sām no Aditir bhavatu vratebhiḥ śām no bhavantu Marutah su-arkāḥ | śām no Viṣṇuh śām u Pūshā no astu śām no bhavitraṁ śām u astu Vāyuh |* “May Aditi be propitious to us with her acts: may the well-hymned Maruts be propitious to us: may Viṣṇu, may Pūshan, may the Air,<sup>43</sup> may Vāyu, be propitious to us.”

R. V. vii. 36, 9.—*Achha ayaṁ vo Marutah ślokah etu aghha Viṣṇum nishikta-pāṁ śravobhir\* ityādi |* “Maruts, may this hymn reach you: may it [reach] Viṣṇu, the preserver of embryos, with its eulogies,” etc.

R. V. vii. 39, 5.—*Ā Agne giro dira ā prithivyā Mitram raha Varunam Indram Agnim | Ā Aryamānam Aditīm Viṣṇum eshām Sarasvatī Maruto mādayantām |* “Agni, [whether thou art] in heaven or earth, carry our words to Mitra, Varuna, Indra, Agni, Aryaman, Aditi, Viṣṇu, among these gods: may Sarasvatī and the Maruts be pleased.”

R. V. vii. 40, 5.—*Asya derasya mīlhusho rayāḥ Viṣṇor eshasya<sup>44</sup>*

*iti ime lokā ime vedā atho vāg iti brūyāt | airayethām xirayethām [ity aghātāka ukthye 'bhyasyati]" | Ait. Br. 6, 15. |* “In reference to whatever thing ye two strove, i.e. strove with the Asuras, over that, in its three characters, i.e. as existing in its character of world, Veda, and speech, and in number a thousand, i.e. immeasurable, ye strode. Thus a Brāhmaṇa [the Aitareya, 6, 15,] says. *ye both conquered*; this is what the Achhāvāka priest [repeats]: *for ye both conquered, ye are not vanquished, neither was vanquished, for neither of these two was vanquished*: [the last line of the verse before us is then cited]. Indra and Viṣṇu fought with the Asuras. Having conquered them, they said, ‘let us divide [the world].’ The Asuras said, ‘be it so.’ Indra said, ‘As much as this Viṣṇu strides over in three strides, so much is ours; the rest is yours.’ He strode over these worlds, then the Vedas, then speech. When people say, ‘what is that thousand?’ let him say, ‘These worlds, these Vedas, then speech.’ The Achhāvāka priest repeats at the Ukthya ritual ‘ye scattered, ye scattered.’”

<sup>43</sup> The word *bharitra* is explained by Sayana as = *bhurānam antarīksam udakām vā*. “The world, or the atmosphere, or water.” The word, Dr. Aufrecht informs me, does not occur again in the Vedas.

<sup>44</sup> Sūyana interprets the first words of the verse before us thus, *Viṣṇoh sarva-devātmakasya asya devasya anye devā rayāḥ sākhaḥ iva bhavanti |* “Other gods are, as it were, branches of this god, who is the soul of all the gods.” He explains *eshasya* as follows: *Prabrithe havirbhīḥ havīl-rūpair annaiḥ eshasya prāprāqīyasya*. “One who, in the sacrifice, can be reached by oblations of food.” The same epithet *esha* is applied to Viṣṇu in the other two following passages referred to in Bocht. and Roth's Lexicon under this word. R. V. ii. 34, 11.—*Tān vo maha Maruta evayāvno Viṣṇor eshasya prabhrithe havāmahe | ityādi |* “In the sacrifice of the rapid Viṣṇu we invoke you the great, and impetuous Maruts,” etc. R. V. viii. 20, 3.—*Vidmā hi*

*prabhriths havirbhīḥ | vide hi Rudro rudriyam mahitvāṁ yāśishṭām  
varttir Aśvināv irārat |* “[The other gods are?] branches of this bountiful and rapid (?) deity Vishṇu [who is to be worshipped?] with oblations in the sacrifice. For Rudra possesses impetuous power. Come, Aśvins, to our place of sacrifice which is provided with food.”

R. V. vii. 44, 1.—*Dadhikrāṁ vah̄ prathaman Aśvinā Ushasam Agniṁ samiddhāpi Bhagam ātaye huve | Indraṁ Vishṇum Pūshanam Brahmanaspatim Ādityān dyāvā-prithivī apah svāḥ |* “I invoke for your succour first Dadhikrā, the Aśvins, Ushas, the kindled Agni, Bhaga, Indra, Vishṇu, Pūshan, Brahmanaspati, the Ādityas, heaven and earth, the waters, the sky.”

R. V. vii. 93, 8.—*Etā Agne āśushānāsa iṣhtīr yuvoh sachā abhi-  
āśyāma rājān | mā Indro no Vishṇur Marutāḥ parikhyān ityādi |* “Breathing forth these petitions, may we, Agni [and Indra], with [the help of] you twain obtain food. Let not Indra, Vishṇu, and the Maruts despise us,” etc.

R. V. vii. 99, 1.—*Paro mātrayā<sup>45</sup> tanvā vridhāna na te mahitvam anu-  
āśuvanti | ubhe te vidma rajasi prithiryāḥ Vishṇo dera tam para-  
masya vitse | 2. Na te Vishṇo jāyamāno na jāto dera mahimnāḥ param  
antam āpa | ud astabhnāḥ nākam rishvām brihantaṁ dādhurtha prāchīn  
kakubham prithiviyāḥ | 3 (=Vēj. S. v. 16). Irāratī dhenumatī hi  
bhūtaṁ sūyavasini maṇushe<sup>46</sup> daśasyā | Vi astabhnāḥ rodasī Vishṇo etc  
dādharta prithivīm abhito mayūkhaiḥ | 4. Uruṇ yajñāya chakrathur  
u lokaṁ janayantā Sūryam Ushāsam Agnim | dāsasya chid vrisha-  
śiprasya māyā jaghnathur narā pritanājjyesu | 5. Indra-Vishṇu drīñ-  
hitāḥ Sambarasya nava puro navatīn cha śnathishṭam | śataṁ varchinah  
sahasraṁ cha sākāṁ hatho aprati asurasya rīrān | 6. Iyam manīshā  
brihatī brihantā urukramā tavasā vardhayantī | rare vāṁ stomāṁ  
vidatheshu Vishṇo pinvatam isho vrījaneshu Indra | 7. (S. V. 2, 977.)  
Vāshat te Vishṇo āśah ā kṛinomi tad me jushasva śipirishṭa haryam |  
vardhantu tvā sushūtayo giro me yāyam pāta srastibhiḥ sadā naḥ |*

*Rudriyānāṁ śushmam ugram Marutāṁ śimvatalām | Vishṇor eshasya mīlhusūm |* “For we know the fiery vigour of the sons of Rudra, the destructive Maruts; who dispense [the gifts] of the rapid Vishṇu.” Dr. Aufrecht considers the interpretation of *rsha* very doubtful, and does not see why all three passages should not be referred to Rudra rather than Vishṇu. As, however, they contain the word *Vishṇu*, I have retained them.

<sup>45</sup> Compare *paro-mātram richīshamam Indram*; R. V. viii. 57, 1.

<sup>46</sup> Yajur-veda v. 16 reads *manave*.

"Thou who, with thy body, growest beyond our measure, [men] do not attain to thy greatness: we know both thy two regions of the earth; thou, divine Vishṇu, knowest the remotest [world]. 2. No one, o divine Vishṇu, who is being born, or who has been born, knows the furthest limit of thy greatness. Thou didst prop up the lofty and vast sky; thou didst uphold the eastern pinnacle of the earth.<sup>47</sup> 3. [Ye two worlds] be ye abundant in food, cows, and pastures, through beneficence to man. Vishṇu, thou didst prop asunder these two worlds; thou didst envelop the earth on every side with beams of light. 4. Ye (Indra and Vishṇu) have provided ample room for the sacrifice, producing the sun, the dawn, and fire. Ye, o heroes, destroyed in the battles the illusions of the hostile (*dūsa*) Vṛishaśipra. 4. Indra and Vishṇu, ye smote the ninety-nine strong cities of Sambara; together, ye slew, unopposed, a thousand and a hundred heroes of the Asura Varchin. 6. This great hymn magnifies you two, the great, the wide-striding, the powerful; Vishṇu, and Indra, I present to you twain a hymn at the sacrifices. Increase my vigour, should [I fall] into calamity. 7. Vishṇu, I utter to thee this invocation from my mouth. Śipivishta, receive this my oblation. May my laudatory hymns magnify thee: do you always preserve us with blessings."

R. V. vii. 100.—*Nū marīlo dayate sanishyan yo Vishṇave urugāyāya  
dāśat | pra yaḥ satrāchā manasā yajāte etāvantqñ naryam āvirāsat |*  
*2. Traṁ Vishṇo sumatiṁ viśrajanyām aprayutām evayāvo matiṁ dāḥ |  
parcho yathā naḥ suritasya bhärer asvāvataḥ puruśchandrasya rāyah |*  
*3. Trir devaḥ prithivīm esha etāṁ vi chakrame śatarchasam mahitvā |  
pra Vishnur astu tarasas tāriyān tveshaṁ hi asya sthavirasya nāma |*  
*4. Vi chakrame prithivīm esha etāṁ xtrāya Vishnur manushe daśasyan |  
dhruvāso asya kirayo janāsaḥ uruxitiṁ sujanimā chakāra | 5. (S. V.  
2, 976; Nir. 5, 9.) Pra tat te adya śipivishta nāma aryah śāmsāmi  
vayunāni vidvān | taṁ trā grīnāmi tarasam ataryān xayantam asya  
rajasāḥ parāke | 6. (S. V. 2, 975; Nir. 5, 8.) Kim it te Vishṇo  
paricharyam bhūt<sup>48</sup> pra yad varare śipivishtaḥ asmi | mā varpo asmaad  
apa gūha etad yad anyarūpah samithe babbhūtha | (The seventh verse is  
repeated from the last hymn.)\**

"That man never repents who, seeking [for good], brings offerings to

<sup>47</sup> Compare Isaiah xl. 22; xlv. 12, 18.

<sup>48</sup> The Sūma-veda reads *parichaxi nāma*.

Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, who worships him with his whole heart, and propitiates such a powerful [god]. 2. Vouchsafe to us, swiftly-moving Vishṇu, thy benevolence, which embraces all mankind, thy unpreoccupied regard; that thou mayest grant us abundant good, and brilliant wealth, with horses. 3. Thrice this god by his greatness has traversed this earth with its hundred lights. May Vishṇu be the strongest of the strong: for awful is the name (power?) of that immovable [being]. 4. This Vishṇu traversed the earth to bestow it for a habitation on Manu [or man]. The men who praise him are secure: [the god] of exalted birth has given them an ample abode. 5. I, a master, who know the sacred rites, to-day celebrate this thy name, Sipivishta; I, who am weak, laud thee who art strong, and afar off, reignest over this lower world. 6. What, Vishṇu, hadst thou to conceal, that thou declarest, 'I am Sipivishta?' Do not conceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another shape in the battle."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The following illustration of this verse is quoted by Professor Benfey from the commentary on the corresponding passage of the S. V.: *Purā khalu Vishṇuh svām rūpam parityojya kṛitrimān rūpāntaraṁ dñārayan saṅgrāme Vasishṭhasya sāhāyyaṁ chakāra | tāṁ jānann rishir ṣayāḥ pratyāchashṭe |* "Vishṇu formerly abandoning his own form, and assuming another artificial shape, succoured Vasishtha in battle. Recognising the god, the rishi addresses him with this verse." In Nir. v. 8 and 9, Yūṣka quotes verses 5 and 6 of the hymn before us in inverse order. After telling us, (v. 7) that "Vishṇu has two names, Sipivishta, and Vishṇu, of which, according to Aupananyava, the former has a bad sense;" (*S'ipivishṭo Vishṇur iti Vishṇor dve numanī bhavataḥ | kutsitārthīyam pūrvam bhavati ity Aupananyavaḥ*), Yūṣka quotes verse 6, on which he observes: *Kiñ te J'ishno 'prakhyātām etad bhavaty aprakhyāpanīyām yan nah prabṛuṣhe | sepa iva nirveshtito 'smi ity apratipanna-raśmih | api rā prasāmsā-nāmaiva abhipretām syāt | kiñ te Vishṇo prakhyātām etad bhavati prakhyāpanīyām yad uta prabṛuṣhe S'ipivishṭo 'smi iti pratipanna-raśmih | sīpayo 'tra raśmaya uchyante tair āviṣṭo bhavati | mā varpo asmad apagūha etat | varpa iti rūpa-nāma . . . . | yad auya-rūpah samithe saṅgrāme bhavasi saṁyata-raśmih |* "What, Vishṇu, is this undeclared thing of thine not to be declared, which thou tellest? 'I am enveloped like a private member,' i.e. with rays obscured. Or, by *S'ipivishṭa* a laudatory appellation may be intended; 'what is this declared thing of thine, which is to be declared, that thou tellest? 'I am *S'ipivishta*, i.e. one whose rays are displayed.' The word 'sīpi' here means 'rays'; with these he is pervaded. 'Do not conceal this form:' *varpas* is a word meaning 'form' . . . . 'That thou art of another form in the battle (*samithe=sangrāme*), with thy rays obscured (?)'" On v. 5, Yūṣka remarks: Nir. v. 9: "*Tat te 'dyā 'Sipivishṭa nāma aryah saṁsāmi'*" [*aryyo 'ham asmi ṛkvaraḥ stomaṇām | aryyas tvam asi iti vā | tāṁ tvā stanum tavasam atavyām tavasa iti mahato nāma-dheyam udito bhavati | nivasantam arya rajasāḥ parāke parākrānte |* "I, a master, to-day celebrate this thy name, Sipivishta." I am *aryah*, a master of songs. Or, thou art a master. 'I, weak, praise thee, the strong.' *Tavas* is a word used for 'great.' 'Dwelling beyond (*parāke=parākrānte*) this lower world.'" In the Mahābhārata,

R. V. viii. 9, 12.—*Yad Indrena sarathaṁ yātho Aśvinā yad vā Vayunā bhavathah samokasā | yad Ādityebhir Ribhubhiḥ sajoshasā yad vā Vishṇor vikramaneshu tishṭhathah |* “When, Aśvins, ye ride in the same car with Indra, or when ye dwell in the same abode with Vāyu, or when ye are associated with the Adityas and the Ribhus, or when ye abide in the strides of Vishṇu.”

R. V. viii. 10, 2.— . . . . *Brihaspatim Viśvānderān ahaṁ huve Indrā-Vishṇu Aśrinār āśu-heshasā |* “I invoke Brihaspati, the Viśvedevas, Indra and Vishṇu, and the Aśvins with swift steeds.”

R. V. viii. 12, 16 (=S. V. i. 384; A. V. 20, 111, 1).—*Yat somam Indra Vishṇavi yad vā gha Trite Āptye | yad vā Marutsu mandase sam Indubhiḥ | . . . . 25. Yad Indra pritanājye devās trā dadhire puraḥ |* ād it te haryatā harī varaxatuh | 26. *Yadā Vṛittraṁ nadi-vritāṁ śarasā rajrinn abadhīḥ |* tad ād id ityādi | 27. *Yadā te Vishṇur ojasā trīṇī padā vichakrame |* ād id ityādi |

“Whether, Indra, thou enjoyest soma, along with Vishṇu, or with Trita Aptya, or with the Maruts, [partake also of our] libations. . . . 25. When, Indra, the gods placed thee in, their front in the battle, then thy dear steeds grew. 26. When, thunderer, thou didst by thy might slay Vṛittra, who stopped up the streams, then thy dear steeds grew. 27. When by thy force Vishṇu strode three steps, then thy dear steeds grew.”

R. V. viii. 15, 8 (=S. V. 2, 996 f.; A. V. 20, 106, 26).—*Tara dyaur Indra paumṣyam prithivī rardhati śravaḥ | trāṁ āpaḥ parvatāśaḥ oha hinvire | 9. Tvāṁ Vishṇur bṛihān xaya<sup>50</sup> Mitro grīṇāti Varunāḥ |*

Sāntiparva, vv. 13229, ff, Krishṇa is introduced as explaining the sense of the word *S'ipivishṭa* thus; (If the writer intended to represent Yāska as the rishi by whom the word was first applied to Vishṇu, he could not have been a particularly good Vedic scholar): *S'ipivishṭeti chākhyāyūm hīna-romā cha yo bhavet | tenāvishṭāṁ tu yat kinchich Chhipi-vishṭeti cha smṛitaḥ | Yūska mām rishir avyagro naika-yajñeshu gitavān | S'ipivishṭa iti hy asmād guhya-nāma-dharo hy aham | stutvā mām S'ipivishṭeti Yāskaḥ sarshr udāra-dhīḥ | mat-prasādād adho nashṭam Niruktam abhijagmivān |* “A bald man is designated by the word *S'ipivishṭa*. Anything which is penetrated by that (what?) is called *S'ipivishṭa*. Yūska, the serene rishi, celebrated me at many sacrifices. In consequence of this I bear the mysterious name of *S'ipivishṭa*. Yāska, that rishi of large understanding, having lauded me as *S'ipivishṭa*, recovered by my favour the Nirukta, which had been destroyed.”

<sup>50</sup> Benfey, in his translation of the Sama-veda, renders *xaya* by “king.” Roth, in his Lexicon, thinks this sense is not established, and renders the words *bṛihān xayaḥ*

*tvāṁ śardho madati anu mārutam | 10. Tvaṁ vrishā janānām mañ-  
hisṭhaḥ Indra jaiñiṣe | satrā viśvā su-apatyāni dadhiṣe |*

8. “Indra, the sky augments thy manhood, and the earth thy renown. The waters and the mountains stimulate thee. 9. Vishṇu, the high ruler, Mitra, and Varuna celebrate thee; the troop of Maruts follows thee with exultation. 10. Thou, Indra, hast been born the greatest fertilizer of beings; thou hast made all things altogether prolific.”

R. V. viii. 25, 11.—*Te no nāram urushyata' dirā-naktañ sudānarāḥ | arishyanto ni pāyubhiḥ sachemahi | 12. Aghnate Vishṇave vayam arish-  
yantāḥ sudānave | śrudhi svayāran sindho pūrīa-chittaye | 13. (Nir. v. 1)  
Tad vāryam vrinūmahe varishṭhañ gopayat�am | Mittro yat pānti  
Varuno yad Aryamā | 14. Uta naḥ sindhur apāñ tad Marutas tad  
Aśvinā | Indro Vishṇur mīdhvāñsaḥ snjoshasah |*

“Do ye, bountiful [gods], preserve our bard<sup>51</sup> night and day. May we, free from injury, receive your protection. 12. Free from injury, we [offer praise] to the innocuous, and bountiful Vishṇu. Listen, o self-moving ocean, to our early hymn. 13. We desire that excellent treasure, worthy to be guarded, which Mittra, Varuna, and Aryaman possess. 14. And may the ocean of waters, may the Maruts, may the Aświns, Indra, and Vishṇu, the beneficent, associated together, [bestow] that.”

R. V. viii. 27, 8.—*Ā prayāta Maruto Vishno Aśrinā Pūshan  
mākinayā dhiyā. | Indra āyātu prathamaḥ sanishyubhir vrishā yo  
vrittrahā grine |* “Come hither, ye Maruts, Vishṇu, Aświns, Pūshan, at my hymn. May Indra come the first, he who is celebrated by those who desire to honour him, as the vigorous, the slayer of Vṛittra.”

The following hymn, in the seventh verse of which Vishṇu is mentioned, is interesting from the manner in which the various characteristics of the different gods are succinctly described :

R. V. viii. 29, 1 ff.—*Babhrur eko vishnuṇah sūnaro yuvā añji aṅkte  
hiranyayām | 2. Yonim eka ā sasāda dyotano antar deveshu medhiraḥ |*

by “high abode, i.e. heaven, or those who dwell in the high abode, the gods.” He also conjectures that the correct reading in this passage may be *brihat-xayah*, “who dwells on high.”

<sup>51</sup> Dr. Aufrecht tells me that the word *nāvam* is so accented that it cannot mean “ship.” He regards it as a masc. noun from the root *nu*, “to praise;” and assigns to it the sense of “bard,” or “hymn.” That there is such a word as *nāva* is proved by its occurrence in R. V. ix. 45, 5: *Indum nāvāḥ anūshata* | where it must mean “the bards, or hymns, celebrated Indu.”

3. *Vāśīm eko bibhartti heste āyasīm antar deveshu nidhruvih* | 4.  
*Vajram eko bibhartti heste ahitañ tena r̄pittrāñi jighnate* | 5. *Tignam eko bibhartti heste āyudhañ śuchir ugro jalāsha-bheshajaḥ* | 6. *Patha ekaḥ pīpāya taskaro yathā esha reda nidhīnām* | 7. *Trīñi eka urugāyo ri chakrame yatra devdso madanti* | 8. *Vibhir drā charataḥ ekayā saha pra pravāsā ira vasataḥ* | 9. *Sado dvā chakrāte upamā diri sañrājā sarpir-āsuti* | 10. *Archanta eke mahi sāma manvata tena sūryam arochayan* |

"One<sup>52</sup> is a youth, brown, [now] hostile, [now] friendly. A golden lustre invests him. 2. Another,<sup>53</sup> luminous, has seated himself on the place of sacrifice, wise, amidst the gods. 3. Another<sup>54</sup> holds in his hand an iron axe, firmly placed amid the gods. 4. Another<sup>55</sup> holds the thunderbolt poised in his hand, with which he burns to slay his enemies. 5. Another,<sup>56</sup> bright, fiery, possessing healing remedies, holds a sharp weapon in his hand. 6. Another<sup>57</sup> occupies the roads like a robber: he knows the treasures. 7. Another,<sup>58</sup> wide-stepping, strode three [strides, in the regions] where the gods rejoice. 8. Two [others]<sup>59</sup> ride on horses with one [goddess]: they dwell afar, as if abroad. 9. Two [others],<sup>60</sup> the highest, have made their abode in the sky, monarchs, worshipped with butter. 10. Some [of us], worshipping, have meditated the great *sāma*-hymn, by which they have caused the sun to shine."

R. V. viii. 31, 10.—*Āśurma parvatānām r̄riñlīmahe nadīnām ā Vishnoḥ sachā-bhuvrah* | "Wo seek for protection from the mountains, the rivers, and Vishṇu who is associated with them."

R. V. viii. 35, 1, 14.—*Agninā Indrenā Varuṇena Vishṇunā Ādityaiḥ Rudrair Vasubhiḥ sachā-bhurū | sajoshasā Ushasā Sūryena cha somam pibatam Aśrinā* | 14. *Āngirasrāntā uta Vishṇurāntā Marutrāntā jaritur gachhatḥō harām ityādi* | "Āświns, drink the soma-juice, united with Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, the Adityas, Rudra, the Vasus,

<sup>52</sup> Soma, as the moon, according to the commentator. M. Langlois thinks the sun is meant. Dr. Aufrecht thinks the troop of Maruts, *Marud-gana*, may be meant, to whom, he remarks, the epithet *babhru*, "dark-brown, tawny," is as applicable as it is to their master, Rudra, to whom it is frequently given.

<sup>53</sup> Agni, according to the commentator. *Atra yonim iti lingād Agnir uchyate* |

<sup>54</sup> Tvashtri. <sup>55</sup> Indra.

<sup>56</sup> Rudra. Compare R. V. i. 43, 4, where Rudra is named, and the same epithet *jalāsha-bheshaja* is applied to him, and R. V. vii. 35, 6, where he is called *jalāsha*, "healing."

<sup>57</sup> Pūshan.

<sup>58</sup> Vishnu.

<sup>59</sup> The Āświns. The goddess is *Ushas*, the dawn.

<sup>60</sup> Mitra and Varuṇa.

and associated with Ushas and Sūrya. 14. Attended by Angiras, by Vishṇu, and by the Maruts, you come at the invocation of your worshipper."

R. V. viii. 66, 10.—*Viśvā it tā Viṣṇur abharad urukramas tvā  
iśhitah | śatam mahishān xīra-pākam odanañ varāham Indra emusham |*  
“The wide-striding Vishṇu, urged by thee, o Indra, carried off all [these things], a hundred buffaloes, broth cooked with milk, and a fierce (?) hog.”

This verse is considered by Dr. Aufrecht to contain an allusion to some myth (also referred to in R. V. i. 61, 7), in which Vishṇu appears to have been represented as carrying off cattle, a hog and other provisions for the use of Indra. Compare Professor Wilson's note (d) on R. V. i. 61, 7. The same story may be alluded to in R. V. vi. 17, 11, above, p. 70.

R. V. viii. 72, 7 (=Vāj. S. 33, 47).—*Adhi na Indra eshāñ Viṣṇo  
saजायनाम् | itā Maruto Aśrinā |* “Remember, Indra, Vishṇu, Maruts, Aśvins, us thy kinsmen.”

R. V. ix. 33, 3 (S. V. 2, 116).—*Sutā Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya  
Marudbhyaḥ | somā arshanti Viṣṇavo |* “The soma-draughts poured forth, hasten to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishṇu.”

R. V. ix. 34, 2.—*Suta Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somo  
arshati Viṣṇave |* “The soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and Vishṇu.”

R. V. ix. 56, 4.—*Tvam Indrāya Viṣṇave srādūr Indo pari srava |  
nrin stotrin pāhi aṁhasah |* “Indu, do thou flow sweet to Indra, to Vishṇu. Preserve from sin the men who praise thee.”

R. V. ix. 63, 3.—*Suta Indrāya Viṣṇave somah kalaše axarat |  
madhumān astu Vāyave |* “The soma flowed into the vessel for Indra, for Vishṇu. May it be honied for Vāyu.”

R. V. ix. 65, 20 (S. V. 2, 345).—*Āpsā Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya  
Marudbhyaḥ | somo arshati Viṣṇave |* “Pouring forth streams, the soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishṇu.”

R. V. ix. 90, 5.—*Matsi Soma Varuṇapि matsi Mitram matsi Indram  
Indo pavamāna Viṣṇum | matsi śarddho Mārutam matsi devān matsi  
mahām Indram Indo madāya |* “Soma, Indu, purifier, thou exhilaratest Varuṇa, thou exhilaratest Mitra, thou exhilaratest Indra, thou exhilaratest Vishṇu, thou exhilaratest the troop of the Maruts,

thou exhilaratest the gods, and the great Indra, that they may be merry.”

R. V. ix. 96, 5 (=S. V. ii. 293).—*Somah pavate janitā matinām janitā divo janitā prithiryāḥ | janitā Agner janitā Sūryasya janitā Indrasya janitā uta Viṣṇoh |* “Soma purifies, [he who is] the generator of hymns, the generator of the sky, the generator of the earth, the generator of Agni, the generator of Sūrya, the generator of Indra, and the generator of Viṣṇu!”

This verse is quoted, and thus explained in the Nirukta-pariśiṣṭā, ii. 12: *Somah pavate | somah sūryaḥ prasavanāt | janitā matinām prakāśa-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām divo dyotana-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām prithiryāḥ prathana-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām Agner gati-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām Sūryasya svikarana-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām Indrasya aiśvaryya-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām Viṣṇor vyapti-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām ity adhidaivatam | atha adhyātmam | soma ātmā'py etasmād evendriyāṇām janilā ity arthaḥ | api rāvurvābhīr vibhūtibhīr vibhūtata (?) ātmā ity ātmā-gatim āhashṭe |* “Soma purifies. Soma is sūrya (the sun), from generating (*prasavanāt*). He is the generator of hymns (or thoughts), i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to reveal; of the sky, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to shine; of the earth, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to spread; of Agni, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to move; of Sūrya, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to appropriate (*svikarana*); of Indra, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is sovereignty; of Viṣṇu, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is diffusion: such is the mythological explanation. Now follows the spiritual interpretation, i.e. that which refers to soul. Soma is also the soul; and for this cause he is the generator of the senses: such is the meaning. Or, he thus declares the course of the soul, that it is variously modified by all its changing manifestations.”

R. V. ix. 100, 6 (=S. V. ii. 366).—*Parasva vāja-sātamah pavitre dhārayā sutah | Indrāya Soma Viṣṇave devebhyo madhumattamah |* “Soma, purify, dispenser of much food, poured out in a stream into the filter, for Indra, for Viṣṇu, for the gods, most honored.”

R. V. x. 1, 3.—*Viṣṇur itthā paramam asya vidvān jāto brihan abhi pāti tritiyam | āsā yad asya payo akrata svāṁ sachetaso abhi archanti atra |* “Viṣṇu, the great being, knowing thus his (Agni's)

highest [birth-place], protects his third [birth-place, on earth]. Men unanimously worship him here, when they offer him their libation face to face.”<sup>61</sup>

R. V. x. 65, 1.—*Agnir Indro Varuno Mitro Aryamā Vāyuh Pūsha Sarasvatī sajoshasah | Ādityāh Vishnur Marutah svar brihat somo Rudro Aditir Brahmanaspatih |* “Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Vāyu, Pūshan, Sarasvatī, associated together, the Adityas, Vishṇu, the Maruts, the great sky, Soma, Rudra, Aditi, Brahmanaspati.”

R. V. x. 66, 4, 5.—*Aditir dyārā-prithivī ritam mahad Indrā-Vishnū Marutah Svar brihad | devān Ādityān avase harāmahe Vasūn Rudrān Savitārañ sudāṁsasam |* 5. *Sarasvān dhibhir Varuno dhritavrataḥ Pūshā Vishnur mahimā Vāyur Aśrinā | brahma-kṛito amṛitāḥ viśva-redasah śarma no yañsan trivarūtham aṁhasah |*

“We invoke Aditi, heaven and earth, the great rite, Indra and Vishṇu, the Maruts, the great sky, the divine Adityas to our succour, the Vasus, Rudras, and Savitri, whose works are excellent. 5. May Sarasvat, through our prayers, may Varuṇa who upholds pious acts [or, whose ordinances are fixed], Pūshan, Vishṇu the great, Vāyu, the Aśvins, the offerers of prayer, the omniscient immortals, grant us a triple protection from evil.”

R. V. x. 92, 11.—*Tē hi dyārā-prithivī bhūri-retasā Narāśāṁsaś chaturango Yamo 'ditih | devas Tvashṭā Dravīnōdū Ribhuxanāḥ pra rodasi Maruto Vishnur 'arhire |* “The prolific heaven and earth, the four-limbed Narāśansa, Yama, Aditi, the god Tvashṭri, Dravīnōdū, the Ribhuxans, the two worlds, the Maruts, Vishṇu have been honoured.”

R. V. x. 113, 1.—*Tam asya dyārā-prithivī sachetasā viśvebhir devair anu śushmam āvatām | yad. ait kṛinvāno mahimānam indriyam pītvī somasya kratumān avardhata |* 2. *Tam asya Vishnur mahimānam ojasā aṁśum dadhanvān madhuno vi rapṣate | devebhir Īdro maghavā sayavabhir Vṛittrāñ jaghanvān abhavad varenyāḥ |* “The concordant heaven and earth, with all the gods, have stimulated that vigour of his. When he went on displaying his energetic greatness, drinking the soma, the powerful god increased. 2. Vishṇu, bringing to him the plant of the soma, celebrates his greatness and might. Indra, the opulent, with the gods attending, having slain Vṛittra, became distinguished.”

<sup>61</sup> Compare R. V. i. 95, 3; and x. 45, 1, ff.

R. V. x. 128, 2 (A. V. 5, 33).—*Mama devā vihave santu sarve Indra-vanto Maruto Vishṇur Agnir ityādi* | “May the gods all attend on my invocation, the Maruts with Indra, Vishṇu, Agni,” etc.

R. V. x. 141, 3 (Vāj. S. 9, 26; A. V. 3, 20, 4).—*Somaṁ rājānam avase 'gnīṁ gīrbhir havāmahe<sup>62</sup>* | *Ādityān Vishṇuṇ Sūryam brahmā-nañcha Brihaspatim* | . . . . 5. (Vāj. S. 9, 27; A. V. 3, 20, 7.) *Aryamanam Brihaspatim Indram dānāya chodaya* | *Vātaṁ Vishṇuṇ Sarasvatīm Savitārañcha vāñinam* | . “We invoke with hymns king Soma, to our aid, and the Ādityas, Vishṇu, Sūrya, and the priest<sup>63</sup> Brihaspati. 5. Excite Aryaman, Brihaspati, Indra to generosity, and Vāta, Vishṇu, Sarasvatī, and Savitri, giver of food.”

R. V. x. 181, 1.—*Pruthaścha yasya Saprathaścha nāma ānushtubhasya havisho havir yat* | *Dhātūr dyutānāt Savituścha Vishnoḥ rathan-taram ā jabhārā Vasishṭhaḥ* | 2. *Arindan te atihitām yad āśid yajñasya dhāma paramām guhā yat* | *Dhātūr dyutānād Savituścha Vishnor Bharadvājo brihad ā chakre Agneḥ* | 3. *Te 'rindan manasā dīdhyanā yajuh shkannam prathamañ derayānam* | *Dhātūr dyutānād Savituścha Vishnor ā Sūryād abharan gharmam ete* |

“Vasishtha has received from the shining Dhātri, from Savitri, and from Vishṇu, the Rathantara, that which is the offering of the fourfold sacrifice, whereof Prathas and Saprathas are the names. 2. These [sages] discovered what was very far removed, the supreme and secret abode of sacrifice. Bharadvāja has received from the shining Dhātri, from Savitri, and from Vishṇu, the Brihat of Agni. 3. Contemplating with their minds, these [sages] discovered the descended Yajush, the first path to the gods. From the shining Dhātri, Savitri, Vishṇu, Sūrya, they brought down Gharma.

R. V. x. 184, 1 (=A. V. 525, 5).—*Vishṇur yoniṁ kalpayatu·Trashṭā rūpāṇi piṁśatū* | *ā siñchatu Prajāpatir Dhātā garbhām dadhātu te* | “Let Vishṇu form the womb; let Tvastri mould the forms; let Prajāpati infuse [the seminal principle]; let Dhātri form the embryo.”

<sup>62</sup> The Vājasanoyi Sanhitā reads *anvārabhāmahe* instead of *gīrbhir havāmahe*.

<sup>63</sup> I hesitate to regard the word *brahman* here as designating the god of that name.

**SECT. II.—*Subordinate position occupied by Vishnu in the hymns of the Rig-veda as compared with other deities.***

The preceding passages are all, or nearly all, which the Rig-veda contains regarding Vishnu. In my remarks on R. V. i. 22, 16 ff. (above p. 55 ff.), I have quoted the opinions of two of the most ancient interpreters of the Veda, Sākapūṇi and Aurnavābha, on the character of Vishnu. The former regards him as a god who, in his three strides, is manifested in a threefold form, as Agni on earth, as Indra or Vāyu in the atmosphere, and as the Sun in heaven. The second writer, Aurnavābha, on the other hand, interprets Vishnu's three strides as the rising, the culmination, and the setting of the sun. These three strides are also noticed, as we have seen above, in R. V. i. 154, 1, 2, 3, 4; i. 155, 4, 5; vi. 49, 13; vii. 100, 3, 4; viii. 29, 7; while in other places (R. V. ii. 1, 3; iii. 54, 14; iv. 3, 7; iv. 18, 11; viii. 89, 12; v. 3, 3; v. 87, 4; viii. 9, 12; viii. 66, 10; x. 1, 3) the epithet "wide-stepping," or "wide-striding," is either applied to this deity, or, at least, some allusion is made to this function, or to this god's station in the heavens. In R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 6, Indra is associated with Vishnu as taking vast strides. Some other acts of even a higher character are attributed to Vishnu. In R. V. i. 154, 1, 2; vii. 99, 2, 3, he is said to have established the heavens and the earth, to contain all the worlds in his strides; in R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 4, to have, with Indra, made the atmosphere wide, stretched out the worlds, produced the sun and the dawn; in R. V. i. 156, 4, to have received the homage of Varuna; and in R. V. vii. 99, 2, to be beyond mortal comprehension. The attributes ascribed to Vishnu in some of these passages are such that, if these hymns stood alone in the Rig-veda, they might lead us to suppose that this deity was regarded by the Vedic Rishis as the chief of all the gods. But, as we have already seen, Indra is associated with Vishnu even in some of those texts in which the latter is most highly magnified (as R. V. i. 155, 1 ff.; vi. 69, 1 ff.; vii. 99, 4 ff.; viii. 15, 10); nay, in one place (R. V. viii. 12, 27), the power by which Vishnu takes his three strides is described as being derived from Indra; in two other texts (R. V. viii. 15, 9, and x. 113, 2) Vishnu is represented as celebrating Indra's praises; while, in R. V. ix. 96, 5, Vishnu is said to have been generated by Soma.

It is also a fact, notorious to all the students of the Rig-veda, that the hymns and verses which are dedicated to the praises of Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Maruts, the Aśvins, etc., are extremely numerous; whilst the entire hymns and separate verses in which Viṣṇu is celebrated are much fewer, and have all, or nearly all, been adduced in the preceding pages.

The reader will also have noticed that, in a large number of shorter passages which I have cited, Viṣṇu is introduced as the subject of laudation among a great crowd of other divinities, from whom he is there in no way distinguished as being in any respect superior. From this fact, we may conclude that he was regarded by those writers as on a footing of equality with the other deities.

Further, the Rig-veda contains numerous texts in which the Rishis ascribe to Indra, Varuṇa, and other gods, the same high and awful attributes and functions which are spoken of in the hymns before cited as belonging to Viṣṇu. I shall quote a sufficient number of these texts to shew that, in the Rig-veda, Viṣṇu does not hold a higher rank than several of these other divinities. If, on the other hand, we look to the large number of texts, in which, as I have just stated, some of the other gods are celebrated, and to the comparatively small number of those in which Viṣṇu is exclusively or prominently magnified, we shall come to the conclusion that the latter deity occupied a somewhat subordinate place in the estimation and affections of the ancient rishis.

I shall first adduce a number of passages in which divine attributes and functions of the highest character are ascribed to Indra.

R. V. i. 7, 3—*Indro dīrghāya charase ā sūryaṁ rohayad diri ityādi* | “Indra has raised up the sun in the sky to be seen from afar,” etc.

R. V. i. 52, 8.—. . . . ayachyathāḥ bāhvṛ vajram āyasam adhārayo  
diri ā sūryaṁ dṛiṣe | . . . . 12. Tram asya pāre rajaso ryomanah  
svabhāt̄-ojāḥ avase dhriṣhan-manah | chakrishe bhūmim pratiṁānam  
ojaśo 'paḥ svāḥ paribhūr eshi ā diram | 13. Tram bhūrāḥ pratiṁānam  
prithivyā riṣha-riṣasya brihataḥ patir bhūḥ | riṣvam āprā antarixam  
mahitvā satyam addhā nakir qpyas trāvān | 14. Na yaṣya dyārā-prithiri  
anu vyacho na sindhārā rajaso antam ānaśuḥ | nota svā-riṣhit̄ made  
asya yudhyata eko anyach chakrishe viṣram ānushak |

“Thou hast grasped in thine arms the iron thunderbolt; thou hast placed the sun in the sky to be viewed . . . 12. [Dwelling] on the

further side of this atmospheric world, deriving thy power from thyself, daring in spirit, thou, for our advantage, hast made the earth, the counterpart<sup>64</sup> of [thy] energy; encompassing the waters and the sky, thou reachest up to heaven. 13. Thou art the counterpart of the earth, the lord of the lofty sky, with its exalted heroes. Thou hast filled<sup>65</sup> the whole atmosphere with thy greatness. Truly there is none other like unto thee.<sup>66</sup> 14. Whose vastness neither heaven and earth have equalled, nor the rivers of the atmosphere have attained its limit,—not when, in his exhilaration, he fought against the appropriator of the rain; thou alone hast made everything else in due succession."

R. V. i. 55, 1.—*Diras chid asya varimā ri paprathē Indram na mahnā prithirī chana prati* | "His vastness is extended even beyond the sky: the earth is not comparable to Indra in greatness."

R. V. i. 61, 9.—*Asya id era praririche mahitram diras prithivyāḥ pari antarixāt ityādi* | "His greatness transcends the sky, the earth, and surpasses the atmosphere," etc.

R. V. i. 81, 5.—*Ā paprau pārthivam rajo badbadhe rochanā divi | nā tvāvān Indra kaśchana nū jāto na janishyate ati riśram vavaxitha* | "He has filled the terrestrial region: he has fastened the luminaries in the sky. No one like thee, Indra, hath been born, or shall be born: thou hast transcended the universe."

R. V. i. 102, 8.—*Tririshṭi-dhātu pratimānam ojasas tisro bhūmīr nṛipate triṇī rochanā | ati idam riśram bhuvanam vavaxitha aśatrur Indra janushā sanād asi* | "The three worlds, o king, the three luminaries are a triple counterpart of [thy] energy. Thou hast transcended this whole universe. By nature, Indra, thou art of old without an enemy."<sup>67</sup>

R. V. i. 103, 2.—*Sa dhārayat prithivīm paprathachcha vajrena hatvā nir apaḥ sasarjā | ahann Ahim ityādi* | "He established the earth and stretched it out; smiting with the thunderbolt, he let loose the waters. He slew Ahi," etc.

<sup>64</sup> Compare R. V. i. 102, 8; ii. 12, 9; x. 111, 5 (below). The word *pratimāna* also occurs in R. V. x. 138, 3.—See the Second Part of this work, p. 378.

<sup>65</sup> Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; ii. 15, 2; vi. 17, 7; vii. 20, 4; vii. 98, 3; and x. 134, 1 (below).

<sup>66</sup> Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; iv. 30, 1; vi. 30, 4; and vii. 32, 23 (below).

<sup>67</sup> Compare R. V. viii. 21, 13; x. 133, 2 (below).

R. V. i. 121, 2.—*Stambhit hā dyām ityādi | 3. . . . tustambhad dyām chatushpade naryāya dvipade |* “He has supported the sky, etc. 3. . . . He has propped up the sky for the four-footed [beasts], and for the two-footed race of man.”

R. V. ii. 12, 1 (Nirukta, x. 10).—*Yo jātah eva pruthamo manasvān devo devān kratunā paryabhūshat<sup>68</sup> | Yasya śushmād rodasī abhyasetāñ nrimṇasya mahnā sa janāsa Indraḥ | 2. Yaḥ prithivīm vyathamānām adriñhad yaḥ parvatān prakupitān aramnāt | yo antarixañ vimame varīyo yo dyām astabhnāt sa janāsa Indraḥ | 9. . . . Yo viśasya pratimānam babbūva yo achyuta-chyut sa janāsa Indraḥ | 13. Dyāvā chid asmai prithivī namete śushmāch chid asya parvatāḥ bhayante ityādi |*

“He who, immediately on his birth, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force; at whose might the two worlds shook, through the greatness of his strength, he, o men, is Indra. 2. He who fixed the quivering earth; who gave stability to the agitated mountains; who measured<sup>69</sup> the vast atmosphere; who propped up the sky, he, o men, is Indra. 9. . . . He who has been a counterpart of the universe; who casts down the unshaken, he, o men, is Indra. . . . The sky and the earth bow down to him; at his might the mountains are afraid,” etc.

R. V. ii. 15, 1.—*Pra gha nu asya mahato mahāni satyā satyasya karanāni rocham | trikudrukeshu apibat sutasya asya made ahim Indro jaghāna | 2. Acañśe dyām astabhāyad brihantum ā rodasī aprinād antarixam | sa dhārayat prithivīm paprathachcha somasya tā made Indraś chakrā | 3. Sadmeva prācho vimamāya mānair vajrena khāni atrinād nadinām ityādi |*

“I declare the mighty deeds of this mighty one; the true acts of this true one. At the trikadruka festival Indra drank of the soma, and in its exhilaration he slew Ahi. 2. He propped up the vast sky in empty

<sup>68</sup> *Kratunā karmaṇā paryabhavat pāryagṛihṇāt paryaraxad atyakrānad vā . . . nrimṇasya mahnā balasya mahattvena.*—Nirukta. At the end of the comment the writer adds: *iti risher drishṭārthasya pratiṣṭir bhavaty ḫākyāna-saṁyuktā |* “Thus when the rishi has seen the subject [of his hymn], gratification ensues, conjoined with a narrative.”

<sup>69</sup> Compare R. V. i. 154, 1, 3, and the other corresponding passages above p. 59 ff.; and R. V. ii. 15, 3, immediately following. With the first part of the verse compare R. V. x. 149, 1, below (p. 96).

space;<sup>70</sup> he hath filled the two worlds, and the atmosphere. He hath upheld the earth, and stretched it out. Indra has done these things in the exhilaration of the soma. 3. He hath meted with his measures the eastern [regions], like a house; with his thunderbolt he has opened up the sources of the rivers," etc.

R. V. iii. 30, 9.—*Ni sāmanām ishirām Indra bhūmīm mahīm apārām sadane sasattha | astabhnād dyāñ rrishabho antarixam arshantu āpas tvayoha prasūtāḥ |* “Thou, Indra, hast fixed in its place the level, the moving,<sup>71</sup> earth, the great, the boundless. The vigorous god has propped up the sky, and the atmosphere: may the waters flow, sent forth now by thee.”

R. V. iii. 32, 7.—*Yajāma id namaśā rriddham Indram brihantam rishram ajaram yurānam | yasya priye mamatur yajñiyasya na rodasi mahimānam mamāte |* 8. *Indrasya karma sukṛitā puruṇi vratāni devā na minanti risve | dādhāra yah prithivīm dyām utemām jajāna sūryam ushasām sudaṁsāḥ |* 9. *Adrogha satyām tava tad mahitrām sadyo yaj jāto apibo ha somām | na dyāva Indra tavasas te ojo nāhō na māsāḥ śarado varanta<sup>72</sup> |*

“Let us worship, with reverence, the mighty Indra, the powerful, the exalted, the undecaying, the youthful. The beloved<sup>73</sup> worlds (heaven and earth) have not measured, nor do they [now] measure, the greatness of this adorable being.<sup>74</sup> 8. Many are the excellent works which Indra has done; not all the gods are able to frustrate the counsels of him, who established the earth, and this sky, and, wonder-working, produced the sun and the dawn. O innoxious god, thy greatness has been veritable since that time when, as soon as thou wast born, thou

<sup>70</sup> Compare R. V. x. 149, 1 (below); and Job xxvi. 7, “He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing.” See also R. V. x. 111. 5; and vi. 72, 2 (below).

<sup>71</sup> Prof. Roth explains *ishira* as meaning “fresh,” “blooming.”

<sup>72</sup> Compare R. V. viii. 77, 3: *Na tvā brihanto adrayo varante.*

<sup>73</sup> Sāyaṇa explains *priye* as meaning *aparimite*, “immeasurable.”—See vii. 87, 2.

<sup>74</sup> Dr. Aufrecht proposes to translate the last clause thus: “his beloved (spouses), heaven and earth, imagine, but do not measure (comprehend) the greatness of this holy being.” He regards the repetition of the root *mā* “to measure” in two different forms as purposeless, and conjectures that *mamatuḥ* may be the perfect of *man*, and used for *mamanatuḥ* or *mannatuḥ*. Compare the aorist *amata*, and *sasavān* for *sasavān*; see also R. V. vii. 31, 7: *Mahān aei yasya te 'nu svadhāvari sahāḥ | mamāte Indra rodasi |*

didst drink the soma. Neither the heavens, nor the days, nor the months, nor the seasons can resist the energy of thee [who art] mighty.

R. V. iji. 44, 3.—*Dyām Indro haridhāyasam prithivīṁ harirarpasam | adhārayad ityādi |* “Indra upheld the sky with its golden luminaries, and the earth with its verdant form,” etc.

R. V. iv. 16, 5.—*Vavare Indro amitam rījishī ubhe ā prapau rodasī mahitvā | ataś chid asya mahimā virechi abhi yo riśrā bhuvanā babbūva |* “The impetuous<sup>75</sup> Indra hath waxed immeasurably; he has filled both worlds with his vastness. Even beyond this extends the majesty of him who transcends all the worlds.”

R. V. iv. 30, 1.—*Nakir Indra trad uttaro na jyāyān asti Vṛittrahan | nakir eva yathā tran |* “There is none, Indra, higher than thee, or superior to thee, thou slayer of Vṛittra; neither is there any like thee.”

R. V. vi. 17, 7.—*Pāprātha xām māhi dañso vi ūrrīm upa dyām rishvo bṛihad Indra stabhāyah | adhārayo rodasī devaputre pratne mātarā yahvī ritasya |* “Thou hast filled the broad earth with thy mighty works; thou, Indra, exalted, hast mightily (?) propped up the sky; thou hast supported the two worlds, the productions of the gods, the ancient and mighty parents of sacrifice.”

R. V. vi. 30, 4.—*Satyam it tad na trūrān anyo asti Indra devo na martyo jyāyān ityādi |* “This is a truth, there is no other, god or mortal, like thee, Indra, or greater than thee,” etc.

R. V. vi. 31, 2.—*Tred-bhiyā Indra pārthivāni riśrā ahyutā chit ḥyārayante rajāñsi | dyārā-xāmā parratāso vanāni riśram dṛiḥham bhayate ajmann ā te |* “Through fear of thee, Indra, all the mundane regions, however steady, begin to totter; heaven and earth, mountains, forests, everything that is fixed, is afraid at thy coming.”

R. V. vi. 38, 3.—*Tañ ro dhiyā paramayā purājām ajaram Indram abhi anūshi arkair ityādi |* “I have lauded with an excellent prayer, and with praises, thec, Indra, born of old, and undecaying.”

R. V. vii. 20, 4.—*Ubhe chid Indra rodasī mahitvā ā paprātha tu-vishibhis turishmaḥ ityādi |* “Thou, powerful Indra, hast filled both worlds with thy mighty deeds,” etc.

<sup>75</sup> See Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *rījishin*, and Benfey's note 263, on R. V. i. 32, 6, in his “Orient and Occident.” The verse before us (iv. 16, 5) is translated by the same author in his Glossary to S. V., p. 162.

R. V. vii. 32, 16.—*Tava id Indra avamaṁ vasu tvam pushyasi madhyamam | satrā viśasya paramasya rājasi nakis tvā goshu vrīnvate | . . . . .* 22. *Abhi tvā śūra nonumah adugdhāḥ ita dhenavāḥ | iśānam asya jagataḥ svardriśam iśānam Indra tashushaḥ |* 23. *Na tvāvān anyo divyo na pārthivo na jāto na janishyate ityādi*<sup>76</sup> |

“Thine, o Indra, is the lowest wealth; thou sustaineſt the middle; thou ruleſt over all the very highest; no one resiſts thee among the cows. . . . 22. We, o heroic Indra, like unmilked cows, approach with our praieſes thee who art the heavenly lord of this moving, and of the stationary [world]. 23. No one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born, or ſhall be born, like to thee.”

R. V. vii. 98, 3 (=A. V. 20, 87, 3).—. . . . . *Ā Indra paprātha uru antarixaṁ yudhā devebhyo rarivaś chakartha | . . . . .* “Indra, thou hast filled the wide sky: thou hast by battle acquired ample ſpace for the gods.”<sup>77</sup>

R. V. viii. 3, 6 (=S. V. ii. 938).—*Indro mahnā rodasī paprathach chhavāḥ Indrah sūryam arochayat | Indre ha viśvā bhuvanāni yemire ityādi |* “The mighty Indra by his power has ſpread out the two worlds; Indra has lighted up the Sun: in Indra all the worlds are contained,” etc.<sup>78</sup>

R. V. viii. 21, 13 (=S. V. 1, 399; A. V. 20, 114, 1).—*Abhrātrivyo anā tvam anāpir Indra janushā sanād asi | yudhā id āpitvam ichhase |* “Indra, by thy nature, thou art of old without a rival, without a fellow. By battle thou ſeekest alliance.”

R. V. viii. 36, 4.—*Janitā diro janitā prithiryāḥ ityādi |* “Generator of the sky, generator of the earth,” etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 37, 3.—*Ekarād asya bhuvanasya rājasi ityādi |* “Thou ruleſt a ſole monarch over this world,” etc. (Indra).

<sup>76</sup> This entire hymn is translated in Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 543 ff.

<sup>77</sup> The words at the close of this verſe occur also in R. V. i. 59, 5 (see below). In regard to *varivāḥ*, compare R. V. i. 63, 7: *añhōḥ rājan varivāḥ Pūrve kāḥ |* “Thou affordedſt relief to Pūru from his strait.” The word occurs R. V. ix. 97, 16, in the plural, *varivāñsi krīvan*. In the Nighantu, 2, 10, it is ſaid to mean “wealth.”

<sup>78</sup> In the 8th verſe of this hymn (=S. V. 2, 924; Vāj. S. 33, 97; A. V. 20, 99, 2) the following words occur: *asyed Indro vāyādhe vṛiṣhṇyaṁ sāvō made sutasya vishṇavi;* “Indra increased his fecundating strength, in the penetrating exhilaration of this soma.” *Vishṇavi*, the word here rendered “penetrating,” is the locative case of *vishṇu*. The commentator of the Vāj. Sanhitā explains it by *sarva-sarīra-vyāpake*, “That which pervades the whole body.” Sāyana, too, makes it = *kṛiṣṇa-dehasya vyāpake* |

R. V. viii. 51, 2.—*Ayujo asamo nr̄ibhir ekah krishtir ayāsyah | pūrvīr ati pravārridhe viśrā jātāny ojasā ityādi |* “Without a fellow, unequalled by men, [Indra] alone, unconquered, has surpassed in power former generations,”<sup>79</sup> and all creatures.”

R. V. viii. 59, 5 (=S. V. i. 278).—*Yad dyāra Indra te śatam bhūmīr uta syuḥ | na trā rājīn sahasram sūryāḥ anu na jātam ashṭa rodasī |* “If, Indra, a hundred skies, and a hundred earths were thine, a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer, nor could the two worlds attain to thee, when thou hadst been born.”

This verse is quoted and briefly commented on in the Nirukta Parīshishta i. 1, ff: *Athenā atistutaya ity āchaxate’pi rā sampratyeva syād mahābhāgīyād devatāyāḥ | . . . Yadi te Indra śatam dirāḥ śatam bhūmayah pratimānāni syur na trā rājīn sahasram api sūryā na dyāvā-prithivyāv apy abhyāśnūritām iti |* “Now these [which follow] are what are called exaggerated praises; or they may be expressions of perfect faith owing to the grandeur of the Deity.” Then, after citing passages referring to Agni and Varuna, the writer quotes the verse before us, and thus paraphrases it: “If, Indra, a hundred skies, a hundred earths be the counterparts [with which thou art compared], not even a thousand suns, o thunderer, nor heaven and earth can equal thee.”

R. V. viii. 67, 5.—*Nakīm Indro nikarttave nu Śakraḥ pariśaktave viśram ūṇoti paśyati |* “Indra is not to be overcome, Śakra is not to be overpowered. He hears and sees all things.”<sup>80</sup>

R. V. viii. 77, 4.—*Yoddhā’ si kratvā śarasota daṁsāna viśvā jātā abhi majmanā | ā tvā ayam arka ṛtaye rāvarattati yaṁ Gotamā ajijanan |* 5. (S. V. 1, 312.) *Pra hi rirīxe ojasā diro antebhyas<sup>81</sup> pari | na trā vivyācha rāja Indra pārthivam anu srādhām rāvaxitha |*

“A warrior, thou surpassest all creatures in power, in vigour, in exploits, in strength. This hymn, which the Gotamas have generated, incites thee to succour us. 5. For by thy might thou hast overpassed

<sup>79</sup> Dr. Aufrecht explains *pūrvīḥ krishtīḥ* of the races of gods anterior to Indra, the latter deity, like Jupiter, belonging to a recent generation of divinities. See Prof. Roth's articles on the “principal gods of the Arian nations,” in the Journal of the German Oriental Society.

<sup>80</sup> This hymn is translated by Professor Müller, Zeits. D. M. G. for 1853, p. 375.

<sup>81</sup> Instead of *antebhyas* the S. V. reads *sadobhyas*.

the bounds of the sky. The mundane region hath not contained thee: thou hast grown according to thine own will.”<sup>82</sup>

R. V. viii. 78, 5 (=S. V. ii. 779 f.)—*Yaj jāyathā apūrvya Maghavan Vrittra-hatyāya | tat prithirīm aprathayas tad astabhnā uta dyām | 6. Tat te yajño ajāyata tad arka uta haskritih | tad viśvam abhibhūr asi yaj jātaṁ yachcha jantvam |*<sup>83</sup>

“When thou, o unrivalled Maghavan (Indra), wast born for the destruction of Vrittra, then thou didst spread out the earth, and then thou didst establish the sky. Then was thy sacrifice produced; then thy hymn and thy song of praise. Then thou didst transcend all things that have been born, and shall be born.”

R. V. viii. 82, 11.—*Yasya te nū chid ādiśām na minanti svarājyaṁ na dero na adhrigur janah |* “Whose command, and empire, no one,—whether god, or audacious mortal,—can resist.”

R. V. viii. 86, 9.—*Na trā devāsa āśata na martyāśo adrivah | viśvā jātāni śavasā abhibhūr asi ityādi | 10. (S. V. i. 370): Viśvāḥ pritanā abhibhūtarām naraṁ<sup>84</sup> sajūs tataxur Indraṁ jajanuś cha rājuse | kratrā varishṭām vare<sup>85</sup> āmurim utogram ojishṭham tavaśam<sup>86</sup> tarasvinam |*

“Thee, o hurler of rocks, neither gods nor mortals have overcome. Thou transcendest in power all creatures, etc. 10. They, united, have formed and generated for dominion the heroic Indra, the vanquisher of all armies, eminent in power to bless (?), destroyer, fierce, strong, vigorous, and swift.”

R. V. viii. 87, 2.—*Tvam Indra abhibhūr asi tvāṁ sūryam arochayah | viśvakarṇā viśvadevo mahān asi |* “Thou, Indra, art the most powerful; thou hast kindled the sun; thou art great, the architect of all things, and the lord of all.”

R. V. x. 43, 5 (=A. V. 20, 17, 5; Nir. 5, 22).—*Kṛitaṁ na śvaghñi vichinoti devane saṁvargaṁ yad Maghavā sūryaṁ jayat | na tat te anyo anu vīryaṁ śakad na purāṇo Maghavan na uta nūtanaḥ |* “When Maghavan

<sup>82</sup> At the end of the verse the S. V. reads *ati viśvam vavaxitha* | “Thou hast transcended the universe.” On the sense of *svadhā*, see Roth, Illust. of Nir. pp. 40 f. and 135.

<sup>83</sup> Compare the words *yad bhūtaṁ yachcha bhāvyam* in the Purusha Sūkta, R. V. x. 90, 2. See First Part of this work, p. 7.

<sup>84</sup> The Sāma-veda reads *naraḥ*.

<sup>85</sup> The Sāma-veda reads *kratre vare sthemany āmurim*.

<sup>86</sup> The Sāma-veda reads *tarasaṁ*.

has conquered spoils<sup>87</sup> from the sun, he is like a gamester who distributes his gains at play.<sup>88</sup> No other, Maghavan, either old or recent, can equal thy prowess."

R. V. x. 48, 3.—*Mahyaṁ Tvaṣṭṛā rajram ataxad āyasmā mayi devāso avrijann api kratum | mama anīkaṁ sūryasya iva dustaram mām ḍryanti kritena kartvena cha |* “Tvaṣṭṛi fashioned for me (Indra) an iron thunderbolt; into me the gods have infused force. My splendour is unsurpassed, like that of the sun. Men praise me for what I have done and shall do.”

R. V. x. 86, 1 (=A. V. xx. 126, 1).— . . . *viśrasmād Indrah uttarah |* (Repeated at the close of every verse of this hymn.) “Indra is superior to every other.”

R. V. x. 111, 1.—*Maniṣināḥ pra bharadvāram maniṣhām yathā yathā matayah santi nrīṇām | Indram satyair crayāmā kṛitebhīḥ sa hi vīro girvanasyur vidānah |* 2. *Ritasya hi sadaso dhītir adya ut saṁ gārshṭeyo vrishabho gobhir ānat | ud atishṭhat tavishenā ravenā mahānti chid saṁviryāchā rajānsi |* 3. *Indrah kila śrutyai asya veda sa hi jishṇuh pathikṛit sūryāya | ad menān kriṇēann achyuto bhurad goḥ patir divah sanajā apratītah |* 4. *Indro mahnā mahatō arṇarasya vratā amīnād Angirobhīr grīṇānah | purūni chid ni tatāna rajānsi dādhāra yo dharunām satyatātā |* 5. *Indro dirah prati mānam prithivyā viśvā veda savanā hanti Sushṇam | mahīm chid dyām ā atanot sūryena chāskambha chit skambhanena skabhīyān |*

“Sages, present the prayer, according as are the various thoughts of men. Let us by our sincere rites bring hither Indra, for he is a hero, he loves our hymns, and he is wise. 2. The intelligent [god] has shone forth from the abode of sacrifice. The bull, offspring of a heifer, has approached the cows; he has arisen with a loud bellowing; he has pervaded the vast regions. 3. Indra surely knows the fame of this. For

<sup>87</sup> Sāyaṇa explains *sāñvargam* as = *sāñyag vrishṭer varjayitāram* | “discharger of rain.” The word, as Dr. Aufrecht informs me, occurs only once again in the R. V. viz. in viii. 64, 12: *sāñvargam sāñ rayīm jaya* | and he adds that the translation “spoils” is supported by several passages of the S. P. Br. e.g. i. 7, 2, 24 (p. 69): *pitur dāyam upeyuḥ . . . kathaṁ Ṣv imam api sāñvṛiñjimahi* (Schol. *apahare mahi*). Ibid. *samaṛpiñjata, sāñvṛinkte*. S. P. Br. i. 9, 2, 34: *sarvāñ yajñāñ sāñvṛijya* (= *sāñapti-pūrvāñ sāñhṛitya*). In the R. V. Indra is called *samṛik samatsu* “the spoiler in battles.”

<sup>88</sup> The same comparison occurs in R. V. x. 42, 9, and A. V. 7, 50, 6; 20, 89, 7.

he, victorious, immoveable, forming a path for the sun, and creating the female of a bull (?), became, in consequence, the eternal and matchless lord of the sky (compare R. V. i. 51, 13; i. 121, 2). 4. Celebrated by the Angirases, Indra has destroyed the labours of the great streaming [cloud-demon];<sup>89</sup> he has stretched out many worlds, he who has laid a foundation by truth. 5. Indra, [who is] the counterpart of the heaven and of the earth, knows all sacrifices, slays Sushṇa; with the sun, he has extended the vast sky, and, [being] a strong supporter, he has supported it with a support.”<sup>90</sup>

R. V. x. 133, 2 (=S. V. ii. 1151).—*Tvam sindhūn avāsrijah adharācho ahann Ahim | aśatrur Indra jajñishe viśvam pushyasi vāryam ityādi |* “Thou hast let loose the streams to flow downwards; thou hast slain Ahi. Indra, thou hast been born without a foe; thou possessest all that is desirable,” etc.

R. V. x. 134, 1 (=S. V. i. 379).—*Ubhe yad Indra rodasi āpaprātha ushā iva | mahāntām trā mahinām samrājaṁ charshanīnām | devī janitri ajanad bhadrā janitri ajjanat<sup>91</sup> |* “When thou, Indra, like the dawn, didst fill both the worlds, a divine mother bore thee, the mighty monarch of mighty creatures,—a gracious mother bore thee.”

How great soever the attributes assigned to Indra may be, we see that here he is not regarded as a self-existent being, but as the son of a mother.

The two following texts refer to Indra in conjunction with another god:

R. V. vi. 72, 2.—*Indrā-Somā rāsayatha ushāsam ut sūryām nayatho jyotiṣhā saha | upa dyām skambhathuḥ skambhanena aprathatam prithivīm mātarām vi |* “Indra and Soma, ye cause the dawn to appear, ye make the sun to rise with the light. Ye have propped up the sky with a support,<sup>92</sup> ye have spread out the earth, the mother.”

R. V. vii. 82, 5.—*Indrā-Varuṇā yad imāni chakrathur viśvā jātāni bhuvanasya majmanā ityādi |* “Indra and Varuṇa, since ye have made all these creatures of the world by your power,” etc.

<sup>89</sup> That this is the allusion in the word *arpava*, is shewn by the following passage: R. V. x. 67, 2.—*Indro mahnū mahato arpavasag vi mūrdhānam abhinad Arbudasya ityādi |* “Indra by his power split asunder the head of the great streaming Arbuda,” etc.

<sup>90</sup> Compare R. V. vi. 72, 2, below.

<sup>91</sup> The last line is repeated at the close of each of the five following verses.

<sup>92</sup> Compare R. V. ii. 15, 2; x. 111, 5; and x. 149, 1, below.

The passages next following celebrate the divine attributes of Varuṇa :

R. V. i. 24, 8.—*Uruṇ hi rajā Varunaś chakrā sūryāya panthām anu-ētavai u ityādi* | “King Varuṇa hath made a broad path for the sun to follow,” etc.

R. V. ii. 27, 10.—*Tvañ viśvēshāñ Varunāsi rājā ye cha devā asura ye cha marittāḥ* | “Thou, divine Varuṇa, art king of all, both of those who are gods, and of those who are men.”—Quoted in Müller’s Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 534.

R. V. vi. 70, 1.—*Ghrītavatī bhurānām abhiśriyā ūrvī prithvī madhu-dughe supeśasā* | *dyādā-prithivī Varunasya dharmaṇā vishkabhite ajare bhūri-retasā* | “Full of fatness, the common abodes of creatures, wide, broad, dropping sweetness, beautiful in form, heaven and earth are held asunder by the support of Varuṇa, undecaying, abundant in fertility.”

R. V. vii. 86, 1.—*Dhīrā tu asya mahinā janūñshi ri yaś tastambha rodasī chid urvī* | *pra nākam rishvañ nunude brihantāñ dvitā naxatram paprāthach cha bhūma* | “Wise are his creations who by his power propped asunder the two vast worlds. He raised up the high and wide firmament, and spread out apart the stars and the earth.”—This hymn is translated in Müller’s Sansk. Lit., pp. 540 f.

R. V. vii. 87, 1.—*Radat patho Varunāḥ sūryāya pra arnāñsei samudriyā nadinām* | *sargo na śrīshṭo arvatīr ritāyan chakrā mahīr avanīr ahabhyaḥ* | 2. *Ātmā te rāto raja ā narīnot paśur na bhūrnir yavase savāñ* | *antar mahī brihatī rodasīne riśvā te dhāma Varuṇa priyāni* |

“Varuṇa has opened out paths for the sun, and the aerial courses of the rivers. Like a troop of horses let loose, following the mares, he has made great channels for the days. 2. The wind is thy breath, which has agitated the atmosphere, like an impetuous beast grazing in a pasture. Within [thee?] are these two great and vast worlds; all thy realms, o Varuṇa, are beloved [or, unlimited].”<sup>23</sup>

R. V. viii. 42, 1.—*Astabhnād dyām Asuro viśravedā amimīta vari-mānam prithivyāḥ* | *āśīda viśvā bhurānī samrād viśvā it tāni Varunasya vratāni* | 2. *Evā vandasvā Varunāñ brihantāñ namasyā dhīram amritasya gopām* | *sa naḥ śarmā trivarūthāñ viyāñsad ityādi* |

“The omniscient Spirit (*Asura*) has propped up the sky; he has

<sup>23</sup> See note on R. V. iii. 32, 7, above.

measured.<sup>94</sup> the expanse of the earth ; he has pervaded all the worlds, the monarch : all these are the achievements of Varuṇa. 2. Reverence, then, the mighty Varuṇa, bow down before the wise guardian of immortality. May he impart to us triple prosperity," etc.

The next texts refer to the Sun (Sūrya, Aditya, or Savitri) :

R. V. i. 50, 7.—*Vi dyām eshi rajas prithv ahā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan janmāni Sūrya |* “Thou traversest the sky, the broad expanse, measuring (forming?) the days with thy rays; beholding created things, o Sun.”

R. V. i. 160, 4.—*Ayaṁ devānām apasām' apastamō yo jajāna rodasi viśvaśambhurā | vi yo mame rajaśi sukratūyayā ajarebhiḥ skambhanebhiḥ samānriche |* “He, the most active of the active gods, who produced the heaven and earth which are beneficent to all; who from a desire to benefit [men] measured (constructed?) the worlds, with their un-decaying supports,—he has been lauded [by us].”<sup>95</sup>

R. V. viii. 90, 11, 12 (=S. V. ii. 1138, 9).—*Baḍ mahān asi Sūrya baḍ Āditya mahān asi | mahas te sato mahimā panasyate addha ḍeva mahān asi | Baṭ Sūrya śravaśā mahān asi satrā deva mahān asi | mahān devānām asuryaḥ purohito vibhu jyotir adābh�am |*

“Verily, Sūrya, thou art great; verily, Āditya, thou art great. The majesty of thee who art great is celebrated: certainly, god, thou art great. 12. Verily, Sūrya, thou art great in renown: o god, thou art very great; through thy greatness thou art the divine leader of the gods, the pervading, irresistible luminary.”

R. V. x. 149, 1.—*Savitā yantraiḥ prithivīm aramnād askambhane Savitā dyām adriñhat | aśvam iva adhuxad dhunim antarixam atūrtte baddhaṁ Savitā samudram |* 2. *Yatra samudraḥ skabbito vi-aunad apāṁ napāt Savita tasya veda | ato bhūr ata ā utthitaṁ rajo ato dyāvā-prithivī aprathetām |*

“Savitri has established the earth by supports; Savitri has fixed the sky in unsupported space;<sup>96</sup> Savitri has milked the atmosphere,

<sup>94</sup> See above, p. 61.

<sup>95</sup> See R. V. x. 111, 5, and vi. 72, 2.

<sup>96</sup> In later times, as is well known, the earth is represented in Hindu mythology as resting on the head of the serpent S’esha, or on some other support. Thus it is said in the Vishnu Pur. ii. 5, 19 (Wilson, p. 206): *Sa bibhrat tekharibhūtam ateshām xiti-mandalam | āste pāṭīla-mūla-sthāḥ S’esha ‘sesha-surārchitaḥ |* “S’esha, worshipped by all the gods, supports the whole region of the earth like a diadem, and is

restless (or noisy) as a horse, [or, Savitri has extracted from the atmosphere the ocean, etc., restless as a horse],—the ocean fastened in the impassable expanse. 2. Savitri, the son of the waters, knows the place where the ocean, supported, issued forth. From him the earth, from him the atmosphere arose; from him the heaven and earth extended."

The first of the preceding verses is quoted by Yāska (Nir. x. 32), and illustrated as follows: *Savitā yantraiḥ prithivīm aramayat | anāra-mbhane'ntarixe Savitā dyām adṛiñhad aśram iva adhucad dhunim antarixe megham buddham atūrtie buddham atūrṇe iti vā 'tvaramāne iti vā Savitā samuditārum iti | kam anyam madhyanād evam araxyat | Ādityo 'pi Savitā uchyate.* "Savitri by supports has caused the earth to rest; Savitri has fixed the sky like a horse in the place which has no resting place (?)—the atmosphere. Savitri has milked the watery cloud fastened in the atmosphere, the impassable, or the unhastening. What other god than the intermediate one (*i.e.* the deity residing in the atmosphere) would he have thus described? The sun also (whose place is in the sky) is called Savitri."

the foundation of Pātāla." The Siddhāntas, or scientific astronomical works of India, however, maintain that the earth is unsupported. Thus it is said in the Siddhānta-Siromani, iii. 2 : *Bhūmeḥ piṇḍaḥ sāśāṅka-śāśa-kavi-ravi-kujeyyarki-nazatra-kaxī-vrittair vrituh san mṛid-anila-saṅga-vyoma-tejomayo' yam | nānyādhlārah sva-śaktiyāra viyati niyataṁ tisṭhati ityādi | . . . . 4. Mūrtto dhartā ched dharitryās tad-anyas tasyāpyanyo 'syavam atrānavasthā | antye kalpyū chet sva-śaktiḥ kīm ādye kīm no bhūmir ityādi |* which is thus translated by the late Mr. L. Wilkinson in the Bibl. Indica (new series), No. 13 : "2. This globe of the earth formed of [the five elementary principles] earth, air, water, the aether, and fire, is perfectly round, and encompassed by the orbits of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, and by the constellations. It has no [material] supporter; but stands firmly in the expanse of heaven by its own inherent force. On its surface throughout subsist [in security] all animate and inanimate objects, Danujas and human beings, gods and Daityas." . . . . "4. If the earth were supported by any material substance or living creature, then that would require a second supporter, and for that second a third would be required. Here we have the absurdity of an interminable series. If the last of the series be supposed to remain firm by its own inherent power, then why may not the same power be supposed to exist in the first—that is, in the earth? For is not the earth one of the forms of the eight-fold divinity, *i.e.* of S'iva?" Aryya Bhatta, one of the most ancient of Indian scientific astronomers, even maintained that the alternation of day and night is the result of the rotation of the earth on its own axis. His words, as quoted by Mr. Colebrooke (Essays, ii. p. 392) are those : *Bha-puṇjarāḥ sthīro bhūr evāvṛityāvṛitya prātiśāvasikāv udāyāstamayau sampādayati nazatra-grahānām |* "The starry firmament is fixed. It is the earth, which, continually revolving, produces the rising and setting of the constellations and planets."

Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 143) thus translates the verse : "Savitri has fixed the earth with supports, he has fastened the heaven in unsupported space ; he has milked the atmosphere shaking itsclf like a horse, the stream which is confined within limits which cannot be overpassed." (In his Lexicon, however, Prof. Roth gives to *dhuni* the sense of "sounding.") He then observes : "According to Yāska the Savitri who is here mentioned must be the intermediate one, on account of his function in causing rain."

The following passages refer to Agni :

R. V. i. 59, 5.—*Divaś chit te brihato Jātavedo vaiśvānara pra ririche mahitvam | rājā kṛiṣṭinām asi mānushīnām yudhā drebhyo varivāś chakartha |* "Jātavedas, present with all men, thy greatness surpasses even that of the vast sky. Thou art the king of human creatures ; by battle thou hast obtained an ample space for the gods."

R. V. i. 67, 3.—*Ajo na xām dādhāra prithiviṁ tasthambha dyām mantrebhīḥ satyair ityādi |* "Like the moving [sun, or the unborn] he upheld the broad earth ; he supported the sky with true hymns," etc.

The next verses celebrate the greatness of Parjanya :

R. V. vii. 101, 4.—*Yaśmin viśvāni bhurānāni tasīhus tisro dyāras tredhā sasrur āpa ityādi | 6. Sa retodhā vṛishabhabhaḥ śāśratinām tasiminn ātmā jagatas tastushaścha |* (Compare R. V. i. 115, 1). "He in whom all the worlds abide, and the three heavens, and [by whom] the waters flowed in three directions, etc. 6. He is the bull that impregnates all the cows : in him is the soul of the moving and stationary world."

This next passage refers to the god called Gandharva :

R. V. x. 139, 5.— . . . *Dityo Gandharvo rajaso vimānah |* "The divine Gandharva, measurer of the world," etc.

The last set of passages which I shall adduce celebrate the greatness of Soma :

R. V. ix. 61, 16 (=S. V. 1, 484).—*Pavamāno ajījanad divaś chitraṁ na tanyatum | jyotir vaiśvānaram brihat |* "The purifier [Soma] has generated the great light which is common to all mankind, like the wonderful thundering of the sky."

R. V. ix. 86, 28.—*Tavemāḥ prajā divyasya retasas tvāṁ viśvasya bhuvanasya rājasī | athedaṁ viśvam pavamāna te vaše tvam Indo prathamo dhāmadhā asi | 29. Tvāṁ samudro asi viśvavit kave tavemāḥ pañcha pradiśo vidharmani | tvāṁ dyām cha prithiviṁ chāti jabhrishe tava*

*jyotiṁshi pāvamāna sūryah* | 30. *Tvam pāvitre rājaso vidharmanī  
devebhyaḥ soma pāvamāna pūyase | tvām Uṣijah prathamā agribhñata  
tubhyemā viśvā bhuvanāni yemire |*

"All these creatures spring from thy divine seed; thou art the lord of the whole universe. All this, purifier, is under thy control; thou, Indu, art the first sustainer of the regions. Thou, sage, art an omniscient ocean; all those five quarters of the world are upheld by thee. Thou hast transcended the sky and the earth; thine, o purifier, are the luminaries and the sun. In the filter which is the support of the world, thou, pure Soma, art purified for the gods. The Uśijes first gathered thee. In thee all these worlds are contained."

R. V. ix. 89, 6.—*Vishṭambho divo dharunāḥ pṛithivṛā viśvā uta xitayo  
haste asya ityādi |* "He is the supporter of the sky, the upholder of the earth: all men are in his hand."

R. V. ix. 96, 5, which has been quoted above (p. 81), should be again referred to here.

R. V. ix. 97, 24.—*Paviterebhiḥ pāvamāno nrīchaxāḥ rājā devānām uta  
marthyānām ityādi |* "[Soma], purified by filters, the beholder of men, is the king of gods, and of mortals," etc.

R. V. ix. 100, 8.—*Pāvamāna mahi śravaś chitrebhir yāsi raśmibhiḥ<sup>97</sup> |  
śarddhan taṁnāsi jīgnase viśvāni dāśusho grihe | 9. tvām dyām cha  
mahivrata pṛithirīm chāti jabhrishe ityādi |* "Thou, pure [Soma], marchest onward to great renown, by thy varied rays; daring, thou willest to destroy all darkness in the house of thy worshipper. 9. Thou, achiever of great deeds, hast transcended heaven and earth," etc.

R. V. ix. 107, 7.— . . . *tvām kavir abhavo dera-vitamaḥ ā sūryām  
rohayo divi |* "Thou art a sage most pleasing to the gods; thou hast caused the sun to rise in the sky."

R. V. ix. 109, 4 (=S. V. ii. 591).—*Pavasra soma mahān samudraḥ  
pitā devānām viśvā ubhi dhāma |* "Purify all abodes, Soma, [who art] a great ocean, the father of the gods," etc.

The preceding texts are amply sufficient to show that Vishṇu is not the only god to whom the highest divine functions are ascribed in the Veda, but that, on the contrary, the same attributes are assigned, and with far greater frequency, to several of the other deities.

The following passage from Professor Müller's Ancient Sanskrit

<sup>97</sup> Compare R. V. ix. 4, 1: *Sanā cha Soma jeshi cha pāvamāna mahi śravaḥ |* and ix. 83, 5: *Jayan śravo brihat |*

Literature (p. 532 f.) shews that all the principal Vedic deities are, in their turn, addressed by their worshippers as supreme :

"When these individual gods are invoked, they are not conceived as limited by the power of others as superior or inferior in rank. Each god is to the mind of the supplicants as good as all the gods. He is felt, at the time, as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands in full light before the eyes of the worshippers. 'Among you, o gods, there is none that is small, none that is young : you are all great indeed,'<sup>98</sup> is a sentiment which, though, perhaps, not so distinctly expressed as by Manu Vaivasvata, nevertheless, underlies all the poetry of the Veda. Although the gods are sometimes distinctly invoked as the great and the small, the young and the old (R. V. i. 27, 13), this is only an attempt to find the most comprehensive expression for the divine powers, and nowhere is any of the gods represented as the slave of others. It would be easy to find, in the numerous hymns of the Veda, passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute. In the first hymn of the Second Maṇḍala, Agni is called the ruler of the universe,<sup>99</sup> the lord of men, the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, and friend of men ;<sup>100</sup> nay, all the powers and names of the others are distinctly ascribed to Agni. The hymn belongs, no doubt, to the modern compositions ; yet, though Agni is thus highly exalted in it, nothing is said to disparage the divine character of the other gods. Indra is celebrated as the strongest god in the hymns as well as in the Brāhmaṇas, and the burden of one of the songs of the Tenth Book<sup>101</sup> is : *Viśvamād Indra uttarah* | 'Indra is greater than all.' Of Soma it is said that he was born great, and that he conquers every one.<sup>102</sup> He is called the king of the world,<sup>103</sup> he has the power to prolong the life of men,<sup>104</sup> and in one sense he is called the maker of heaven and earth, of Agni, of Sūrya, of Indra, and of Vishnu.<sup>105</sup> If we read the next hymn, which is addressed to Varuna

<sup>98</sup> R. V. viii. 30, 1, quoted by Müller, p. 531.

<sup>99</sup> "Tvaṁ viśvāni svanīka patyase | ii. 1, 8.—See Nirukta Parisishtā i.

<sup>100</sup> ii. 1, 9.

<sup>101</sup> x. 8, 6.

<sup>102</sup> ix. 59.

<sup>103</sup> ix. 96, 10 : *bhuwanasya rājā*.

<sup>104</sup> ix. 96, 14

<sup>105</sup> ix. 96, 5.

(*oṣpavds*), we perceive that the god here invoked is, to the mind of the poet, supreme and almighty. Nevertheless, he is one of the gods who is almost always represented in fellowship with another, Mittra; and even in our hymn there is one verse, the sixth, in which Varuṇa and Mittra are invoked in the dual. Yet what more could human language achieve, in trying to express the idea of a divine and supreme power, than what our poet says of Varuṇa: ‘Thou art lord of all, of heaven and earth.’ Or, as is said in another hymn (ii. 27, 10), ‘Thou art the king of all; of those who are gods, and of those who are men,’ etc., etc.

### SECT. III.—*Vishṇu as one of the Ādityas.*

In the hymns of the Veda the Ādityas, or sons of Aditi, are alluded to as being seven or eight in number; but only six deities, of whom Vishṇu is not one, are specified by name as belonging to this class.<sup>106</sup> The following are the only texts which I consider it necessary to cite on this subject:

R. V. ii. 27, 1 (Nir. xii. 36) —*Imā girah Ādityebhyo gṛitasnūḥ sanād rājabhyo juhrā juhomi | śriyotu Mitro Aryamā Bhago naś turijāto Faruṇo Daxo Aṁśah |* “With my tongue I offer up these praises, dropping with butter, to the Ādityas, who have been kings for ever: may Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, the mighty Varuṇa, Daxa, Anśa, hear us.” Yāska makes *turijātah* to be = *bahujātāś cha Dhātā*, thus understanding it to designate Dhātri.

R. V. ix. 114, 3.—*Sapta diśo nānā-sūryāḥ sapta hotāra ritrijāḥ | devā Ādityā ye sapta tebhīḥ Somābhiraṇa naḥ |* “The seven points of the compass, with their respective suns, the seven *hotri* priests, and the seven gods, the Adityas,—with these, o Soma, protect us.”

In another text (R. V. x. 72, 8, 9), which has already been quoted in p. 10 f., it is said that Aditi had eight sons, though she only presented seven of them to the gods, and cast out Mārttāṅḍa, the eighth.

In his explanation of the first text, which I have now quoted (R. V. ii. 27, 1), Śāyaṇa observes of the Adityas: *Te cha Taittiriye ‘ashṭau*

<sup>106</sup> See Bochtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *Āditya*: and Prof. Roth's dissertation on the Adityas in his paper “on the principal gods of the Arian nations,” Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. vi., pp. 68 ff. Sūrya (the Sun) is however called *Ādityea* in R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29).

*putrāśo Āditer'* ity upakramya spashṭam anukrāntāḥ | ‘*Mitraścha Varunaścha Dhātācha Aryamānācha Amśuścha Bhagaścha Indraścha Vivasvāṁś cha etc*’ iti | “They (the Ādityas) are distinctly specified in the passage of the Taittirīya, beginning with the words ‘The eight sons of Aditi,’ as ‘these, Mitra, Varuna, Dhātri, Aryaman, Anśu, Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvat.’”

In a passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (iii. 1, 3, 3 ff.) quoted above (p. 12, f.), the Ādityas are alluded to as eight in number in conformity with the text of the R. V. x. 72, 8, 9. In other texts of the same Brāhmaṇa mention is made of twelve Ādityas:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 2, 8.—*Sa manasairā vācham mithunam samabhārat sa dvādaśa drapsān garbhī abhavat | te dvādaśa Ādityā asriyyanta tān divy upādadāhāt |* “With his mind he [entered] Speech. There became a pair. He became pregnant with twelve drops. They were created the twelve Ādityas. Them he placed in the sky.”

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 8 (=Bṛih. Ar. Up. iii. 9, 5, p. 646). *Katame Ādityā iti | dvādaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsarasya etc Ādityāḥ | etc hi idāṁ sarvam ādadānā yanti | te yad idāṁ sarram ādadānā yanti tasmād Ādityā iti |* “How many Ādityas are there? There are twelve months of the year. These are the Ādityas. For they go taking (ādadānāḥ) all this. Since they go taking all this, they are called Ādityas.”

The Nirukta, ii. 13, speaks thus of the Ādityas: *Ādityah | kasmād | ādatte rasān | ādatte bhāsaṁ jyotiṣhām | ādīpto bhāsā iti vā | Aditeḥ putraḥ iti vā | alpaprayogaṁ tu asya etad ārchābhhyāmnāye sūkta-bhāk “sūryam āditeyam” Aditeḥ putram | evāṁ anyāsām api devatānām Āditya-pravādāḥ stutayo bhavanti | tad yathā etad | Mitrasya Varunasya Aryamno Daxasya Bhagasya Amśasya iti |*

“The Āditya: whence [so called]? He takes up the fluids.<sup>107</sup> He takes up the light of the luminaries; he is illuminated (ādīptah) by light; or, he is the son of Aditi. But this [appellation] is seldom

<sup>107</sup> *Sahasra-guṇam utrasaṁśṭum ādatte hi rasān raviḥ |* “For the sun takes up the fluids [from the] earth, to discharge them again a thousand-fold.”—Raghuvansa, i. 18. *Ashṭau māsān yathā “dityas toyāṁ harati raśmibhiḥ | tathā haret karaṁ rāshṭrād nityam arkavrataṁ hi tat |* “As Āditya (the sun) during eight months draws up water by his rays, so let him (a king) extract revenue from his country, for that is his continual solar function.”—Manu, ix. 305.

applied to him in the text of the Rigveda. *Surya Āditeya*, Surya the son of Aditi, is mentioned in a hymn.<sup>108</sup> In the same way there are praises of other deities, addressed to them as Ādityas; as in the case of Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Daxa, Bhaga, Anśa."

In the following texts from the Mahābhārata and Puranas, the Ādityas, though their names are not always uniformly given, are stated or understood to be twelve in number, except in one case where only eleven are specified. Vishṇu is always named as one of them, and as by the time when these works were written, his dignity had become enhanced in general estimation, he is declared to be the greatest of the twelve.

Mahābhārata, i. 2,519, 2,522 ff.—*Maricheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapāt tu imāḥ prajāḥ | prajajñire mahābhāgū Daxa-kanyās trayodaśa | . . . .*  
 2,522. *Ādityām dvādaśādityāḥ sambhūtā bhuraneśvarāḥ | ye rājan nāmatas tāns te kīrttayishyāmi Bhārata | Dhātā Mitro 'ryamā Śakra Varuṇas tv Aṁśa eva cha | Bhago Vivasvān Pūshā cha Savitā daśamas tathā | ekādaśas tathā Tvaṣṭṛā dvādaśo Viṣṇur uchyate | jaghanyajas tu sarveshāṁ Ādityānāṁ guṇādhikāḥ | .*

"Kaśyapa was the son of Marīchi; and from Kaśyapa these beings were born. There were thirteen eminent daughters of Daxa . . . 2,522. I will recount to thee, by name, king of the race of Bharata, the twelve Ādityas, lords of the world, who were produced from Aditi; Dhātṛi, Mitra, Aryaman, Śakra (Indra), Varuṇa, Anśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Pūshan, and Savitri the tenth; the eleventh is Tvaṣṭṛi, and the twelfth is called Viṣṇu, who, though the latest born, surpasses all the Ādityas in his attributes."

Mahābhārata, i. 2,598.—*Maričeḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapasya Surāsurāḥ | jajñire nrīpa-śārddūla lokānām prabhavas tu saḥ | . . . .*  
 2,600. *Dvādaśaivāditeḥ putraḥ Śakra-mukhyā narādhipa | teshāṁ avaraṇo Viṣṇur yatra lokāḥ pratishthitāḥ |*

"From Kaśyapa, who was the son of Marīchi, were produced, o king, the deities and the Asuras; and he was the source from which all

<sup>108</sup> Dr. Aufrecht conjectures that the word *sūkta-bhāk* should be read *asūkta-bhāk* "has not a hymn devoted to him;" as he appears to be only mentioned in one verse, R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29). Durga, however, as quoted by Roth (Illust. p. 21), says: *sūkta-bhāg eva chaitad abhidhānaṁ na havirbhāk |* "This appellation has a hymn devoted to it, but no oblation is ordained [to be offered to the god under this name]." By "hymn" Durga may only mean part of a hymn.

beings sprang. . . . 2,600. Aditi had twelve sons, beginning with Śakra. The youngest of them was Vishṇu, on whom the worlds are supported."

Mahābhārata, xiii. 7,092 f.—*Añśo Bhagaścha Mitraścha Varuṇaścha ialeśvaraḥ | tathā Dhātā ṛyamā chaira Jayanto Bhāskarāś tathā | Trashtā Pūshā tathaihvendro dvādaśo Vishnur uchyate | ity ete dvādaśādityāḥ Kaśyapeyā iti śrutiḥ |*

"Anśa, Bhaga, Mitra, Varuṇa, lord of the waters, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Jayanta, Bhāskara, Tvashtṛi, Pūshan, Indra, and Vishṇu who is called the twelfth: these are the twelve Ādityas, the sons of Kaśyapa, according to tradition (or the Veda, śruti)."

Mahābhārata, v. 3,501 ff.—*Axayaś chāryayaś chaira Brahmā loka-pitāmahāḥ | tathairā bhagarantau tau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ṛishiḥ | Ādityā-nām hi sarveshāṁ Vishṇur ekaḥ sanātanaḥ | ajayyaś chāryayuś chaira śāśvataḥ prabhur iṣvāraḥ | nimitta-maraṇāś chānye chandra-sūrya-mahī-jalam | Vāyur agnis tathā "kaśām grahās tārā-gaṇāś tathā | te cha xayānte jagato hitvā lokā-trayañ sadā | xayañ gachhanti rai sarve sriyyante cha punaḥ punaḥ | muhūrtta-maraṇāś tv anye mānushā mṛigapaxināḥ |* "Brahmā, the parent of the world, is undecaying and imperishable; and so too are the venerable Rishis, Nara, and Nārāyaṇa. Vishṇu alone of all the Ādityas is eternal, invincible, imperishable, everlasting, potent, the lord. Other beings perish on some occasion, [as at the end of a Kalpa],—<sup>109</sup> the moon, the sun, the earth, water,<sup>110</sup> air, fire, the æther, the planets, and the stars. At the dissolution of the universe, all these invariably abandon the three worlds, and perish, and are created again and again. Other [creatures], men, beasts, and birds, die after a brief interval (*muhūrtta*)."

Vishṇu Purāṇa, 1, 15, 90 ff. (p. 122 of Wilson's translation)—*Pūrvamvantare śreshṭha dvādaśāsan surottamāḥ | Tushitā nāma te 'nyonyam uchur Vaivasvate 'ntare | upasthite 'tiyāśasāś Chāxushasyāntare Manoh | samavāyikritāḥ sarve samāgamyā paraspāram | Āgāchhuta drutāñ devāḥ Aditiñ sampravisiya rai | Manvantare prasūyāmas tan naḥ śreyo bhaved iti | evam uktrā tu te sarve Chāxushasyāntare Manoh | Mārichāt Kaśya-*

<sup>109</sup> I suppose *nimitta-maraṇāḥ* is to be understood practically in this sense.—See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 56, 630, and note. • Nārāyaṇa, in his commentary on the Mahābhārata, explains the phrase thus: *Nimittam pralayādi-nimittam maraṇām nāśo yeshāṁ te pimitta-maraṇāḥ |*

<sup>110</sup> Said in the Rāmāyaṇa to have preceded Brahmā.—See above, p. 29. See also above, the order of creation described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 19-22, and in Manu, p. 26 above.

*pāj jātās te 'dityā Daxa-kanyayā | tatra Viṣṇuścha Śakraścha jajñāte  
punar eva hi | Aryamā chaiva Dhātācha Trashtā Pūshā tathaiva cha |  
Viṣvavān Savitā chaiva Mitro Varuṇa eva cha | Aṁśo Bhagaś chātitejā  
Ādityā dvādaśa smṛitāḥ | Chāxushasyāntare pūrvaṁ āsan ye Tushitāḥ  
smṛitāḥ | Vairasvate 'ntare te vai Ādityā dvādaśa smṛitāḥ |*

"In the former Manvantara there were twelve eminent and renowned deities called Tushitas; who, being assembled together, said to each other in the Chāxusha Manvantara, when the Vaivasvata Manvantara was approaching, 'Come quickly, dcities, let us enter into Aditi, and be born in the [next] Manvantara: this will be for our welfare.' Having thus spoken in the Chāxusha Manvantara, they were all born from Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, and Aditi, daughter of Daxa. In this way Viṣṇu, and Śakra (Indra) were again born, and Aryaman, Dhātri, Tvashtṛi, Pūshan, Viṣvavat, Savitṛi, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aṁśa, and the energetic Bhaga: these are known as the twelve Ādityas. Those who formerly in the Chāxusha Manvantara were called the Tushitas, are known as the twelve Ādityas in the Vaivasvata Manvantara."

The same story is repeated in very nearly the same words in the Harivāṁśa, verses 171 ff.

The following is another passage from the Harivāṁśa, verses 11,548 ff.: *Ādityāṁ jajñire rājann Ādityāḥ Kaśyapād atha | Indro Viṣṇur Bhagas  
Tvashtā Varuṇo 'ṁśo 'ryamā Raviḥ | Pūshā Mitrāścha varado Manuḥ  
Parjanya era cha | ity ete dvādaśādityā varishṭhāḥ tridivaukasaḥ |* "From Kaśyapa and Aditi were born the Ādityas; Indra, Viṣṇu, Bhaga, Tvashtṛi, Varuṇa, Anśa, Aryaman, Kavi, Pūshan, Mitra, the bestower of boons, Manu, and Parjanya,—these are the twelve Ādityas, most eminent celestials."

In the same work, verses 12,456 f., we read: *Aryamā Varuno  
Mitrah Pūshā Dhātā Purandaraḥ | Trashtā Bhago 'ṁśah Savitā Par-  
janyaśceti risrutāḥ | Adityāṁ jajñire devāḥ Kaśyapāl loka-bhāvanāḥ |* "The gods, creators of the worlds, known as Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Pūshan, Dhātṛi, Purandara (Indra), Tvashtṛi, Bhaga, Anśa, Savitṛi, and Parjanya, were sprung from Kaśyapa and Aditi."

Only eleven names occur in this list.

The next is another legend on the same subject from the same work. Here quite a different origin is assigned to the Ādityas, who are said to have sprung from the face of Viṣvavat or Mārttānda, the Sun.

*Harivamśa*, 589 ff.—*Tato nirbhāśitaṁ rūpaṁ tejasā saṁhatena vai | kāntāt kāntataraṁ drashṭum adhikānī śuśubhe taddā | mukhe nirvarṣitām rūpaṁ tasya derasya gopateḥ | tataḥ-prabhṛiti devasya mukham āśit tu lohitam | mukha-rāgantu yat pūrvam Mārttandasya mukha-chyutam | Ādityā drādaśaiveha sambhūtā mukha-sambhavāḥ | Dhātā 'ryamā cha Mitraścha Varuno 'ñśo Bhagas tathā | Indro Virasrān Pūshā cha Parjanyo daśamas tathā | tatas Trashtā tato Viṣhnur ajaghangajo jaghanyajah | harshaṁ lebhe tato devo dṛishtrā "dityān sva-deha-jān | " Then his appearance, illuminated with concentrated lustre, shone forth more brilliantly, fairer than the fairest to behold. This appearance was produced in the face of that god, the lord of rays. Henceforward the face of the god was red. From the previous colour of the face which fell from the countenance of Mārttandā were produced twelve face-born Adityas: Dhātri, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuna, Anśa, Bhaga, Indra, Vivasvat, Pūshan, Parjanya the tenth, then Tvashtṛi, then Viṣṇu not the last, though the last born. The god then rejoiced, beholding the Ādityas, sprung from his own body."*

This story is not only in opposition to the ordinary account of the Adityas being sons of Aditi; but it contradicts itself. *Vivasvat* is one of the Ādityas, who is produced from *Vivasvat*; and *Tvashtṛi* was already existing, and playing a part in the former part of the legend. (See Langlois's note 7, p. 50 of his French version of the *Harivamśa*). The *Viṣṇu Purāna* tells the same story about *Vivasvat*, but says nothing of the birth of the Ādityas. (See Wilson's translation, p. 266).

*Bhāgavata Purāṇa* vi. 6, 24 f.—*S'riṇu nāmāni lokānām mātrīnām saṁkarāṇi cha | atha Kaśyapa-patnīnām yat-prasūtam idāṁ jagat | Aditir Ditir ityādi | . . . . 36 f. Athātāḥ śrūyatām vāṁśo yo 'diter anupūrvāśaḥ | yatra Nārāyaṇo devo svāṁśenāvātarad vibhuḥ | Vivasvān Aryamā Pūshā Trashtā 'tha Savitā Bhagah | Dhātā Vidhātā Varuno Mitrah Sakra Urukramah |*

"Hear now the auspicious names of the wives of Kaśyapa, the mothers of the worlds, from whom this universe was produced; Aditi, Diti, etc. . . . . 36 f. Hear now, in order, the race of Aditi, in which the all-pervading god, Nārāyaṇa descended in a part of himself,—Vivasvat, Aryaman, Pūshan, Tvashtṛi, Savitṛi, Bhaga, Dhātri, Vidhātri, Varuna, Mitra, Sākra, Urukrama (the wide-strider = Viṣṇu)."

SECT. IV.—*Legends regarding Vishnu from the Satapatha Brähmana, the Taittirīya Āranyaka, the Pañchavimśa Brähmaya, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.*

The following legend\* from the Satapatha Brähmana (in which Vishnu is represented as a dwarf, and as having, under the form of sacrifice, conquered the whole earth) may contain the germ of the story of the Dwarf Incarnation :

Satapatha Brähmana, i. 2, 5, 1 ff.—*Devāścha vā Asurāścha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspridhire | tato devā anuryam iva āsur | atha ha Asurā menire ‘āsmakam eva idāṁ khalu bhuvanam’ iti | 2. Te ha uchur ‘hanta imāṁ prīthirīṁ vibhajāmahai tāṁ vibhajya upajīvāma’ iti | tāṁ auxnaiś charmabhiḥ paśchāt prāñcho vibhajamānā abhīyuḥ | 3. Tad vai devāḥ śuśruvur ‘vibhajante ha rai imāṁ Asurāḥ prīthirīṁ preta tad eshyāmo yatra imāṁ Asurā vibhajānte | ke tataḥ syāma yad asyai na bhajemahi’ iti | te yajñum era Vishnūm puraskṛitya īyuḥ | 4. Te ha uchuh ‘anu no ‘syām prīthirīm abhajata astv era no ‘py asyām bhāgah’ iti | te ‘surāḥ asūyanta iva uchur ‘yārad eva esha Vishnūr abhīsote tārad vo dad-mah’ iti | 5. Vāmano ha Vishnūr āsa | tad devā na jihādirē ‘mahad vai no ‘dur ye no yajña-sammitam adur’ iti | 6. Te prāñchaṁ Vishnūm nīpādyā chhandobhir abhitāḥ paryagrihnan ‘gāyatrena tvā chhāndasā parigrih-nāmi’ iti daxinatas | ‘traishṭubhena trā chhāndasā parigrih-nāmi’ iti paśchāt | ‘jāgatena tvā chhāndasā parigrih-nāmi’ iti uttarataḥ | 7. Tam chhandobhir abhitāḥ parigrihya agnim purastāt samādhāya tena archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruh | tena imāṁ sarvāṁ prīthivīṁ samavindanta | tad yad enēna (anēna?) imāṁ sarvāṁ samavindanta tasmād vedīr nāma | tasmād āhūr ‘yāvatī vediś tāvati prīthivi’ iti | etayā hi imāṁ sarvāṁ samavindanta | evāṁ ha vai imāṁ sarvāṁ sapatnānām saṁ-vrīṅkte nirbhajaty asyai sapatnān yāḥ evam etad veda | 8. So ‘yām Vishnūr glānaś chhandobhir itāḥ parigrihito ‘gniḥ purastād na apakramānam āsa | sa tata eva oshadhīnām mūlāny upa mumlocha | 9. Te ha devāḥ uchuh ‘kva nu Vishnūr abhūt kra nu yajño ‘bhūd’ iti | te ha uchus ‘chhandobhir itāḥ parigrihito ‘gniḥ purastād na apakramānam asty atrāiva anvichhata iti tāṁ khananta iva anvishus tāṁ tryaṅgule*

*'nvavindaṁs tasmāt tryangulā vedih syāt | tad u ha api Pāñchis tryangu-lām eva saumyasya adhrurasya redīm chakre | 10. Tad u tathā na kuryād ityādi |*

"The gods and Asuras, who were both sprung from Prajāpati, strove together. Then the gods were, as it were, worsted, and the Asuras thought, 'this world is now certainly ours.' 2. Then they spake, 'Come let us divide this earth, and having divided it, let us subsist thereon.' They accordingly went on dividing it with ox-hides from west to east. 3. The gods heard of it, [and] said, 'The Asuras are dividing this earth; come, we shall go to the spot where they are dividing it. Who shall we become (i.e. what shall become of us), if we do not share in it?' Placing at their head Vishṇu, the sacrifice, they proceeded [thither], 4. and said 'put us in possession of this earth; let us also have a share in it.' The Asuras, grudging as it were, answered, 'We give you as much as this Vishṇu can lie upon.'<sup>111</sup> 5. Now, Vishṇu was a dwarf. The gods did not reject that offer; [but said among themselves], 'They have given us much, [these Asuras], who have given us what is co-extensive with sacrifice.' Then having placed Vishṇu to the east, they surrounded him with metres; [saying], on the south side, 'I surround thee with the Gāyatrī metre;' on the west, 'I surround thee with the Trishṭubh metre;' on the north, 'I surround thee with the Jagatī metre.' 7. Having thus surrounded him with metres, they placed Agni (fire) on the east, and thus they went on worshipping and toiling. By this they acquired the whole of this earth; and since by this they acquired (*samavindanta*) it all, therefore [the place of sacrifice] is called *vedi* (from the root *vid*, 'to acquire'). Hence men say, 'as great as is the altar, so great is the earth;' for by it (the altar) they acquired the whole of this [earth]. Thus he who so understands this, conquers all this [earth] from rivals, expels from it rivals. 8. Then this Vishṇu, being wearied, surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, did not advance; but then hid himself among the roots of plants. 9. The gods then exclaimed, 'What has become of Vishṇu? what has become of the sacrifice?' They said, 'Surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, he does not advance; search for him here.' So digging, as it were, they searched for, and found him at a depth of three fingers; therefore let

<sup>111</sup> Compare with this legend the similar one quoted above in the note on R. V. vi. 69, 8 (p. 72 f.) from the Aitareya Brahmana, 6, 16.

the altar [have a trench] three fingers deep; therefore, also, *Pāñchi*<sup>112</sup> made an altar of this description for the soma sacrifice. 10. But let no one do so," etc.

The next legend from the same work relates how Vishṇu became pre-eminent among the gods, and how he lost his head. Here also he is identified with sacrifice :

Sātāpatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 1, 1, 1 ff.—*Derā ha vai sattraṁ nishedur Agnir Indraḥ Somo Makho Viṣṇur viśre-derā anyatraiva Aśvibhyām |* 2. *Teshāṁ Kuruxetraṁ derayajanam āsa | tasmād āhuḥ ‘Kuruxetraṁ derānāṁ devayajanam’ iti | tasmād yatra kva cha Kuruxetrasya nigachhati tad eva manyate ‘idaṁ derayajanum’ iti tad hi devānāṁ devayajanam |* 3. *Te āsata | ‘śriyāṁ gachhema yaśaḥ syāma annādāḥ syāma’ iti tatho ereme sattram āsate ‘śriyāṁ gachhema yaśaḥ syāma annādāḥ syāma’ iti |* 4. *Te ha ūchur ‘yo naḥ śrāmeṇa tapasā śraddhayā yajñena āhutibhir yajñasya udricham pūrro’ragachhāt sa naḥ śreshṭhaḥ ‘sat tad u naḥ sarveshāṁ saha’ iti ‘tathā’ iti |* 5. *Tad Viṣṇuh pralhamah prāpa | sa derānāṁ śreshṭhaḥ ‘bharat tasmād āhur ‘Viṣṇur devānāṁ śreshṭhah iti |* 6. *Sa yaḥ sa Viṣṇur yajñāḥ sa | sa\*yaḥ sa yajño’sau sa Ādityaḥ | tad ha idaṁ yaśo Viṣṇur na śāśaka saṁyantum |\*tad idam apy etarhi naiva sarva ira yaśaḥ śaknoti saṁyantum |* 7. *Sa tisri-dhan̄gam ādāya apa-chakrāma | sa dhanur-ārtyā śiraḥ upastabhya tasthau | tuṁ derā an-abhidhṛishṇuvantaḥ samantam parinyavīṣanta |* 8. *Tā ha vamryo ūchuḥ | imā vai vamryo yad upadikāḥ | ‘yo ’syā jyām apyadyāt kim asmai prayachheta’ iti ‘annādyam asmai prayachhema apī dhanvann apo ‘dhigachhol tathā asmai sarvam annādyam prayachhema’ iti |* 9. *Tasya upaparāśritya jyām apijaxus tasyāṁ chhinnāyāṁ dhanur-ārtyau vish-phurantyau Viṣṇoh śiraḥ prachichhidatuḥ |* 10. *Tad ghrīṇṇ iti papāta | tat patitrā ‘sār Ādityo ‘bharat | atha itaraḥ prāṇ eva prāvrijyata | tad yad ghrīṇṇ ity apatāt tasmād gharmaḥ | atha yat prāvrijyata tasmād pravargyāḥ |* 11. *Te devāḥ abruvan | ‘mahān vata no vīro ‘pādi’ iti tasmād mahāvīraḥ | tasya yo raso ryaxarat tam pāñibhiḥ sammamrijus tasmāt samrāṭ |* 12. *Tuṁ devā abhyamrijyanta yathā vittīṁ vetsyamānā evāṁ | tam Indraḥ pralhamah prāpa | tam anvāngam anunyapad-*

<sup>112</sup> *Pāñchiḥ soma-yāgasyāpi vedīn̄ tryaṅgula-khātām eva mene |* “Pāñchi thought that the altar for the soma sacrifice also should have a trench three fingers deep.” Pāñchi is again mentioned in the Sātāpatha Brāhmaṇa 2, 1, 4, 27 (p. 143), along with Āsuri and Mūḍhuki, where the commentator speaks of them as three munis (Āsuri-prabhrītayas trayo munayah). See Weber's Ind. Stnd. i. 192, 434.

*yata | tam paryagrihnāt | tam parigrihya idāṁ yaśo 'bhavad yad idam  
 Indro yaśah | yaśo ha bhavati ya eraṁ veda | 13. Sa u era makhāḥ sa  
 Vishṇuh | tata Indro makhārān abhavad | makhārān ha rai tam Magharān  
 ity āchāxate paroxam | paroxa-kāmāḥ hi derāḥ | 14. Tābhyo vamribhyo  
 'nnādyam prāyachhan | āpo vai sarram annāṁ tābhīr hi idam abhiknū-  
 yam iva adanti | yad idam kīrvadanti | 15. Ittha imāṁ Vishṇuṁ yajñām  
 tredhā ryabhajanta | . . . . . tena apaśrshnā yajñena devā archantāḥ  
 śrāmyantaś cherub |*

"The gods, Agni, Indra, Soma, Vishnu the Sacrifice, and all the [other] deities, excepting the Āsvins, were present at a sacrifice. 2. Kuruxetra was the place of their divine worship. Hence, men say that Kuruxetra is the country where the gods sacrifice. Consequently, to whatever part of Kuruxetra a man goes, he looks upon it as a place for divine worship, since it was the spot where the gods worshipped. 3. They were [there. They said], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and eat food.' And in the very same way these [men] attend a sacrifice [saying], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and eat food.' 4. Then [the gods] said, 'Whoever among us, through exertion, austerity, faith, sacrifice, and oblations, first comprehends the issue of the sacrifice, let him be the most eminent of us : this [shall be] common to us all.' [To this they consented, saying], 'Be it so.' 5. Vishnu first attained that [proposed object]. He became the most eminent of the gods : wherefore men say, 'Vishnu is the most eminent of the gods.' 6. He who is this Vishnu is sacrifice ; he who [is] this sacrifice is the Āditya. Vishnu could not support this fame.<sup>113</sup> And the same is the case now, that every one cannot support fame. 7. Taking his bow and three arrows, he departed. He stood, resting his head on the end of his [bended] bow. Being unable to overcome him, the gods sat down all around him. 8. Then the ants said to them (now the ants were the same as *upadikas*), 'What will you give to him who gnaws the bowstring ?' [The gods replied], 'We will give him the enjoyment of food, and he shall find waters even in the desert ; so shall we give him every enjoyment of food.' 9. [The ants, then], approaching, gnawed his bowstring. When that was divided, the ends of the bow, starting asunder,

<sup>113</sup> It seems as if there were a play of words here, the word *yaśah*, "fame," having reference to the words *sa yaś sa Vishṇuh*, etc., *sa yaś sa yajñāḥ*, etc. "He who [is] this Vishnu," etc. "He who [is] this sacrifice," etc.

cut off the head of Vishṇu. 10. It fell, making a sound (*ghrin*). That having fallen, became that Aditya. Then the rest of him became extended towards the east. Since the head fell with the sound of *ghrin*, hence *gharma*, ['the sacrificial kettle,' received its name]; and since he became extended, (*prār̥iyata*), the *prarargya* [received its appellation]. 11. The gods then said, 'A great hero (*mahān rīrah*) of ours has fallen.' Hence arose the name of *mahārīra* (a sacrificial vessel).<sup>114</sup> They wiped (*sammamrijuh*) with their hands the fluid (blood) which flowed from him. Hence arose the name of *samrāt*. 12. The gods touched (?) him (Vishṇu), as men wishing to know property (?) do. Indra first reached him. He came into contact with him limb by limb. He embraced him. Having embraced him, he became this fame, which Indra is. He who so knows this becomes fame. 13. That Vishṇu was indeed sacrifice (*makha*). Hence Indra became the possessor of sacrifice (*makhavān*). He is *Makharān*: they call him *Maghavān* transcendently; for the gods love what is transcendental (lit. beyond the reach of the senses). 14. They (the gods) gave food to those ants. All food is water; for with water men, as it were, moisten the food which they eat: as the common saying is. 15. Then they divided into three portions this Vishṇu, the sacrifice. . . . . With that headless sacrifice (see above), the gods went on worshipping and toiling."

I am indebted to Professor Weber for the next two passages; the first from the Taittirīya Āranyaka, and the second from the Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, which both relate the same legend which has just been given from the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Taittiriya Āranyaka, v. i. 1-7.—1. *Devā vai satram āsata riddhi-parimitān yasaskāmāḥ | te'bruvan "yan nah prathamañ yaśa rīchhat sarveshāṁ nas tat sahāsad" iti | teshāṁ kuruxetraṁ vedir āśit | tasyai Khanḍavo daxinārdha āśit Tūrghnam uttarārdhah Puriṇg jaghanārdho Marava utkaraḥ | 2. teshāṁ Malhaṁ Vaishṇavāṁ yaśa ār̥chhat | tad nyakāmayata | tena apākrāmat | tañ devā anvāyan yaśo'varurutsamānāḥ | tasya anvāgatasya savyād dhanur ajāyata daxinād ishavaḥ | tasmād ishudhanram punya-janma yajñā-janma hi | 3. tam ekaṁ santam baharo na abhyadhriśhnuvan | tasmād ekam ishudhanram vīram bahavo'niśhudhanvā na abhidhriśhnuanti | so'smayata "ekam mā santam bahavo na abhy-*

<sup>114</sup> A long account is given of the *gharma*, *prarargya*, and *mahārīra* in Katyāyāna's Srauta Sūtras, xxvi.

*adharshishur*" iti | *tasya sishmīyānasya tejo' pākrāmat | tad devā oshadhishu nyamrijuh | te śyāmākā abhavan | smayākā vai nāma etc |* 4. *tat smayākānām smayākatvam | tasmād dīxitena apigrihya smetavyāñ tejaso dhṛityai | sa dhanuḥ pratiskabhyā atishṭhat | tā upadikā abruwan | "varañ vṛināmahai | atha nū imāñ randhayāma | yatra kra cha khanāma tad apo 'bhītrīṇadāma"* iti | *tasmād upadikā yatra kra cha khananti tad apo 'bhītrīndanti.* | 5. *varavritāñ hy āsām | tasya jyām apyādan | tasya dhanur vipravamāñāñ śira udavarttayat | tañ dyārvāpṛithirī anuprārattata | yat prāvarttata tat pravargyasya pravargyatram | yad ghrāñity apatāt tad gharmasya gharmatvam | mahatō vīryam apaptad iti tad mahāvirasya mahāviratvam |* 6. *yad asyāḥ samabharañs tat samrājaḥ samrāt̄tvam | tañ strītañ deratās tredhā vyagrihṇata | Agniḥ prātaḥ-savānam Indro mādhyandinañ savānam Viśvedevas trītya-savānam | tena apaśīrshnā yajñena yajamānāḥ na āśisho 'vārundhata na surargañ lokam abhyajayan | te devā Aśvināv abruwan |* 7. *"bhishajau rai sthāḥ | idāñ yajñasya śirāḥ pratidhattam"* iti | *tāv ubrātāñ "varañ vṛināvahai graha eva nāv atrāpi grihyatām"* iti | *tābhyām etam āśrinam agrihṇan | tāv etad yajñasya śirāḥ pratyadhattam* \*yat prarargyāḥ | *tena saśīrshnā yajñena yajamānā ava āśisho 'rundhata | abhi suvargañ lokam ajayan | yat pravargyam pravīnakti yajñasyaiva tach chhīraḥ pratidadhāti | tena saśīrshnā yajñena yajamāno 'va āśisho rundhe 'bhi suvargañ lokūñ jayati | tasmād esha āsvina-pravayā iva yat prarargyāḥ |*

"The gods, desirous of fame, were attending a sacrifice complete in every respect. They said 'whatever fame first comes to us, that shall be common to us all.' Kuruxetra was their altar. Khanḍava was its southern, Tūrghna its northern, and Parīṇāh its hinder section. The Marus were the earth dug from it. 2. Fame came to the Sacrifice derived from Vishṇu [*Makha Vaishṇava*] among their number. This fame he eagerly desired; with it he departed. The gods followed him, seeking to obtain [this] fame. From the left [hand] of him while thus followed, a bow was produced, and from his right hand arrows. Hence a bow and arrows have a holy origin, for they are sprung from sacrifice. 3. Though many, they could not overcome him, though he was only one. Therefore many men without bows and arrows cannot overcome one hero who has a bow and arrows. He smiled, 'Though they are many, they have not overcome me who am only one.' Virile strength issued from him as he continued to smile. This the gods put upon the plants. They

became *śyāmāka* grain. For they are smilers (*smayākāḥ*). 4. Hence this grain derives its name. Wherefore a person who has been consecrated should smile with reserve, that he may retain his virility. He stood leaning on his bow. The ants said [to the gods], ‘let us choose a boon; and after that we shall subdue [or kill him]. Wherever we dig, let us open up water.’ Hence wherever ants dig, they open up water. 5. For this was the boon which they chose.<sup>115</sup> They gnawed his (Vishnu’s) bowstring. His bow, starting asunder, hurled his head upwards. It travelled through heaven and earth. From its so travelling (*prārarttata*), the *pravargya* derives its name. From its falling with the sound of *ghrāṁ*, *gharma* obtained its name. Virile energy (or seed, *rīryam*) fell from the mighty one (*mahataḥ*): hence the *mahārīra* got its name. 6. From their making a collection (*samabharan*) of it<sup>116</sup> (what?) the *samrāṭ* obtains its appellation. The gods divided him when prostrate, into three parts; Agni [took] the morning oblation; Indra the midday oblation, and the Viśvedevas the third oblation. Sacrificing with this headless sacrifice, they (the gods), neither obtained blessings, nor conquered heaven. 7. The gods said to the Aśvins, ‘Ye two are physicians, replace this head of the sacrifice.’ They said ‘Let us ask a boon, let our *graha* (libation of Soma) be received here also. [The gods accordingly] received this [libation] to the Aśvins for them. [The Aśvins] replaced this head of the sacrifice, which is the *pravargya*. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, they obtained blessings, they conquered heaven. When one spreads out the *pravargya*, then he replaces the head of the sacrifice. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, a man obtains blessings, and conquers heaven. Hence this *pravargya* is principally concerned with oblations to the Aśvins.’

Panchavimśa Brähmana, vii. 5, 6—*Devā rai yasaskumāḥ satram*

<sup>115</sup> The word thus translated is *vārevritam*, as written in the copy (in Roman letters) sent to me by Prof. Weber. If, however, one may judge from the two following passages of a similar nature from the Aitareya Brähmana, the true reading must be *vararvitam*, which I have adopted in the text.—Aitareya Brähmana, 1, 7 *Iajño vai devebhya udakrāmat | te devā na kūnchanāśahureṇ kartum | . . . . na prājānans te'bruvām Adītim 'trayemān yajñānām prajānāmeti' | sā tathety abravīt | sā vai varām vriñā iti | vriñishreti | saitam eva varām avriñāta | matprāyanān yajñānām sāntu mad-udayani iti | tatheti | tasmatād ādityas charuh prāyanāyo bhavaty | āditya udayaniyo | varavṛito hy asyāḥ.* Aitareya Brähmana, 2, 3 : *Agnishomābhyaṁ vā Indro Vṛitram ahānīs tōv enam abrūtāni | āvābhyaṁ vai Vṛitram avadhiḥ varām to vriñāvahā iti | 'Vriñathām' iti | tāv etam eva varām avriñātām | śvāshutryāyām paśum | su enayor esho chyuto | varavṛito hy enayoh.*

<sup>116</sup> It does not appear to what *tasyāḥ* (in the feminine) refers.

*asata Agnir Indro Vayur Makhas te 'bruvan 'yan no yaśa rīchhāt tan  
nah sahāśad' iti | teshūm Makhañ yāśa ār̄chhat | tad ādāya apākṛāmat |  
tad asya pra sahādītsanta tam paryayatanta | sa dhanuḥ pratishṭabhyā  
atishṭhat tasya dhanur-ārttnir ūrdhvā patitvā śiro 'chhinat sa 'pravargyo  
'bhavat | yajño vai Makhaḥ | yat pravargyam pravriñjanti yajñasyaiva  
tach chhiraḥ pratidadhati |*

"Desirous of fame, the gods, Agni, Indra, Vāyu and Makha (Sacrifice) were attending a sacrifice. They said, 'whatever fame comes to us that shall be common to us. Fame came to Makha among their number. Taking it, he departed. The others wished to take their share in it. They followed [or, strove with] him. He stood leaning on his bow. The end of his bow, springing upwards, cut off his head. He became the *pravargya*. Makha is sacrifice. When men spread out the *pravargya*, they replace the head of Makha."

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has these two passages relating to Vishṇu, 1, 1: "Agnir vai devānām aramo | Vishnuḥ paramas | tadantareṇa sarrā anyā devatāḥ. " Agni is the lowest, Vishṇu the highest among the gods; between them both are placed all the other deities." In his Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 390, note, Prof. Muller remarks that "this passage proves nothing as to the relative dignity of Agni and Vishṇu." Again, 1, 30, on quoting R. V. 1, 156, 4, the Aitareya says: *Vishnur vai devānām dvārapaḥ | sa evāsmā etad drāram irriṇoti*. "Vishnu is the door-keeper of the gods; he opens for him that door."

The following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa gives the legend of the dwarf incarnation in its later form :

1. "Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's Ed.), i. 31, 2 ff.—2. *Iha Rāma mahābāho Vishnur deva-namaskritah | tapaś-charana-yogārtham uvāsa sa mahātapāḥ |* 3. *Esha pūrvāśramo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanaḥ | siddhāśrama iti khyātaḥ siddho yatra mahātapaḥ |* 4. *Abhibhūya cha derendram purā Vairochanir Balih | trailekya-rājyam bhubuje balotseka-madānritaḥ |* 5. *Tato Balau tadda yajñāṁ yajamāne bhayārditāḥ | Indrādayaḥ suraganā Vishnum ūchur ihāśrama |* 6. " *Balir Vairochanir Vishno yajate 'sau mahābalaḥ | kāma-dāḥ sarrā-bhūtānām maharddhīr asurādhipaḥ |* 7. *Ye ohainam abhivarttante yāchitāra itastataḥ | yachcha yatra yathāvachoha sarvāṁ tebhyaḥ prayachchhati |* 8. *Sa traṁ sura-hitārthāya māyā-yogam upāśritaḥ | vāmanatvāṁ gato Vishno kuru kalyānam uttamam"* | 9.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>117</sup> The following verses 9–16 are rightly enclosed in brackets by Schlegel, as inter-

[*Etasminn antare Rāma Kaśyapo 'gni-sama-prabhaḥ | Adityā sahitō Rāma dīpyamāna ivaujasā | 10. Devī-sahāyo bhagavān divya-varsha-sahasrakam | vrataṁ samāpya vara-daṁ tushṭāva Madhusūdanam | 11. "Tapomajāṁ tapo-rāśīṁ tapo-mūrttiṁ tapo-dhanam | tapaeā tvāṁ su-taptena paśyami purushottamam | 12. Sarire tara paśyāmi jagat sarvam idam prabho | tvam anādir anirdeśyas tvāṁ ahaṁ śaraṇāṁ gataḥ" | 13. Tam uvācha Hariḥ pṛītaḥ Kaśyapañ dhūta-kalmasham | varāṁ varaya bhadraṁ te varārha 'si mato mama | 14. Tach chhrutvā vachanaṁ tasya Māriḥaḥ Kaśyapo'bravīt | "putratvaṁ gachohha bhagavann Adityā mama chānagha | 15. Bhrātā 'bhava yavīyāns tvāṁ Sakrasyāsura-sūdana | śokārttānāṁ tu devānāṁ sāhāyyaṁ karttum arhasi" | 16. Atha Viṣṇur mahātejā Adityāṁ samajāyata | chhatrī bhixukā-rūpena kamandalu-śikhajjalāḥ | ] 17. Evam uktāḥ surair Viṣṇur vāmanāṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ | Vairochanim upāgamyā trīn yayāchātmanāḥ kramān | 18. Labdhvā cha trīn kramān Viṣṇuḥ kṛitvā rūpam athādbhutam | tribhiḥ kramais tada lokān ājahāra tri-vikramāḥ | 19. Ekena hi padā kṛitsnām prithivīn so 'dhyatishthata | dvitīyenāvyayaṁ vyoma dyām trītyena Rāghava | 20. Taṁ chāsuram Balinū kṛitvā pātāla-tala-vāsinam | trailokyā-rājyam Indrāya dadāv uddhritya kaṇṭakam | .*

I subjoin the text of the same passage according to Signor Gorresio's edition :

Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio's Ed.) i. 32, 2 ff.—*Esha pūrvāśramo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanāḥ | siddhāśrama iti khyātāḥ siddho yatra mahā-yaśāḥ | 3. Viṣṇur vāmana-rūpena tāpyamāno mahat tāpāḥ | trailokyā-rājye 'pahrite Balinendrasya Rāghava | [verses 4, 5, 6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel's edition] 7. Taṁ traṁ vāmana-rūpena gatvā bhixitum arhasi | vikramāṁs trīn mahābāho dātā hi niyataṁ sa te | 8. Bhixito vikramān etāṁs trīn vīrya-bala-darpitāḥ | paribhūya jagan-nāthām tubhyaṁ vāmana-rūpiṇe | 9. Ye hy enam abhiyāchante lipsa-mānāḥ svam īpsitam | tān kāmair īpsitāḥ sarvān yojayaty asureśvarāḥ | 10. Sa tvāṁ trailokyā-rājyāṁ no hṛitam bhūyo jagat-pate | dātum arhasi nirjitya vikramair bhūribhīs tribhiḥ | 11. Ayañ siddhāśramo nāma siddha-karmā bhavishyati | tasmin karmani saṁsiddhe tava satya-parūpolated. A comparison of verse 8 with verse 17 clearly shows that the latter must originally have followed immediately after the former. Compare the versions of the story given below from the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, where the dwarf is said to have been the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. This is also the parentage of Viṣṇu as one of the twelve Adityas.—See above, pp. 103 ff,*

*krama* | [Gorresio's edition does not contain any verses corresponding to those marked by Schlegel as spurious, viz. lines 9-16 of his edition.]

12. *Evaṁ uktāḥ surair Vishṇur vāmanāṁ rūpam asthitāḥ | Vairochanim upāgamyā trīṇ ayāchata vikramān |* [The remaining verses are word for word the same as in Schlegel's recension].

The following is a translation of the passage according to Schlegel's edition :

Viśvāmitra speaks : “ 2. In this place, o large-armed Rama, Vishnu, the great ascetic, reverenced by the gods, dwelt for the purpose of performing austerity, and contemplation. 3. This, Rama, was the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf, renowned as the ‘ Hermitage of the Perfect,’ where the great ascetic was perfected. 4. Formerly, Bali, the son of Virochana, after conquering the chief of the gods (Indra) enjoyed the empire of the three worlds, intoxicated with the increase of his power. 5. When Bali was then celebrating a sacrifice, Indra and the other gods, disturbed with apprehension, addressed Vishṇu in this hermitage. 6. ‘That mighty Bali, son of Virochana, o Vishṇu, is now performing sacrifice,—he who grants the desires of all creatures, the prosperous lord of the Asuras. 7. Whatever suppliants wait upon him from whatever quarter, he bestows on them all whatever, wherever, and in whatever manner [they wish]. 8. Do thou, o Vishṇu, assuming a magical state for the benefit of the deities, take the shape of a dwarf, and bring about our highest welfare.’ [9. At this period, o Rama, the divine Kaśyapa, luminous as fire, glowing, as it were, with splendour, attended by the goddess Aditi, 10. having completed an act of austerity which had lasted for a thousand years of the gods, celebrated [thus] the praises of the boon-bestowing Madhusūdana : 11. ‘Through intense austerity I behold thee the supreme Spirit, whose essence is austerity, who art a congeries of austerity, the impersonation of austerity, whose wealth is austerity. 12. In thy body, lord, I behold this whole universe; thou art unbeginning and ineffable; to thee I have resorted as my refuge.’ 13. Then Hari, gratified, spake to Kaśyapa, whose taint of sin had been purged away : ‘ Ask a boon; may good attend thee; thou art regarded by me as deserving a boon.’ 14. Hearing these words of his, Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, replied : ‘ Sinless lord, become the son of Aditi and myself. 15. Slayer of the Asuras, become the younger brother of Śakra (Indra). Thou oughtest to

succour the gods who are oppressed with grief.' 16. Vishṇu, of mighty energy, was accordingly born of Aditi, shaded by an umbrella, in the form of a mendicant, resplendent with a drinking gourd, and a lock of hair on his crown]. 17. Thus addressed by the deities, Vishṇu took the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana, begged three of his own paces. 18. Having obtained three paces, the thrice-stepping Vishṇu assumed a miraculous form, and with three paces took possession of the worlds. For with one step he occupied the whole earth, with a second the eternal atmosphere, and with a third the sky, o Rāghava. Having then assigned to the Asura Bali an abode in Pātāla (the infernal region), he gave the empire of the three worlds to Indra, after removing his enemy.

As the text of Gorresio's edition varies somewhat from that of Schlegel, I shall subjoin a translation of those parts of it which are different.

" 2. This, Rāma, is the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf, called the 'Hermitage of the Perfect,' where the illustrious Vishṇu was perfected, 3. when performing a great act of austerity in the form of a dwarf, [at the time] when the empire of the three worlds had been taken away from Indra by Bali. [Verses 4-6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel's edition]. 7. 'Now thou shouldst go in the form of a dwarf, and beg three paces, o large-armed; 8. For, proud of his valour and strength, after his victory over the lord of the world (Indra), he, when supplicated, will certainly give these three paces to thee [appearing] in the form of a dwarf. 9. For that lord of the Asuras fulfils the desires of all those persons who supplicate him with that view. 10. Thou, lord of the world, oughtest to give us back the empire of the three worlds which has been taken away from us, after thou hast conquered it by three vast strides. 11. This which is called the hermitage of the perfect, (or *fulfilled*), shall be [a place] where *this work is fulfilled*, when this work has been accomplished by thee, o possessor of real might.' Thus addressed by the deities, Vishṇu assumed the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana, begged for three paces." (The rest corresponds with Schlegel's edition).

The following are two brief notices of the dwarf incarnation from the Mahābhārata :

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva, vv. 1294, 3 ff.—*Virochanasya balavān*

*Balih putro mahasurah | abadhyah sarva-lokanam sa-devasura-raxasam | bhavishyati sa Sakrañcha sva-rājyād chārayishyati—(chārayishyati?) | trailokyे' prahrīte tena vimukhe cha Sachi-patau | Adityam dvādaśādityah sambharishyāmi Kaśyapāt | tato rājyam pradāsyāmi Sakrāyāmita-tejasā | devatāḥ sthāpayishyāmi sveshu sthāneshu Nārada | Baliñchaiva karishyāmi pātāla-tala-vāsinam | Dānavañcha Balim śreshṭham abadhyam sarva-daivataih |*

Vishnu says to Narada : “The great Asura ‘Bali, the strong son of Virochana, shall be indestructible by all beings, including gods, Asuras, and Rāxasas. He shall oust Sakra (Indra) from his kingdom. When the three worlds have been taken by Bali, and the lord of Sachi (Indra) has been put to flight, I shall be born as the twelve Adityas, the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. I shall then restore his empire to Sakra of boundless energy; shall reinstate the gods in their several positions; shall place Bali in Pātāla, and [make] the eminent Dānava Bali indestructible by all the gods.”

Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, vv. 484 ff.—<sup>118</sup> *Aditer api putratvam etya Yādava-nandana | trañ Vishṇur iti vikhyāta Indrād avarajo vibhuḥ | śisur bhūtvā divam khañcha prithivīñcha parantapa | tribhir vikramānaiḥ Krishṇa krāntavān asi tejasā | samprāpya divam ākāśam ādilya-sadane sthitaiḥ | atyārohaścha bhūtātman bhūskarañ svena tejasā | prudurbhāva-sahasreshu teshu teshu ivayā vibho | adharma-ruchayaḥ Krishṇa nihatāḥ śataśo’ surāḥ |* “And thou, Krishṇa, of the Yādava race, having become the son of Aditi, and being called Vishnu, the younger brother of Indra, the all-pervading, becoming a child, o vexor of thy foes, hast by thy energy traversed the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth, in three strides. Having attained to the sky and the æther, and occupied the abode of the Ādityas, thou, o soul of all beings, hast overpassed the sun by thine own force. In these thousands of thy manifestations, o all-pervading Krishṇa, thou hast slain hundreds of Asuras who delighted in iniquity.”

The next passage is a short notice of the same incarnation from the Vishnu Purāna :

Vish. Pur. iii. 1 (p. 265 of Wilson’s translation).—*Manvantare tu samprāpte tathā Vaivasvate dvija | vāmanaḥ Kaśyapād Vishṇur Adityām śambabhūva ha | Tribhiḥ kramāir imān lokān jitvā yena mahātmana |*

<sup>118</sup> See Lassen’s Indian Antiquities, vol. I., p. 489, note, and p. 779 f. and note.

*Pūrandarāya trai lokyañ dūttañ nihata-kañṭakam* | “So when the Vaivasvata manvantara was arrived, Vishṇu was born as a dwarf, the son of Aditi and Kaśyapa. By this great being, after he had conquered these worlds by three paces, the three worlds were given to Purandara (Indra), their enemy being destroyed.”

The legend of Vishnu’s incarnation as a dwarf is told in a greatly developed form in the fifteenth and following sections of the eighth Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. As the whole narrative is too long to be quoted here in extenso, I shall give an abstract of the contents of these sections, translating in full some of those portions which appear the most important. The story commences thus :

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 15, 1.—*Baleḥ pada-trayam bhūmeḥ kasmād Harir ayāchata | bhātreśvarah kṛipāna-val labdārthaḥ pi babandha tam |*  
2. *Etad veditum ichhāmo mahat kautūhalañ hi naḥ | yajñeśvarasya pūrṇasya bandhanañ chāpy anāgasāḥ |*

The king asks : “Why did Hari, the lord, whose wishes were satisfied, ask, like a poor man, three paces of land from Bali? and why did he bind him? 2. This we desire to know; and we have a great curiosity ;—and also why an innocent being was bound by the perfect lord of sacrifice?” The sage Nūka replies (verses 3 ff.) that after Bali had been deprived of life by Indra, he was restored by the Brāhmaṇas of the race of Bhṛigu, who consecrated him for supreme dominion, and celebrated for him a *rīṣavatī* sacrifice, which had the virtue of enabling him to conquer all his enemies. He then sets out (verse 11) attended by a host of Daityas, to attack the capital of Indra, which is described with all its splendours and attractions. When Bali had invested the city (verse 23), Indra enquires of his spiritual preceptor how it is that his enemy has acquired this tremendous power, which appears altogether irresistible.

The preceptor replies (verses 15, 28 ff.): *Jānāmi Maghavan śatror unnatāḥ asya kāraṇam | śishyāyopabhrītam tejo Bhṛigubhir brahma-vādibhiḥ |* 29. *Bharad-ridho bhavān vāpi varjyayitveśvaraṁ Harim | nāsyā śaktāḥ purāḥ sthātum kṛitāntasya yathā janāḥ |* 30. *Tasmād nilayam utsrijya yūyām sarve trivisṭapāni | yātu kālam pratīx-anto yataḥ śatror viparyayaḥ |* 31. *Esha vipra-balodarkāḥ sampraty-urjita-vikramāḥ | teshām evāvamānena sānubandho vinañxyati |*

“I know, Maghavan, the cause of the exaltation of this your enemy

to be the might imparted to their pupil by the Bhṛigus, the utterers of the Veda. 29. No one such as you, nor even you yourself, [nor any one] excepting only Hari the lord, is able to stand before him, as men [are unable to confront] death. 30. Wherefore do ye all, abandoning heaven, your abode, depart, expecting time, from which [shall come] the overthrow of your enemy. 31. He now reaps the fruits of Brahmanical power, and thus his prowess has become augmented. Through contempt of these same Brahmans, he shall perish with all his dependants."

(The prophecy here uttered in regard to the fall of Bali as a result of his disregard of the Brahmans, will hereafter be found to be fulfilled. See below, sect. 20, vv. 14 ff., p. 125).

Following the advice of their preceptor, Indra and the other gods abandoned heaven, and Bali took possession of the celestial capital, when the Bhṛigus celebrated for him a hundred *aśvamedhas*, (or horse-sacrifices).

The sixteenth section opens with an account of the distress of Aditi, the mother of the gods, at the discomfiture of her sons by the Daityas. She receives a visit from her husband the Prajāpati Kaśyapa, who makes various conjectures about the cause of her apparent unhappiness, of which (verse 15 f.) he receives an explanation. He then replies:

(Sect. 16, vv. 18 ff.)—*Eram abhyarthito'dityā Kas tām ḥa smayann  
iva | aho māyā-balāñ Vishnoḥ sneha-baddham idāñ jagat |* 19. *Kva deho  
bhautiko 'nātmā-kva chātmā prakriteh paraḥ | kasya ke pati-putrādya  
moha eva hi kāraṇam |* 20. *Upatishṭhasva Purusham bhagavantaṁ  
Janārdanam | sarva-bhūta-guhāvāsaṁ Vāsudevaṁ jagad-gurum |* 21.  
*Sa vidhāsyati te kāmān Harir dīnānukampanah | amoghā bhagavad-  
bhaktir netareti matir mama |*

18. "Being thus entreated by Aditi, Ka<sup>119</sup> (Kaśyapa) answers her, as it were smiling, 'O, the power of Vishnu's illusion ! this world is bound by affection. 19. Where is this elemental body, which is not soul? and where is soul, which is superior to matter? (i.e. how great is the superiority of soul to the body!)<sup>120</sup> Who are the husband, or the sons, or other relatives, of any person?<sup>121</sup> (i.e. there are no such things

<sup>119</sup> For an explanation of this word see above, p. 13, note 30.

<sup>120</sup> Compare for this idiom the Raghuvāñśa, i, 2: *Kva sūrya-prabhavo vāñśaḥ kva  
chālpa-viśhayā matih |*

<sup>121</sup> See Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's edition), ii. 108, 3 ff.

as real relations); delusion alone creates them. 20. Betake thyself to Purusha, the divine Janārdana, who dwells in the heart of all creatures, Vāsudeva, the preceptor of the world. 21. Hari, who compassionates the afflicted, will fulfil thy desires: devotion to the lord, and that alone, is never fruitless; such is my opinion."

Aditi then asks how she is to worship Vishnu in such a way as to obtain her desires, and receives from Kaśyapa an account (extending to the end of the section) of the milk ceremonial (*payo-vrata*) which she is to perform.

She accordingly celebrates the prescribed rite (sect. 17 ff.), when Hari, the primeval Purusha, appears to her in yellow vesture, with four arms, bearing his shell, discus, and club. She implores his succour, and receives an assurance that he has been gratified by her service, which shall not remain unfruitful. He goes on to say:

(Sect. 17, vv. 18 ff.)—*Tvayārchiṭaś chāham apatyā-guptaye payo-vratenānugunaṁ samīḍitah | svāṁśena putratram upetya te sutān gop-tāsmi Mārīcha-tapasy adhishthitah |* 19. *Upadhāva patim bhadre prajāpatim akalmasham | mām cha bhāravatī patyāv evāmrūpam avasthitam |* 20. *Naitat parasmā ākhyeyam prishṭayā 'pi kathañchana | sarvāṁ sam-padyate devi deva-guhyāṁ susamīritam |* 21. *Sūka vrācha | etā�ad uktvā bhagavāns tatraivāntaradhiyata | Aditir durlabhañ labdhvā Harer janmātmani prabhoh | upādhāvat patim bhaktvā parayā kṛita-kṛitya-vat |* 22. *Sa vai samādhi-yogena Kaśyapas tad abudhyata | pravishṭam ātmani Harer aṁśām hy uritathexanah |* 23. *So 'dityāṁ vīryāṁ ādhatta tapasā chira-sambhṛitam | samāhita-manā rājan dāruṇy agniñ yathā 'nilah |*

"Worshipped by thee with the milk ceremonial for the deliverance of thy offspring, and lauded according to my attributes, I shall, with a portion of myself, become thy son, and deliver thy children, presiding over the austerity of Mārīcha (Kaśyapa). 19. Wait, virtuous female, upon thy husband, the sinless Prajāpati, meditating on me, who in this form abides within him. 20. This must not in any way be disclosed by thee to any one, even though thou art asked. The secrets of the gods, o goddess, issue in good [only] when they are kept concealed.' 21. When the deity had said so much, he disappeared on the spot. Aditi, having obtained the [boon], so hard to obtain, that Hari, the lord, should be born of her, waited on her husband with the greatest devotion, like one who had obtained her object. 22. Kaśyapa with certain in-

tuition understood by the power of contemplation that a portion of Hari had entered into him. 23. With contemplative mind, he impregnated Aditi with the generative fluid which he had accumulated by long austerity, as the wind forces fire into wood."

I have already observed that Vishnu, in his character as one of the Ādityas, also, was the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi (see above, p. 115). The connection with the old legend is therefore here preserved.

The eighteenth section relates how Hari was born of Aditi, to the great delight of all creatures, and how he then took the form of a dwarf:

(Sect. 18, v. 12).—*Yat tad vapur bhāti-vibhūshanāyudhair aryakta-chid vyaktam adhārayad Hariḥ | babhūra tenaira sa vāmano vaṭuh sam-paśyator dīrya-gatir yathā naṭaḥ |* “While Hari, the invisible spirit, was invested with that body, which was manifested by splendour, by its ornaments, and by weapons, he, whose ways are supernatural, became with that very body, while [his parents] were looking on, a young dwarf, as an actor [changes his character].”

He afterwards went to attend the *asvamedha* sacrifices celebrated for Bali by the Bhṛigus on the banks of the river Narmadā.<sup>122</sup> Bali welcomes the young Brahman dwarf with respect, offers him a seat, and washes his feet. The narrative then proceeds :

(Sect. 18, v. 28 ff.).—*Tat-pāda-śauchaṁ jana-kalmashāpahāṁ sa dharma-vid mūrdhny adhāt sumāngalam | yad deva-devo Giriśāś chandra-maulir dadhūra mūrdhna parayā cha bhaktiyā |* 29. *Balir uvācha | svāgataṁ te namas tubhyam brahman kiṁ karavāma te | brahmaśarinām tapah sūxād manye tv ārya vapur-dharam | . . . . .* 32. *Yad yad vaṭo vāñchhasi tat pratīchha me tvām arthinam vipra-sutānutarkaye | gāṁ kāñchanām gunavad dhāma mṛishṭām tathā 'nna-peyam uta vā vipra-kanyām | grāmān samriddhāns turagān gajān vā rathāns tathā 'rhattama sampratīchha |* 28. “Acquainted with duty, he placed upon his head the auspicious water with which the Brahman's feet had been washed, which removes the sins of men, and which Giriśa (Śiva), the god of gods, who wears the moon for a frontal ornament, bore on his head, with supreme devotion. 29. Bali said: ‘Welcome to thee, reverence to thee, Brahman, what can we do for thee? honourable man, I regard

<sup>122</sup> It is to be noticed that the scene of this sacrifice is on earth, though Bali, as we were told above, had taken possession of Indra's heaven.

thee as the visible, impersonated austerity of Brahman-sages. . . . .  
 32. Ask of me, youth, whatever thou desirest, (son of a Brahman, I conclude that thou art a suppliant), ask, most respectable man, a cow, pure gold, an embellished house, food and drink, or a Brahman's daughter, flourishing villages, horses, or elephants, and carriages.'"

In section nineteenth the dwarf answers Bali in a speech complimentary to himself and his ancestors, and craftily ends with the seemingly moderate demand of three paces of ground :

(Sect. 19, v. 16 ff.)—*Tasmāt tratto mahīm iśhad vrīne 'ham varadarshabhat | padāni trīni daityendra sammitāni padā mama | 17. Nānyat te kāmaye rājan vadānyāj jagadīśvarāt | nainaḥ prāpnoti vai vidvān yāvad-artha-pratigrahāḥ | 18. Balir uvācha | Aho Brāhmaṇa-dāyāda vāchas te rriddha-sammataḥ | tram bālo bāliśa-matiḥ svārtham praty abudho yathā | 19. Mām rachobhiḥ samārādhya lokānām ekam iśvaram | pada-trayaṁ vrīnīte yo 'buddhimān dvīpa-dāśusham | 20. Na pumān mām upravrajya bhūyo yāchitum arhati | tasmād vritti-karīm bhūmiṁ vaṭo kāmam pratīchha me | 21. Śrī-bhagavān uvācha | yāvanto vishayāḥ preshṭhāḥ trilokyām ajitendriyam | na śaknuvanti te sarve pratipūrayitūm nrīpa | 22. Tribhīḥ krāmair asantushto dvīpenāpi na pūryate | nava-varsha-sametena saptadvīpa-rarechhayā | . . . . . 27. Tasmāt trīni padāny era vrīne tvad varadarshabhat | etāvataiva siddho 'ham vittaṁ yāvat prayojanam | 28. Suka uvācha | ity uktāḥ sa hasann āha vāñchhitam pratigrīhyatām | vāmandya mahīm dātuṁ jagrāha jala-bhājanam |*

" Wherefore I ask from thee, the chief of the bountiful, a small portion of ground, three paces, lord of the Daityas, measured by my step. 17. I desire nothing more from thee, the generous lord of the world. A wise man incurs no sin when he asks [only] as much as he needs. 18. Bali answered : ' Thy words, son of a Brahman, are such as beseem an old man. Thou art a youth, with the mind of a stripling, and like one ignorant regarding his own interest. 19. He is not wise who, having by words reverenced me, the sole lord of the worlds, asks me, the bestower of continents, for three paces of ground. 20. It is not fit that a man should come to me and make repeated requests : wherefore freely ask me for ground sufficient for thy subsistence.' 21. The deity replied : ' All the desirable objects in the three worlds cannot, o king, satisfy the man whose senses are unsubdued. 22. He who is not contented with three

paces of ground will not be satiated even with a continent, and its nine *varshas*, since he will desire the gift of the seven continents.<sup>123</sup> 27. Wherefore I desire from thee, who art the chief of the bountiful, only three paces of ground. With so much as suffices for my maintenance I am complete.' Being thus addressed, Bali said, smiling, 'take what thou desirest;' and with the view of giving the land to the dwarf, he took a vessel of water.'

Uśanas, however, Bali's priest and preceptor, recognizing Vishṇu in the dwarf, and knowing the god's designs, here interposes, and warns the monarch against granting the ground solicited:

(Sect. 19, v. 29 ff.)—*Vishnave xmām praddasyantam Uśanā asure-*  
*śvaram | jānanś chikīrshitaṁ Vishnoḥ śishyam prāha vidāṁ varah |* 30.  
*Sukrāchāryya uvācha | Esha Vairochane sāxād bhagavān Vishnur avya-*  
*yāḥ | Kaśyapād Aditer jāto devānāṁ kārya-sādhakāḥ |* 31. *Pratiśrutam*  
*tvayaitasmai yad anartham ajānatā | na sādhu manye daityānāṁ mahān*  
*upagato 'nayah |* 32. *Esha te sthānam aiśvaryām śriyām tejo yaśāḥ*  
*śrutam | dāsyaty āchhidya Sakrāya māyā-māṇavako Hariḥ |* 33. *Tribhīḥ*  
*kramair imān lokān viśva-kāyah kramishyati | sarvasvāṁ Vishnave dattvā*  
*mūḍha varttishyase kathām |* 34. *Kramato gām padaikena dvitīyenā*  
*divāṁ vibhoḥ | khaṁ cha kāyena mahatā tārtīyasya kuto gatih |* 35. *Nish-*  
*thām te narake manye hy apradātuḥ pratiśrutam | pratiśrutasya yo*  
*'nīśāḥ pratipādayitum bhavān |* 36. *Na tad dānam praśānsanti yena*  
*vrittir vipadyate | dānaṁ yajñas tapaḥ karma loke vrittimoto yataḥ |*

29. "Uśanas, chief of the wise, knowing Vishṇu's intention, thus addresses his pupil, the chief of the Asuras, who was about to give the land to that deity: 30. 'This, o son of Virochana, is manifestly the divine, undecaying Vishṇu, born of Kaśyapa and Aditi, the fulfiller of the purposes of the gods. 31. That ill-advised promise which thou, unknowingly, hast made to him, is not, I consider, to the advantage of the Daityas;—a great error has been committed. 32. This illusory dwarf having bereft thee of thy place, dominion, prosperity, splendour, renown, and sacred knowledge, will give them to Sakra. 33. He whose body is the universe, will traverse these worlds in three strides; fool, where shalt thou abide, when thou hast given all thy possessions to Vishṇu? 34. Where shall there be room for the third pace

<sup>123</sup> See the First Part of this work, pp. 184 ff. for an account of these continents and *varshas*.

of the all-pervading being when he has traversed the earth with one pace, the sky with a second, and [filled] the atmosphere with his vast body? 35. I think that thy abode shall be in hell, when thou art unable to give all that thou hast promised, since thou shalt not be master (so as to carry it out) of what thou hast promised. 36. Men do not approve that gift by which [the donor's] livelihood is ruined : for [it is understood] in the world that gifts, sacrifices, austerities, ceremonies, are only performed by those who have the means."

In the verses which follow it is apparently the preceptor's object to show that the monarch may consider himself as absolved by the necessities of the case from fulfilling his promise already given to the dwarf.

Bali, however, refuses (sect. 20, vv. 2 ff.) to break his promise, whatever consequences to himself may result. He is thereupon cursed by his preceptor for his disobedience :

(Sect. 20, vv. 14 ff.)—*Eram aśraddhitāṁ śishyam anādeśa-karam  
guruḥ | śāśpa daira-prahitaḥ satyasandham manasrinam | 15. Dṛiḍham  
pāṇḍita-māny ajanāḥ stabdho 'sy asmad-upexayā | māch-chhāśanātīgo yaś  
tram achirād bhrāsyase śriyāḥ | 16. Tu aṁ śaptaḥ sva-guruṇā satyād na  
chalito mahān | rāmanāya dadār enām arohitvadaka-pūrvakam | 17.  
Vindhyaivalis tada "gatya patnī jālaka-mālinī | āninye kalaśām haimam  
avanejany apām bhṛitam | 18. Tājamaṇāḥ scayaū taxya śrimat-pāda-  
yugām mudā | aranīyyārahad mārdhni tād-apo viśva-pāranāḥ |*

14. "The preceptor, impelled by fate, cursed his disciple, thus devoid of faith and disobedient, yet wise and true to his promise ; [saying], 15. 'Though thou regardest thyself as extremely learned, thou art ignorant and stubborn in thy contempt of us : but thou who transgressest my commandment, shalt soon fall from thy prosperous state.' 16. Though thus cursed by his preceptor, this great [monarch], not departing from truth, gave this [earth] to the dwarf, after making an obeisance and pouring water [on his hand]. 17. Then his wife Vindhyaivali, wearing a necklace of pearls, approaching, brought a golden vessel filled with water for ablution. 18. Then the offerer of the sacrifice, after himself washing with delight the blessed feet [of the Brahman], bore upon his head the world-purifying water which had been so employed."

This magnanimous act of Bali is applauded by the celestials, and rewarded by them with a shower of flowers, and by strains of music. Immediately, however, the body of the dwarf begins to expand :

(Sect. 20, v. 21).—*Tad vāmanāṁ rūpam avardhatādbhutāṁ Harer anantasya guna-trayātmakam | bhūḥ kham diśo dyaur vivarāḥ payodhayas tiryāṇ-nri-devā rishayo yad āsata |* “That dwarfish body of the infinite Hari, consisting of the three qualities, increased miraculously, [that body] which composed the earth, the air, the points of the compass, the sky, the abysses, the oceans, brutes, men, gods, and rishis.”

A further account of this vast body, of the effect which the appearance of it produced on the Asuras, and other beings, is given in verses 22–32; and at length the strides of the deity are thus described :

(Sect. 20, v. 33).—*Xitim padaikena Baler vichakrame nabhaḥ śarireṇa diśaścha bāhubhīḥ | padāṁ dṛitiyam kramatas trivishṭapām na rai tritiyāya tadiyam aṇv api | urukramaṇyāṅghrir upary upary atho maharjanābhyaḍām tapasaḥ param gataḥ |* “He traversed the earth of Bali with one pace ; and [filled] the air with his body and the points of the compass with his arms. His second pace, as he strode, [occupied] the heaven ; and not even the minutest fraction of it remained for a third pace. The foot of the wide-striding deity rose upwards and upwards, and then reached beyond the Mahā-, Jana-, and Tapo-lokas.<sup>124</sup>

The gods assemble (Sect. 21) to do homage to Hari on his victory, which they celebrate with great rejoicing, and which is proclaimed by the King of the bears :

(Sect. 21, vv. 8 ff.)—*Jāmbavān riṣa-rājas tu bheri-śabdair manojarāḥ | vijayaṁ dixu sarrāsu mahotvaram aghoshayat | 9. Mahīṁ sarvām hṛitām dṛiṣṭvā tri-pada-vyāja-yāchāriyāḥ | učuḥ sra-bharttur asurā dixitasy-ātyamarshitāḥ | 10. Na vā ayam brahma-bandhur Viṣṇur māyārinām varāḥ | dṛija-rūpa-pratichhanno dera-kāryyaṁ chikirshati | 11. Anena yāchamānena śatrunā vātu-rūpiṇāḥ | sarvastām no hṛitam bharitum nyasta-dandasya varhishi | 12. Satya-eratasya satataṁ dixitasya riśeshataḥ | nānritām bhāśhitum śakyam brahmaṇyasya dayāvataḥ | 13. Tasmād asya badhe dharmo bhartuh śuśrāshane cha nah | ity āyudhāni jagrihur Baler anucharāsurāḥ | 14. Te sarve vāmanāṁ hantum śūla-paṭṭiṣa-pānayāḥ | anicchato Baleḥ rājan prādravan jāta-manyarāḥ |*

8. “Jāmbavat, King of the bears, swift as thought, proclaimed this victory, the occasion of great festivity, with sound of kettledrums, in all the regions. Beholding the whole earth taken from their master

<sup>124</sup> See Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (p. 48, note 10, and p. 213) for an account of these *Lokas*.

when consecrated for sacrifice, by an artful request for three paces of ground, the Asuras greatly incensed, exclaimed : 10. ‘This is certainly not a petty Brahman, but Vishṇu, the chief of magicians; disguised under the form of a twice-born man, he seeks to accomplish the purposes of the gods. By this enemy in the form of a stripling suppliant, has been taken all the property of our master, who had laid down his sceptre on the sacrificial grass. 12. Untruth cannot be uttered by one who is always devoted to truth—especially when he is consecrated,—by one who is the friend of Brahmans, and compassionate. 13. Wherefore it is our duty to slay him, and obey our master ;’—so saying, the Asuras, followers of Bali, seized their weapons. 14. Against the wish of Bali, they all ran, infuriate, pikes and axes in hand, to slay the dwarf.”<sup>125</sup>

This attack of the Asuras is, however, derided by the followers of Vishṇu, who kill some of them, and they are at length restrained by Bali, who points out that time and fate are at present unfavourable to his cause. Bali is then bound in the chains of Varuṇa, and reproached by Vishṇu for failing to fulfil his promise :

(Sect. 21, v. 26).—*Atha Tārxa-suto jñātvā Virāt prabhu-chikirshitam | babandha Tārunaiḥ pāśair Baliṁ sautye 'hani kratau | \*27. Hāhakāro mahān āśid rodasyoh sariato-dīśam | grīhyamāne 'sura-patau Viṣṇunā prabhavishṇunā | 28. Tam baddham Vārunaiḥ pāśair bhagavān āha vāmanāḥ | nashta-sriyam sthira-prajñam udāra-yaśasām nripa | 29. Padāni trīṇi dattāni bhūmer mahyām trayā 'xura | dcābhvām krāntā mahī sarvā trītyam upakalpaya | 30. Yārat tapaty asau gobhir yārad Induḥ sahoḍubhāḥ | Yāvad varshati Parjanyas tāratī bhūr iyām tara | 31. Padaikenā mayā krānto bhūrlokāḥ khaṁ dīśas tanoh | svarlokas tu dvitīyena paśyatā te sram ātmānaḥ | 32. Pratiśrutam adātus te niraye vāsa ishyate | viśa ṭām nirayaṁ tasmād gurunā chānumoditāḥ | 33. Vṛīhā manorathas tasya dūra-svargāḥ pataty adhāḥ | yo viprāya pratiśrutya na tad arpayate 'rthitam | 34. Vipralabdho dadāmiti trayā 'haṁ chāḍya-māninū | tad-vyalīka-phalam bhūnxra nirayaṁ katicchit samāḥ | 26. “Then Virāt (Garuḍa), the son of Tārxa, knowing the purpose of*

<sup>125</sup> It will be observed that here the dwarf is still represented as having that shape, though he had been above described as assuming a superhuman form and filling all the worlds. Yet though he is spoken of as a Brahman dwarf, he is said to have had followers who easily defeated the Asuras of Bali.

the lord, bound Bali with the bonds of Varuna<sup>126</sup> at the sacrifice on the day of the Soma libation. 28. A great lamentation arose in all the quarters of the two worlds (heaven and earth), when the Lord of the Asuras was seized by the puissant Vishnu. 28. Him bound with the bonds of Varuna, whose prosperity was destroyed, but whose understanding was firm, and whose renown was vast, the divine dwarf thus addressed: 29. 'Asura, three paces of ground were given to me by thee: with two paces the entire earth has been traversed: find a place for the third. 30. This earth of thine extends as far as that [sun] warms with his beams, as far as the moon shines with the stars, as far as Parjanya rains. 31. With one pace I traversed the region of the earth, and [occupied] the air and regions with my body; and whilst thou wast looking on, I [traversed] the sky with a second [pace, filling] thy possessions with myself. 32. As thou hast not given what was promised, it is my pleasure that thou shalt dwell in the infernal regions; enter therefore thither, with the approbation of thy preceptor. 33. That man's desires are frustrated, and he falls downward, far from heaven, who after promising to a Brahman, does not deliver to him what he had solicited. 34. I have been deluded by thee, thinking thyself wealthy, when thou saidst 'I give.' Endure the infernal regions for some years as the penalty of that deceit.'

Bali answers as follows (Sect. 22):

(Sect. 22, v. 2).—*Yady uttama-sloka bhavān mameritām vacho vyalikam̄ sura-varyya manyate | karomy ritām tād na bhavet pralambhanam pādām tritiyām kuru śirshni me nijam | 3. Bibhemi nūham̄ nirayāt pada-chyuto na pāśa-bandhād vyasanād duratyayāt | naivārtha-krichhrād bhavato vinigrahāt asādhu-vādād bhrīśam udvije yathā |*

2. "If, renowned chief of the gods, you consider the word which I uttered to be deceitful, I [now make it true, or] I do what is sincere, and can be no deception,—place your third step on my head. 3. Fallen from my position, I fear not the infernal regions, nor binding in bonds, nor misfortune difficult to escape, nor loss of wealth, nor your restraint, so much as I am afflicted by a bad name."

He then goes on to express his sense of his conqueror's superiority,

<sup>126</sup> See Manu, viii. 82; ix. 308. In R. V. vii. 65, 3, Mitra and Varuna are said to be *bhūri-pāśāv anritasya* "[gods] who have many bonds for falsehood."—See Roth's art. on the principal gods of the Arian nations, "Journal of the German Oriental Society," vol. vi. p. 73.

and submission to his fate. He is now visited and consoled by his grandfather Prahrāda. His wife Vindhyaivali noxts worships Vishṇu; and then Brahmā intercedes in behalf of the Asura monarch. Vishṇu, after making some general reflections, replies as follows :

(Sect. 22, v. 28).—*Esha dānava-daityānām agrapiḥ kirtti-vardhanah | ajaishid ajayām māyām sīdann api na muhyati | 29. Xīna-rikthaś chyutah sthānāt xipto baddhaścha śatrubhiḥ | jñātibhiśchā parityakto yātanām anuyāpitah | 30. Gurunā bhartsitaḥ śapta jahau satyām na suvrataḥ | chhalair ukto mayā dharmo nāyam tyajati satyavāk | 31. Esha me prāpitaḥ sthānām dushprāpam amarair api | Sāvarṇer antarasyāyam bhavitendro mad-āśrayaḥ | 32. Tāvat sutalam adhyāstām Viśrakarma-vinirmitām | yan nādhayo vyādhayaścha klamas tandraḥ parābhavaḥ | nopasargā nivasatām sambhavanti mamechhayā |*

28. "This chief of the Dānavas and Daityas, and enhancer of their renown, has conquered unconquerable Delusion : though dispirited, he is not bewildered. 29. Having lost his prosperity, fallen from his place, cast down and bound by his enemies, abandoned by his relations, involved in suffering, 30. reprehended and cursed by his preceptor, still, faithful to his obligation, he has not abandoned truth. [Though] duty has been inculcated by me in a deceitful fashion, this' truthful being does not swerve from it. 31. He has [therefore] been elevated by me to a position to which even the immortals with difficulty attain : he shall be the Indra, supported by me, of the Sāvanni Manvantara. 32. Meanwhile let him occupy Sutala, formed by Viśvakarmā, where, by my will, neither mental nor bodily pains, nor fatigue, nor weariness, nor discomfiture, nor diseases afflict the inhabitants."

(Sect. 23, v. 2).—Bali replies thus: *Aho pranāmāya kṛitaḥ samud-yamaḥ prapanna-bhaktartha-vidhau samāhitah | yallokapālais tvad-anugraho 'marair alabha-pūrvo 'pasade 'sure 'rpitah | 3. Suka uvācha | ity uktvā Harim ānanya Brahmānam sa-Bhavām tataḥ | viveśa sutalam prito Balir muktaḥ sahāsuraiḥ | 2. “‘ O, even the effort made to adore thee succeeds in effecting the object of the devout man who seeks thee ; seeing that thy favour, such as has not been before attained by the immortal guardians of the worlds, has been bestowed on me, a degraded Asura.’ 3. Having thus spoken, and bowed down to Hari, to Brahmā, and to Bhava (Śiva), Bali, being released, entered Sutala with joy, along with the Asuras. Vishṇu now addresses Uśanas the priest of Bali :*

(Sect. 21, v. 13).—*Athāhośanasaṁ rājan Harir Nārāyaṇo 'ntike |*  
*āśīnam ritvijām madhye sadasi brahma-vādinām |* 14. *Brahman santanu*  
*śishyasya karma-chhidraṁ ritanrataḥ | yat tat karmasu vaishamyam*  
*brahma-dṛishṭaṁ samam bhavet |* 15. *Sukra urācha | Kutas tat-karma-*  
*vaishamyam yasya karmeśvaro bhavān | yajñeśo yajñapurushah sarva-*  
*bhāvena pūjitaḥ |* 16. *Mantratas tantrataś chhidraṁ deśa-kālārha-vas-*  
*tutah | saruāṁ karoti niśchhidram anusaṅkirttanām tava |* 17. *Tathāpi*  
*vadato bhūman karishyāmy anuśāsanam | etach chhreyah param puṁsām*  
*yat tavājñānupālanam |* 18. *Suka urācha | abhinandya Harer ājñām*  
*Uśanā bhagavān iti | yajña-chhidraṁ samādhatta Baler vīprarshibhih*  
*saha |* 19. *Eram Baler mahim rājan bhixitvā vāmano Hariḥ | dadau*  
*bhrātre Mahendrāya tridivaṁ yat parair hritam |* 13. “Hari Nārāyaṇa  
 then approaching Uśanas sitting among the priests, in an assembly of  
 reciters of the Veda, thus addressed him: 14. ‘Brahman, rectify the  
 irregularities of thy pupil in performing the ceremonial: whatever  
 fault there is in any rite is removed if it be seen by a Brahman.’ 15.  
 Sukra (Uśanas) replied: ‘How can there be any irregularity in that  
 ceremony of which you are the lord, the lord of sacrifice, the sacrificial  
 male [or victim], adored in every aspect?’ 16. Whatever defects there  
 may be in respect of texts, of order, of place, of time, of persons, or of  
 materials,—the mātṛ celebration of thee obliterates them all. 17.  
 Nevertheless, great being (?), I shall fulfil the injunction which thou  
 utterest: this is the highest happiness of men, to obey thy commands.’  
 18. Having assented to the order of Hari, the divine Uśanas with the  
 Brahman-rishis, rectified the irregularities of Bali’s sacrifice. 19.  
 Having in this manner begged the earth from Bali, the dwarf Hari  
 gave [back] to his brother Mahendra<sup>127</sup> the heaven which had been  
 taken from him by his enemies.”

Though the whole tenor of this legend, and, indeed, of the entire Bhā-  
 gavata Purāṇa, represents Vishnu, of whom the dwarf was an incarna-  
 tion, as the supreme deity, it is now rather strangely said that Brahmā  
 and the other deities made the dwarf governor of all things:

(Sect 21, v. 20).—*Prajāpati-patir Brahmā devarshi-pitri-bhūmipaiḥ |*  
*Daxa-Bhrigrv-Angiro-mukhyaiḥ Kumāreṇa Bhavena cha |* 21. *Kaśyapasy-*  
*aditeḥ prityai sarva-bhūta-bhavāya cha|lokānām loka-pālānām akarod vām-*

<sup>127</sup> Vishnu is called Upendra (the inferior or younger Indra), the brother of Ma-  
 hendra, the great Indra.—See above, p. 116, last line.

*anam patim* | 22. *Vedānām sarva-devānām dharmasya yaśasaḥ śriyāḥ* | *man-*  
*galānām vratānāñcha kalpaṁ svargdpavargayoh* | 23. *Upendraṁ kalpa-*  
*yāñchakre patīm sarva-vibhūtayoḥ* | *tadā sarvāṇi bhutāni bhṛiṣam mu-*  
*mudire nṛipa* | 20. “Brahmā, the lord of the Prajāpatis, together with  
 the gods, rishis, Pitris, with Daxa, Bhṛigu, Angiras, and other lords  
 of the earth, with Kumāra, and Bhava, 21. with a view to the gratifi-  
 cation of Kaśyapa and Aditi, and the good of all creatures, made the  
 dwarf master of the worlds and of the guardians of the worlds. 22, 23.  
 He made Upendra (Vishṇu) master of the Vedas, of all the gods, of  
 righteousness, renown, prosperity, blessings, and ceremonies, and lord  
 of heaven and final liberation, in order that he might have command of  
 all things. Then all creatures rejoiced exceedingly.”

The section concludes with the verse I have already quoted above (p. 62) in glorification of Vishṇu, followed by a statement of the benefits resulting from hearing the legend of the dwarf incarnation.

SECT. V.—*Vishnu as represented in the Nirukta, Rāmāyaṇa,*  
*Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas.*

From the passages adduced in the preceding pages, it is clear that Vishṇu is not regarded as the supreme god either in the Rig-veda, or in the Brāhmaṇas. In these ancient works he is considered only as one of the gods, and not as superior to the rest. It is also manifest from the passage I have cited from the Nirukta (xii. 19) in p. 55 that neither Yāska himself, nor Sākapūṇi and Aurnavābha the ancient interpreters of the Veda, whose opinions he quotes, assigned to Vishṇu any higher rank than they did to the other members of the Indian Pantheon. From another text of the Nirukta (vii. 5) which I have cited in p. 56, it appears that the old expounders of the Veda regarded the deities worshipped in the Veda as mainly represented by three gods of primary importance, and that of these Vishṇu is not one. As the passage from which this extract was made is of great interest and importance, I shall quote it here at length :

Nir. 7, 4.—*Tad ye 'nādiṣṭa-devatā mantrās teshu devatopaparīkṣā* |  
*yad-daivataḥ sa yajño vā yajñāṅgam vā tad-devatā bhavanti* | *atha anyatra*

yajñāt prājāpatyā iti yajñikāḥ | nārāśāmsā iti nairuktāḥ | api vā sā  
 kāma-devatā syāt prāyo-devatā vā | asti hy āchāro bahulaṁ loka deva-  
 devatyam atithi-devatyam pitṛi-devatyam | yajñā-dairato mantra iti |  
 api hy adevatā devatā-vat stūyante | yathā 'śva-prabhṛitīny oshadhi-  
 paryantāny athāpy ashtau dvandvāni | sa na manyeta āgantūn iva arthān  
 devatānām pratyaxa-dṛiṣyam etad bharati | mahābhāgyād devatāyā eka  
 ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasya ātmano 'nye devāḥ pratyāṅgāni bhavanti |  
 api cha sattvānām prakriti-bhūmabhir rishayaḥ stuvanti ity ahuḥ | pra-  
 kṛiti-sārvanāmnyāḥ cha itaretara-janmāno bhavanti itaretara-prakrit-  
 ayaḥ karma-janmāna ātmā-janmānah | atmā eva eshāṁ ratho bhavaty ātmā  
 'śvāḥ ātmā' yudham ātmā isharaḥ ātmā sarvāṁ devasya | 5. Tisra eva  
 devatāḥ iti nairuktāḥ Agnih pṛithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā 'ntarixa-  
 sthānah Sūryo dyu-sthānah | tāśām mahābhāgyād ekaikasyā api bahūni  
 nāmadheyāni bhavanti | api vā karma-pṛithaktvād yathā hotā 'dhvaryur  
 brahmā udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | api vā pṛithag eva syuḥ | pṛithag  
 hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhidhānāni | yatho etat "karma-pṛithaktvād" iti  
 bahavo 'pi vibhajya karmāṇi kuryuḥ | tatra saṁsthānaikatvāṁ sambho-  
 gaikatvāṁ cha upexitavyam | yathā pṛithivyām manushyāḥ pušavo devā  
 iti sthānaikatvam | sambhokaikatvāṁ cha dṛiṣyate yathā pṛithivyāḥ  
 Parjanyena cha Vāyv-Ādityābhyāṁ cha sambhogo 'gninā cha itarasya  
 lokasya | tatra etad nara-rūshṭram iva | 6. Athākāra-chintanañ deva-  
 tānām | purusha-vidhāḥ syur ity ekam | chetanāvad-vad hi stutayo bha-  
 vanti tathā 'bhidhānāni | athāpi paurusha-vidhikair ḡangaiḥ saṁstūyante |  
 . . . . . athāpi paurusha-vidhikair dravya-saṁyogaiḥ | . . . . . athāpi  
 paurusha-vidhikaiḥ karmabhiḥ | . . . . . 7. Apurusha-vidhāḥ syur  
 ity aparam | api tu yad dṛiṣyate 'purusha-vidhām tat | yathā 'gnir  
 vāyur ādityāḥ pṛithivī chandramā iti | yatho etat "chetanāvad-vad  
 hi stutayo bhavanti" ity achetanāny apy evāṁ stūyante yathā 'xa-pra-  
 bhṛitīny oshadhi-paryantāni | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikair ḡangaiḥ  
 saṁstūyante" ity achetaneshv apy etad bhavati | "abhi krāndanti harite-  
 bhir āśabhir" iti grāva-stutiḥ | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikair dravya-  
 saṁyogair" ity etad api tāḍriśam eva | "sukhaṁ rathaṁ yuyuṣe Sindhur  
 āśvinam" iti nadī-stutiḥ | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikaiḥ karmabhiḥ"  
 ity etad api tāḍriśam eva | "hotuś chit̄ pūrve havir adyam āśata" iti  
 grāva-stutir eva | api cha ubhaya-vidhāḥ syuḥ | api vā purusha-vidhānām  
 eva satāṁ karmātmāna ete syuḥ | yathā yajño yajamānasya | esha cha  
 ākhyāna-eamayah | 8. Tiera eva devatā ity uktam purastāt | tāśām

*bhakti-sāhacharyam vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | atha etāny Agni-bhaktīny ayaṁ lokah prātah-savanaṁ vasanto gāyatrī trivrit-stomo rathantaraṁ sāma ye oha deva-ganāḥ samāmnātāḥ prathame sthāne 'gnayi prithivī ilā iti striyah | atha asya karma vahanaṁ oha havishām āvahanaṁ cha devatānām yach cha dārshtī-vishayikam Agni-karmaiva tat | atha asya saṁstavikā devā Indrah Somo Varunāḥ Parjanya ritwah | Āgnā-Vaishṇavaṁ harir na tu rīk saṁstavikī daśatayishu vidyate | a'hi apy Āgnā-Paushnaṁ harir na tu saṁstavah | . . . . . 10. Atha etāni Indra-bhaktīny antarixa-loko mādhyandinaṁ savanaṁ grishmas trishṭup pañchadaśa-stomo brihat-sāma ye cha dera-ganāḥ samāmnātā madhyam; sthāne yāścha striyah | atha asya karma rasānupradānaṁ Vṛittra-vadho yā cha kā cha bala-kritir Indra-karmaiva tat | atha asya saṁstavikā devā Agnih Somo Varunāḥ Pūshā Brihaspatir Brahmanaspatih Parrataḥ Kutso Vishṇur Vāyuḥ | atha api Mitro-Varunena saṁstūyate | Pūshṇ Rudreṇa cha Somah | Agninā cha Pūshā | Vātena cha Parjanyah | 11. Atha etāny Āditya-bhaktīny asau lokas trītya-savanaṁ varshā jagati saptadaśa-stomo vairūpaṁ sāma ye cha dera-ganāḥ samāmnātā uttame sthāne yāścha striyah | atha asya karma rasādānaṁ raśmibhiś cha rasādhāraṇām yach cha kiñchit pravalhitam Āditya-karmaiva tat | Chandramasā Vāyunā Saṁvatsareṇa iti saṁstavah | eteshv eva sthāna-vyūheshv ritu-chhandah-stoma-prishthasya bhakti-sesham anukalpayīta | śarad-anushtub-ekaviṁśa-stomo vairājaṁ sāma iti prīthivī-āyatanaṇi | hemantah pañktis trinava-stomah śākvaram sāma ity antarixāyatanāni | śiśiro 'tichhandās trayas-triṁśa-stomo raivatam sāma iti dyu-bhaktini |*

4. "We shall now enquire who are the deities in those hymns in which no deity is indicated. They are addressed to the god to whom the sacrifice or part of a sacrifice [in which they are employed] belongs. The hymns which are unconnected with a sacrifice are, according to the ritualists (*yājñikāḥ*), addressed to Prajāpati; according to the etymologists (*nairuktāḥ*), they are spoken in praise of men.<sup>128</sup> Or in such cases the deity may be an optional one, or a class of deities: for it is a very prevalent practice to [classify rites] as those which have a god, a guest, or a progenitor, respectively, for their deity. In reference to

<sup>128</sup> Professor Roth refers to Nir. ix. 9, where the word *nārāśāmsa* is thus defined: *yena narāḥ praśasyante sa nārāśāṁsa mantraḥ |* "a hymn in which men are eulogised is a *nārāśāmsa* hymn." As an instance of this kind of hymn Yāska quotes R. V. i. 126, 1.

what has been said that hymns are either (1) sacrificial, or (2) addressed to a god, [it is remarked that] beings other than gods are lauded as gods, as *e.g.* the objects beginning with horses and ending with herbs (see *Nighāntu*, 5, 3, and *Nir.* ix. 1-28), and also the eight pairs (see *Nighāntu*, 5, 3, and *Nir.* ix. 35 ff.) But let him [the student] not regard any matters relating to the gods as if they were accidental: this may be clearly seen. Owing to the greatness of the deity, the one Soul is lauded in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul. And [the learned] say that the rishis address their hymns according to the numerous natures of the [celestial] existences; and [further] from the universality of the definition of their nature [these existences] are produced from each other, and possess the natures of each other (compare *Nir.* xi. 23, quoted above, p 11); they are produced from the ceremonial; they are produced from soul. It is soul that is their car, soul their steeds, soul their weapon, soul their arrows, soul is a god's all.

5. There are three deities according to the etymologists (*nairuktāḥ*), viz. Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya (the Sun), whose place is in the sky. These [deities] receive many designations in consequence of their greatness, or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] *hotṛi*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, and *udgātri*, are applied to one and the same person. Or the gods in question may all be distinct, for the praises addressed to them, and also their appellations, are distinct. As [regards the view that] this [diversity of appellation] arises from difference of function [and not from distinctness of personality, it may be objected that] a plurality of individuals also may each fulfil their separate allotted functions. In this latter case, a community of locality, and of possession, must be remarked. Thus, men, beasts, and gods, occupy the earth; here is community of place. Community of possession, too, is seen in such instances as that of the joint occupation of the earth both by Parjanya, and by Vāyu, and Āditya, and of the rest of the world by [Vāyu, Āditya, and] Agni. Here the case is like that of a kingdom and its inhabitants, (*i.e.* the one realm is occupied by different classes of persons [?]).

6. We have now to consider the forms of the gods. One [mode of representation in the hymns makes] them resemble men: for they are praised and addressed as intelligent beings. They are also celebrated with members such as those of men. (An instance is here given where

Indra is so introduced.) They are also [celebrated] with the accompaniment of possessions such as those of men; . . . and with functions of a similar character to the human. . . . .

7. Another [mode of representation makes them] unlike men. But further, that which is seen [of them] is unlike what is human, as Fire, Air, Sun, Earth, Moon. As [regards the assertion] that 'they are praised as intelligent beings,'—it is also true that senseless things are in like manner praised, as the objects beginning with dice and ending with herbs (Nigh. 5, 3; Nir. 3, 7 ff.) Again, as [regards the remark] that the gods are 'celebrated with members such as those of men,'—the same thing is done in the case of senseless objects, as stones are celebrated in the words, 'they cry with their green mouths' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Further, the same is the case as [regards the remark] that the gods are [celebrated] 'with the accompaniment of possessions such as those of men;' for a river is praised in the words, 'Sindhu has yoked his beautiful car drawn by steeds' (R. V. x. 75, 9). And the same thing applies to the remark that the gods are described with 'functions similar to those of men;' for stones are lauded in the words, 'even before the priests they eat food of melted butter' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Or the gods may be described under both forms (either as having, or as not having, a human form). Or, again, when they are described as similar to men, this may be merely in their character of actors in a particular function, as sacrifice is only the [temporary] act of the man who offers it. This is the condition of all narrations.<sup>129</sup>

8. It has been declared above (par. 5) that there are three deities. We shall now declare the various objects which are associated with their worship. Now these which follow are connected with Agni's worship: viz. this world, the morning oblation, spring, the gāyatri metre, the trivṛt stoma, the rathantara sāma, the classes of gods who in the Nighāntu are enumerated in the first sphere, with the goddesses Agnāyi, Prithivi, and Ilā. Then Agni's function is to carry away the oblations, and to bring the gods: and whatever has reference to things visible (?)

<sup>129</sup> The commentator Durga, (as I learn from Prof. Roth's note, Illust. of Nir. p. 104), refers this observation to the Mahābhārata, and adduces, as illustrations of the remark in the text, the appearances of the Earth in the form of a woman to request a Brahman to relieve her of her load, and of Agni in the form of a Brahman to beg the Kāndava wood from Vāsudeva and Arjuna, and in the form of a man, and of fire, to burn the wood in question.

is the work of Agni. Then the deities who are lauded along with him are Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Parjanya, and the seasons. There is an oblation made to Agni and Vishṇu in common; but in the ten books [of the R. V.] there is no *rīch* which praises these two gods together. There is also an oblation made to Agni and Pūshan in common, but no conjoint laudation. . . . .

10. The following are the objects connected with Indra's worship: viz. the atmosphere, the midday oblation, summer, the trishtubh metre, the pañchadaśa stoma, the bṛihat sāma, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the second sphere. Indra's function is to bestow moisture, to slay Vṛittra: and all exertions of force are the work of Indra. The deities lauded along with him are Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Pūshan, Bṛihaspati, Brahmanaspati, Parvata, Kutsa, Vishṇu, and Vāyu. Further, Mitra is lauded along with Varuṇa, Soma with Pūshan and Rudra, Pūshan with Agni, and Parjanya with Vāta.

11. The following are the objects connected with Āditya's (the Sun's) worship: heaven, the third oblation, the rainy season, the jagati metre, the saptadaśa stoma, the vairūpa sāma, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the highest sphere. The function of Āditya is to draw up moisture, and to retain it by his rays: and whatever is mysterious is the work of Āditya. He is praised along with the Moon, the Air (*Vāyu*), and the Year.

[The student] is to class the remaining seasons, metres, stomas, and prishṭhas, as objects connected with the service of the different gods, under [one or other of the three] spheres as above arranged. Autumn, the anushtubh metre, the ekavīśa stoma, and the vairāja sāma, belong to the sphere of earth. The early winter, the pankti metre, the triṇava stoma, and the śākvara sāma, belong to the atmospheric sphere. The later winter, the atichandas metre, the trayastrinśa stoma, and the raiyata sāma, are connected with the celestial worship.”<sup>130</sup>

It will be observed that in the preceding classification of the gods, the principal places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu, or Indra, and Sūrya, who appear therefore to have been regarded in the time of Yāska, as the triad of deities in whom the supreme spirit was especially revealed. Vishṇu is only alluded to as one of the divinities who were worshipped conjointly with Indra; and Rudra is only mentioned as worshipped

<sup>130</sup> The whole of this passage is translated by Prof. Roth in his Ill. of Nir. pp. 101 ff.

along with Soma. The conjunction of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra as the triple manifestation of the deity (*trimūrtti*) would therefore appear to have been unknown to Yāska.

It is true that his object in the passage I have cited, as well as in other parts of his work, is to classify the Vedic deities; and it may be urged that the Puranic mythology (of which the *trimūrtti* of Brahmā, Vishnu and Siva is a part) might have grown up along with the Vedic. It may, however, I think, be objected to this view, that if Yāska had been cognizant of any other than the Vedic mythology (at least if he had attached any authority to any other), he would not have failed to make some reference to the latter, and would have endeavoured to blend and reconcile it with the former. As we find no attempt of this kind in his work, we must conclude either that the Puranic mythology had no existence in his day, or that he regarded it as undeserving of any attention.

The following passages from the Brīhaddevatā, in which the views of Yāska are repeated, are derived from Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 113 f.:

Brīhaddevatā, i. 13.—*Bhavad-bhūta[sya bha]ryasya jangama-sthāvara-*  
*asya cha | asyaike sūryam evaikam prabharam pralayañ viduh | asataś*  
*cha sataś chaiva yonir esha Prajāpatih | yad axarañ cha vāchyam (?) cha*  
*yathaiva Brahma sāsvatam | kṛitvaisha hi tridhā "tmānam eshu lokeshu*  
*tishṭhati | Ibid. i. 14 . . . tisra evehā devatāḥ | etasām eva māhātmyād*  
*nāmānyatvām vidhīyate | tach cha sthāna-vibhāgena tatra tatreha dṛiṣyate |*  
*i. 13: "Some consider Sūrya (the Sun) to be the only cause of the produc-*  
*tion and destruction of this [universe] present, past, and future, moving*  
*and stationary. And this lord of creatures (Prajāpati) is the source of*  
*nonentity and entity, which is undecaying and describable (?) like*  
*the eternal Brahma. He, having made himself threefold, abides in*  
*these worlds. i. 14: . . . There are but three deities; and from their*  
*greatness, a variety of names is assigned [to each of them]. This is*  
*seen in different instances according to the distinction of places."*

From the passage cited above (p. 26 f.) from Manu, it appears that the word Nārāyaṇa is there applied to Brahmā, and that no mention whatever is made of Vishṇu, as concerned in the creation. In fact Vishṇu is only once mentioned<sup>131</sup> by Manu, viz. in the following verse xii. 121:

<sup>131</sup> Lassen Ind. Ant. i. 777, note.

*Manasindum diśaḥ śrotre krante Vishnum bale Haram | vāchy Agnīm  
Mitram utsarge prajane cha Prajāpatim |* “[He may contemplate] in his mind the Moon (Indu), in his hearing the regions, in his going Vishnu, in his strength Hara, in his voice Agni, in excretion Mitra, and in procreation Prajāpati.” Vishnu is not spoken of here as in any way superior to the other gods with whom he is associated.

In the text quoted above (p. 29) from the older recension of the Rāmāyaṇa too, it is Brahmā who is spoken of not only as the creator, but also as the god who raised up the earth from the bottom of the ocean.

Again, those texts of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas (see above, pp. 103 ff.) where Vishnu is described as one of the twelve Ādityas, confirm the conclusion that he must have been originally looked upon as a deity of no more elevated rank than the other sons of Aditi; and the circumstance that he is in some of those passages distinguished from the rest of the gods by epithets expressive of some higher characteristics is easily explicable, as I have already remarked, by the supposition that those passages have been composed or modified at a period when his superiority had come to be recognized.

In some of the earlier passages of the Rāmāyaṇa also, where Vishnu is introduced, though he is treated as a deity of higher rank than Indra and others (with whom he had been originally, at most, on a footing of equality), yet he is not designated by the same sort of epithets which are applied to him in the Vishnu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, and in some parts of the Mahābhārata, or identified with the supreme deity, as in these last named works. In proof of this I adduce the following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 1 ff. (Schlegel's edition):

Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 1 ff.—*Medhāvī tu tato dhyātṛā sa kiñchid idam  
uttaram | labdha-saṅjñas tatas taṁ tu veda-jño nṛipam abravit | ishṭiṁ  
te 'nyām karishyāmi putriyām putra-kāraṇat | atharvaśirasi proktair  
mantraiḥ siddhām vidhānataḥ | tataḥ prachakrame karttum ishṭiṁ kāma-  
saṁriddhaye | tasya rājño hitānveshī Vidyāndaka-suto vaśi | tatra devāḥ  
sa-gandharvāḥ Siddhāścha munibhiḥ saha | bhāga-pratigrāhūrthaṁ vai  
pūrvam eva samāgatāḥ | Brahmā sureśvaraḥ Sthānus tathā Nārāyaṇaḥ  
prabhuh | Indraś cha bhagavān sāxād Marud-gana-vritas tathā | aśva-  
medhe mahāyajñe rājñas tasya mahātmanaḥ | tatra bhāgarthino devān  
āgatān so 'bhyayādhata | ayaṁ rājā Daśarathāḥ putrārthī taptavāṁs*

tapah | ishtavān aśvamedhena bhavataḥ śraddhayā 'nvitah | ishtim cha  
 putra-kāmō 'nyām punah kartum samudyataḥ | tad asya putra-kāmasya  
 prasādāṁ kartum arhatha | abhiyāche cha vah sarvān asyārthe 'ham  
 kṛitañjalih | bhaveyur asya chatvārah putrās trailokya-viśrutāḥ | te tath-  
 ety abruvan devā rishi-putraṁ kṛitañjalim | mānānyo 'si no vipra rājā  
 chaiva viśeshataḥ | prāpsyate paramāṁ kāmam etayeshtyā narādhipah |  
 ity uktvā 'ntarhitā devās tataḥ *Sakra-purogamāḥ* | tāḥ sametya yathā-  
 nyāyām tasmin sadasi ḍevatāḥ | abruvan loka-karttāram *Brahmānam*  
 vachanāṁ tataḥ | tvat-pradēshīta-varo Brahman *Rāvaṇo* nāma rāxasāḥ |  
 sarvān no bādhate darpād maharshīm̄s cha tapo-ratān | trayā hy asya  
 varo dattāḥ pṛitena bhagavan purā | deva-dānava-yaxānām abadhyo 'sti  
 kāmataḥ | mānayantaścha te vākyām sarvam asya sahāmahe | sa bādhayati  
 lokām̄ trīn vihiṁsan rāxaseśvaraḥ | . . . . 19. Tad mahad no bhayaṁ  
 tasmād rāxasād ghorā-darśanāt | bādhārthaṁ tasya bhagavann upāyām  
 kartum arhasi | evam uktāḥ suraiḥ sarvaiś chintayitvā tato 'bravit |  
 hantāyaṁ vihitas tasya bādhopāyo durātmanaḥ | tena "gandharva-yax-  
 ānām deva-dānava-raxasām | abadhyāḥ syām" iti proktāṁ tathety uktāṁ  
 cha tad mayā | avajñāya tu tad raxo manushān nānvakīrttayat | tasmāt  
 sa mānushād bādhyo mrityur nānyo 'syā vidyate | etach ehrutvā priyām  
 vākyam Brahmanā samudāhritam | devāḥ *Sakra-purogās* te harshitāḥ  
 sarvato 'bhavan | etasmīn antare *Vishṇur* upayāto mahādyutiḥ | śāṅkhā-  
 bhakra-gadā-pāñih pīta-vāsā jagat-patiḥ | Vainateyām samāruhya bāskar-  
 ras toyadaṁ yathā | tapta-haṭaka-keyūro vandyamānaḥ surottamaiḥ |  
 tam abruvan surāḥ sarve samabhishutya sannatāḥ | ārttānām asi lokānām  
 ārtti-hā Madhusūdana | yāchāmahe 'tas tvām ārttāḥ śaraṇām no bhavā-  
 shyuta | brūta kiṁ karavānīti *Vishṇus* tān abravīd vachāḥ | iti tasya  
 vachāḥ śrutvā punar ūhur idām surāḥ | rājā Daśaratho nāma tapta-vān  
 sumahat tapah | ishtavām̄s ohāśvamedhena prajā-kāmāḥ sa ohāprajāḥ |  
 asman-niyogāt tvāñ *Vishṇo* tasya putratvam āpnūhi | tasya bhāryāsu  
 tierishu *Hri-Srī-Kirtty-upamāsu* cha | *Vishṇo* putratvam āgachha kṛtvā  
 "tmānām chaturvidham | tatra tvam mānusho bhūtvā pravriddham̄ loka-  
 kanṭakam | abadhyām daivatair *Vishṇo* samare jahi *Rāvaṇam* | . . . .  
 34. Tvañ gatiḥ paramā deva sarveshām naḥ parantapa | bādhāya deva-  
 śatrūnām nṛinām loke manāḥ kuru | sa niyuktas tathā devaiḥ sāxād  
 Nārāyanāḥ prabhūḥ | tān uvācha ityādi |

"Then that sage, skilled in the Veda, having meditated for a little on  
 this answer, having acquired an insight [into what he should do], said

to the king: 'I shall perform for thee another sacrifice, celebrated according to rule with the texts enjoined in the Atharva-śiras, to obtain for thee a son. The self-subdued son of Vibhāndaka, desiring the king's welfare, then began to perform the sacrifice for the attainment of his desire. The gods, with the Gandharvas, Siddhas, and Munis, had previously come thither to receive their portions [of the sacrifice], both Brahmā, lord of the deities, Sthānu (Mahādeva), the lord Nārāyana<sup>132</sup> (Vishnu), and the divine Indra in visible presence, surrounded by the host of Maruts. He (Rishyasringa thus) supplicated the gods who had come, desiring their shares, to the great aśvamedha sacrifice [described in the preceding section] of that high-souled king: 'This King Daśaratha, desiring a son, has performed austerity, and possessed with faith, has worshipped you with an aśvamedha. Longing for a son, he is also prepared to celebrate another sacrifice. Ye ought, therefore, to show favour to him, who is anxious for a son; and with joined hands, I entreat you all on his behalf. Let him have four sons, renowned in the three worlds.' The gods said to the rishi's son whose hands were joined, 'So be it. Thou, Brahman, art deserving of honour from us, and so especially is the king. The lord of men shall obtain the highest object of his desire by means of this sacrifice.' Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by Śakra (Indra), then disappeared.

Having duly assembled in that abode,<sup>133</sup> these gods then addressed a word to Brahmā, the creator of the world: 'A Rāxasa named Rāvaṇa, having obtained a boon from thee, o Brahmā, in his pride harasses us all, and the great rishis devoted to austerity. For, o lord, a boon was formerly granted to him voluntarily by thee when well-pleased, viz. *Thou shalt be indestructible by gods, Dānavas or Yaxas.* Obedient to thy words, we endure everything at his hands. This lord of the Rāxasas vexes the three worlds by his acts of cruelty . . . 19. We are therefore in great fear of this Rāxasa of horrible aspect. Thou, lord, oughtest to imagine some device for his slaughter.' Being thus addressed by all the deities, [Brahmā], after reflection, thus spoke to them: 'O, this device has been imagined [by me] for the slaughter of that malignant being. He said, "Let me be indestructible by Gandharvas, Yaxas, gods, Dā-

<sup>132</sup> Here it will be observed that Vishnu, like the other gods, comes for his share.

<sup>133</sup> It seems as if there was something left out here, as no "abode" has been mentioned before. Vishnu, too, ought to have been among the gods, as he is not said to have separated from the others, and yet his arrival is afterwards mentioned below.

avas and Rāxasas;" when I replied, "Be it so." But despising men, the Rāxasa made no mention of them. He must therefore be slain by a man : no other death is possible for him.' Having heard this acceptable word spoken by Brahmā, the gods, headed by Sakra, were altogether delighted. In the meantime the glorious Vishṇu arrived, bearing in his hand the shell, discus, and club, in yellow garments, lord of the world, mounted on Garuḍa, like the Sun on a cloud, with an armlet of refined gold, adored by the chief of the deities. After lauding him with prostrations, all the gods said : 'Thou, Madhusūdana, art he who removes the affliction of the afflicted worlds. Wherefore we, afflicted, beseech thee be our refuge, o Achyuta (unfalling).' Vishṇu said to them, 'Tell me what I shall do.' Hearing this answer of his, the gods again said : 'A king named Daśaratha has performed great austerity, and celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, desirous of offspring, for he is childless. Do thou, Vishṇu, according to our appointment, take upon thee his sonship. Making thyself fourfold, do thou become the offspring of his three wives who resemble Hṛī, Śrī, and Kirtti (Modesty, Prosperity, and Renown). Having then become man, do thou slay in battle Rāvana, the powerful enemy of the worlds, who is indestructible by the gods. . . . 34. Thou, god, vexer of thy foes, art the highest refuge of us all; resolve to destroy in the world of men the enemies of the deities.' The manifested lord Nārāyaṇa, being thus appointed by the gods," replies by asking for further explanations in regard to the occasion which demanded his intervention. This explanation the gods give and say, that he alone of all the celestials can kill the wicked one (*tvatto hi nānyas tam pāpañ śakto hantuñ divaukasām*). Vishṇu, then, "the lord of the gods" (*deveśa*), "the most excellent of the immortals" (*tridaśa-pungava*), "adored by all the worlds" (*sarva-loka-namaskrita*), reassures the deities, promises to slay Rāvana, and to reign on earth for eleven thousand years.

I have said that the representation given of Vishṇu in the preceding passage is of a different character from that which we find in writings of a later age. But it is not certain that even this passage formed part of the Rāmāyaṇa, as it originally existed. I extract the following remarks from "Lassen's Indian Antiquities," vol. i. p. 488, in regard to the interpolations which he supposes to have been made in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata :

" It is true that in the Epic poems Rāma and Krishna appear as incarnations of Vishṇu, but they at the same time come before us as human heroes, and these two characters (the divine and the human) are so far from being inseparably blended together, that both of these heroes are for the most part exhibited in no other light than other highly gifted men,—acting according to human motives and taking no advantage of their divine superiority. It is only in certain sections which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character that they take the character of Vishṇu. It is impossible to read either of these two poems with attention, without being reminded of the more modern character of such sections as ascribe a divine character to the heroes, and of the unskilful manner in which these passages are often introduced; and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative, and how unnecessary they are for its progress."<sup>134</sup>

In p. 489, note, he remarks more particularly: "As regards the Rāmāyaṇa, Mr. von Schlegel has often observed to me that the chapters in which Rāma is conceived of as an incarnation of Vishṇu, might be entirely omitted without injuring the connexion of the story. In fact, at the point where the incarnation of Vishṇu in the four sons of Dasaratha is described (Rām. i. 14 ff.), the proper great sacrifice is already concluded, and the priests have all been presented with gifts at its close,

<sup>134</sup> In the Preface to his Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. ix., Professor Wilson had previously made some observations of the same tenor: "But the ascription to individual and personal deities of the attributes of the one universal and spiritual Supreme Being, is an indication of a later date than the Vedas certainly, and apparently also than the Rāmāyaṇa, where Rāma, although an incarnation of Vishṇu, commonly appears in his human character alone. There is something of the kind in the Mahābhārata in respect to Krishna, especially in the philosophical episode known as the Bhagavad Gītā. In other places the divine nature of Krishna is less decidedly affirmed; in some it is disputed or denied; and in most of the situations in which he is exhibited in action, it is as a prince and warrior, not as a divinity. He exercises no superhuman faculties in the defence of himself, or his friends, or in the defeat and destruction of his foes. The Mahābhārata, however, is evidently a work of various periods, and requires to be read throughout carefully and critically before its weight as an authority can be accurately appreciated." Professor Goldstücker, too, observes in the Preface to his Mānava Kalpa Sūtra, p. xxxi.: "It is of course impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the Mahābhārata, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to every one who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature."

when the new sacrifice is commenced, at which the gods appear, then withdraw, and now for the first time propose to Vishṇu to become incarnate. If this had been an original portion of the story, the gods would certainly have considered the matter sooner, and the ceremonial of sacrifice would have proceeded without interruption. In the same book, ch. 74, 75, a scene with the earlier [or Paraśu-] Rāma is suddenly interpolated, in order that he may be made to declare the new Rāma to be Vishṇu."—p.<sup>1</sup> 489.

An examination of the earlier portions of the Rāmāyana seems to confirm the opinion of Schlegel that the 14th and following sections which describe the miraculous births of Rāma and his brothers as incarnations of Vishṇu, are additions interpolated at a later date in the original poem. It appears from various passages which I shall cite from the 8th and following sections, that the aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice was instituted for the express purpose of procuring progeny for Daśaratha. But if this be so, what necessity was there for celebrating the fresh ceremony, alluded to at the beginning of section 14 as a *putriyā ishṭi*, for the same purpose? The passages to which I allude are the following :

Rām. i. 8, 1 ff.—*Tasya tv evam-prabhāvaya dhārmikasya mahātmanah | sutārtham tapyamānasya nāśid vāñśa-karaḥ sutaḥ | tasya chintayato buddhir utpanneyam mahāmateḥ | sutārtham vāji-medhena kimartham na yajāmy aham | suniśchitām matīm kṛitvā yashṭavye vasudhādhipaḥ |* "But a son to prolong his race was not born to this king so mighty, and righteous, and great, though he performed intense austerity for that purpose. As this wise man reflected, the idea arose in his mind, 'why do I not celebrate a horse-sacrifice to obtain a son?' Having then formed this fixed opinion that he ought to sacrifice, the king, etc."

Again, in Sect. 11, 1, it is said: *Atha kāle vyatikrānte śisire tad-anantaram | vasanta-samaye prāpte rājū yashṭum mano dadhe | tataḥ prasādyā śirasā tañ vipraṁ deva-rarchasam | yajñāya varayāmāsa san-tanārtham kulasya vai |* "Then when the winter had passed, and the spring had arrived, the king set his mind upon sacrificing. Having then propitiated, by [bowing] his head, that Brahman of divine splendour, he solicited him to [perform] a sacrifice for the prolongation of his race."

Then after calling his spiritual advisers, Vāmadeva, Jāvalī, Vasishṭha,

etc., he says to them (v. 8): *Mama tātapyamānasya putrārthaṁ nāsti vai sukhām | tad ahañ haya-medhena yajeyam iti me matih | tad-arthaṁ yashṭum icchāmi haya-pūrvena karmanā |* “I get no satisfaction, though I perform intense austerity for a son. It is therefore my resolution to celebrate a sacrifice in which a horse is the first victim.”

We are again told (v. 20) :

*Tataḥ sa gatvā tāḥ patnīr narendro hṛidayāṅgamāḥ | uvācha dīxām viśata yazye 'haṁ sutā-kāraṇāt |* “Then going to his beloved wives, the king said to them, ‘Enter upon a course of consecration; I am about to sacrifice for a son.’”

And at the beginning of the 12th section it is said : *Punah prāpto vasante tu pūrnāḥ sañvatsaro 'bhavat | prasavārtham gato yashṭum haya-medhena vīryavān |* “Then, when the spring arrived, a year had elapsed, and the heroic king went to celebrate a horse-sacrifice for the sake of offspring.”

Preparations are then made for the sacrifice (sect. 12), and it is duly celebrated (sect. 13). The queen, Kauśalya, “through desire of a son,” remains in close contact with the slaughtered horse for one night (13, 36 : *Patatrīṇā tadā sārddham sushīhitena cha chetasā | avasād rajanīm ekām Kauśalyā putra-kāmyayā*), and the other two queens beside her (v. 3, 7).<sup>125</sup>

The conclusion of the sacrifice is thus recorded at the end of section 13, vv. 54 ff. :

*Daxināḥ parigṛihyātha suprīta-mānasā dvijāḥ | āchur Daśarathām tatra kāmām dhyāyeti vai tadā | tato 'bravīd Rishyaśringām rājā Daśarathas tadā | kulasya varddhanām tat tu karttum arhasi suvrata | tatheti sa cha rājānam uvācha dvija-sattamāḥ | bhavishyanti sutā rājaṁś chatvāras te kulodvahāḥ |* “Having received the gifts with great gratification, the Brahmans then said to Daśaratha, ‘Think of the object you desire.’ The king then said to Rishyaśringa, ‘Thou oughtest, saint, to effect that increase of my race.’ The most excellent of Brahmans replied, ‘So be it; king, there shall be to thee four sons, the continuators of thy race.’”

We are then told at the beginning of section 14, as above quoted

<sup>125</sup> See Wilson's translation of the R. V., vol. ii., Introd., p. xiii. ; the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, xxiii. 20 ff., and commentary ; Sātpat̄ha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 990 ff. ; Kūtyā-yāna Sūtras, p. 973 ; and Mahābhārata, xiv. 2645.

(p. 138), that Rishyaśringa, after thinking over the preceding reply, offers to celebrate another sacrifice with texts from the Atharva-śiras, in order to procure offspring for the king ; and proceeds accordingly to do so, though, in striking contrast to the particular description given of the aśvamedha, no details of this additional ceremony are supplied. We are then told (verse 4) that the gods had *previously* come to the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, to obtain their shares of the oblations, and that Rishyaśringa now tells them that the king had performed austerity in order to obtain offspring, that he had also celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, and was now about to perform another rito. The necessity for this second sacrifice does not appear ; it seems strange that a ceremony of such importance as the aśvamedha should be insufficient ; there appears to be no reason why the gods should not have been told at first, on that occasion, that the king was anxious for a son, since that was the very object for which the first sacrifice was offered ; and that this communication should have been reserved till the commencement of the second sacrifice.

In section 15 we are told that Vishṇu, considering how he shall fulfil his promise to the gods, makes himself fourfold, and chooses Daśaratha for his human parent. He then, after respectfully addressing Brahmā, disappears from heaven, and when Daśaratha is offering the second sacrifice for progeny, the god issues forth from the fire in the form of a glorious being, calling himself a son of Prajāpati (*prajāpatyaṁ naram*), and bearing a large vessel full of nectar. This nectar he desires Daśaratha to administer to his wives, who would then bear sons. Vishṇu then disappears.

In section 19 the birth of Daśaratha's sons, twelve months after the conclusion of the sacrifice, is related (*tato yajñe samāpte tu ritunāṁ shaṭ samatyayuḥ | tataścha dvādaśe māše ityādi*). After specifying the month, day, and planetary influences under which Rāma was born, the writer proceeds : . . . . Jagannāthaṁ sarva-loka-namaskritam | Kauśalyā 'janayad Rāmaṁ divya-laxaṇa-saṁyutam | Kauśalyā śuśubhe tena putren-āmita-tejasā | yathā 'dhipena devānām Aditir Vajra-pānina | [\* bhavāya sa hi lokānām Rāvanasya badhāya cha | Vishnor vīryārddhato jajñe Rāmo rājiva-lochanaḥ | Bharato nāma Kaikeyyāṁ jajñe satya-parākramāḥ | sāxād Vishṇoś ohaturbhāgah sarvaiḥ samudito gunaiḥ | atha Laxmana-Satrughnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau | dṛidha-bhakti mahotsāhau Vishṇor

*arddha-samanvitau | ] pushye jātas tu Bharato mīna-lāgne prasanna-dhīḥ |  
sarpa jātau tu Saumitrī kulīre 'bhya dite ravaū |*

"Kauśalyā bore Rāma, the lord of the universe, adored by all worlds, distinguished by divine marks. Kauśalyā derived lustre from that son of boundless might, as Aditi did from the Thunderer, the lord of the gods. [\*For the lotus-eyed Rāma was produced from the half of Vishṇu's virile power, for the good of the world and the slaughter of Rāvana. Bharata, of genuine valour, was born of Kaikeyī, manifest as the fourth part of Vishṇu, endowed with all virtues. Then Sumitrā brought forth two sons, of strong devotion and great energy, Laxmana and Satrughna, possessing (each) the half (of the fourth part) of Vishṇu]. Now Bharata, of clear understanding, was born under Pushya (the eighth lunar mansion) under the sign of the fishes; while the sons of Sumitrā were born under the [ninth] lunar mansion of the serpents, when the sun had entered into Cancer."

If the supposition of Schlegel that the 13th and following sections are interpolated, be correct, it is quite conceivable that the verses of the section before us describing Daśaratha's sons as portions of Vishṇu, which I have marked with an asterisk and included in brackets, may also have been interpolated, as they can be spared without detriment to the connexion; and if they are retained, the births of Bharata, Laxmana, and Satrughna, are related twice. In that case the epithets "lord of the universe," and "adored by all worlds," which occur in the first of the verses I have quoted, may have been afterwards substituted for some of a less magnificent character which stood there before. And in fact, if Rāma was originally regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu, it does not appear so suitable to compare his birth to that of Indra (a personage of less dignity than Vishṇu), as is done in one of the verses which I presume to be ancient, and genuine.

In a later section of the Rāmāyana, i. 75, we are told that Rāma was met by Parasurāma, who related to him a fight which had taken place between Vishṇu and Mahādeva. Two celestial bows, he says, were made by Viśvakarman, of which one was given by the gods to Mahādeva, the other to Vishṇu. The narrative then proceeds (14 ff.):

*Tadā tu devatāḥ sarvāḥ prīchhanti sma Pitāmaham | Sitikanṭhasya  
Viśhnōś cha balabala-nirīxayā | abhiprāyāṁ tu vijñaya devatanām Pita-  
mahāḥ | virodhaṁ janayāmāsa tayoḥ satyavatāṁ varāḥ | virodhe tu mahād*

*yuddham abhavad roma-harshanam | Sítikan̄thasya Vishnoś cha paraspara-jayaishinoh | tadā tu jrimbhītam śaivaṁ dhanur bhīma-parākramam | hūṇkareṇa Mahādevaḥ stambhito 'tha trilochanah | devais tadā samāgamya sarhi-sanghāih sa-chāraṇaiḥ | yāchitau praśamaṁ tatra jagmatus tau surottamau | jrimbhītaṁ tad dhanur drishṭvā śaivaṁ Vishnu-parākramaiḥ | adhikam menire Vishnuṁ devāḥ sarhi-ganās tathā | dhanū Rudras tu saṅkruddho Videhesu mahāyaśāḥ | Devarātasya rājarsher dādau haste sa-sāyakam | idāṁ tu Vaishnavāṁ Rāma dhanuh para-purañjayam | Richike Bhārgave prādād. Vishnuḥ sa nyāsam uttamam |* “The gods then all made a request to Brahmā, desiring to find out the strength and weakness of Sítikan̄tha (Mahādeva) and Vishnu. Brahmā, most excellent of the true, learning the purpose of the gods, created enmity between the two. In this state of enmity a great and terrible fight ensued between Sítikan̄tha and Vishnu, each of whom was eager to conquer the other. Siva’s bow of dreadful power was then relaxed, and the three-eyed Mahādeva was arrested by a muttering. These two eminent deities being entreated by the assembled gods, rishis, and Chāranas, then became pacified. Seeing that the bow of Siva had been relaxed by the prowess of Vishnu, the gods and rishis esteemed Vishnu to be superior. Then the illustrious Rudra, incensed, gave the bow and arrows into the hand of the royal rishi Devarāta [who dwelt] among the Videhas. But this, Rāma, is the bow of Vishnu, which vanquishes hostile cities. Vishnu gave this excellent deposit to Richika, the descendant of Bhrigu.” From him it came to Jamadagni, father of Paraśurāma, from whom the latter got it. Paraśurāma asks Rāma to bend it, if he can. Rāma bends the bow, fits an arrow on the string, and tells Paraśurāma that he will not shoot at him, because he is a Brahman. Paraśurāma confesses Rama’s superiority (sect. 76, vv. 17 ff.)

In whatever light the author of these lines may really have looked upon Vishnu, whether as identical with the supreme Spirit or not, the passage itself contains no epithet or expression which necessitates such an interpretation. At the same time it is to be observed that the Vishnu Purāṇa (see Wilson’s trans. pp. 594 ff.) the Harivāṁśa (sections 183 and 184), and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (x., 64th and previous sections), which indubitably regard Vishnu as the supreme Deity, also relate a combat between him and Mahādeva. There is no doubt, however, that the 119th section of the Yuddha Kānda of the Rāmāyaṇa,

which I now proceed to quote from the text of the recently published Calcutta edition, distinctly speaks of Rāma as an incarnation of the supreme Spirit. This Calcutta text, though it follows the Devanāgari recension of Upper India, does not, in this section, differ materially, except in the arrangement of the verses, from that of Gorresio. I should judge from the nature of the epithets which are here applied to Vishṇu, that this chapter, as it now stands, could not have formed part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. In the preceding part of the poem it had been related that Sītā, after being recovered by Rāma on the defeat and death of Rāvana, had been suspected of unchastity by her husband, and had in consequence entered the fire. The 119th section then goes on thus :

Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, Sect. 119, 1 ff.—*Tato hi durmanā Rāmāḥ śrutvaivāṁ vadatāṁ giraḥ | dadhyau muhūrttaṁ dharmātmā vāshpa-vyākula-lochanāḥ | tato Vaiśravāṇo rājā Yamaś cha pitribhiḥ saha | Sahasrāxaś cha deveśo Varunaścha jaleśvaraḥ | shaḍ-arḍha-nayanaḥ śrimān Mahādevo vrishadvajaḥ | karttā sarvasya lokasya Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varāḥ | [¹³⁶ sa cha rājā Daśaratho vimānenāntarixa-gaḥ | abhyājagāma taṁ deśāṁ deva-rāja-sama-dyutih |] ete sarve samāgamyāḥ vimānaiḥ sūrya-sannibhaiḥ | āgamyā nagarīṁ Laṅkāṁ abhijagmuś cha Rāghavam | tataḥ sa-hastābharaṇān pragṛihya vipulān bhujān | abruvaṇ tridaśa-śreshṭhā Rāghavam prāñjalim ethitam | karttā sarvasya lokasya śreshṭho jñānavidāṁ vibhuḥ | upexase kathaṁ Sītāṁ patantim havyavāhane | kathaṁ deva-gaṇa-śreshṭham ātmānaṁ nāvabudhyase | Rita-dhāmā Vasuh pūrvam Vasūnāṁ oha Prajāpatih | tvam trayāṇāṁ hi lokānām ādikarttā svayam prabhuh | Rudrāṇāṁ ashṭamo Rudraḥ Sādhyānām api pañchamah | Aśvinau chāpi te karṣau chandrādityau cha chaxushī | ante chādau cha bhūtānāṁ dṛiṣyase tvam parantapa | upexase cha Vaidehīm mānushah prākrito yathā | ity ukto lokapālais taiḥ svāmī lokasya Rāghavaḥ | abravīt tridaśa-śreshṭhān Rāmo dharma-bhṛitāṁ varāḥ | ātmānam mānusham manye Rāmāṁ Daśarathāt-majam | so'ham yaścha yataś chāham bhagavāṁs tad bravītu me | iti bruvā-ṇāṁ Kākutsthamā Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varāḥ | abravīt śriṇu me vākyam satyāṁ satya-parākrama | bhavān Nārāyaṇaḥ devaḥ śrimāns chakrāyudhaḥ prabhuh | eka-śringo varāhas tvam bhūta-bhavya-saptna-jit | axaram Brahma satyāṁ cha madhye chānta cha Rāghava | lokānāṁ tvam paro dharmo Viśvakesenaḥ chaturbhujāḥ | Sūrṇa-dhanvā Hrishikesaḥ puruṣaḥ puruṣot-tamaḥ | ajitaḥ khaḍga-dhṛig Vishṇuḥ Krishṇaś chaiva vṛihaḍbalāḥ | Sena-*

<sup>¹³⁶</sup> This verse is found in Gorresio's edition only.

nīrgrāmanīḥ satyas tvam buddhis tvāṁ xamā damah | prabhavaś chāpyayaś  
 cha tvam Upendro Madhusūdanah | Indra-karmā Mahendras tvam padma-  
 nābho rañanta-krit | śaranyaṁ śaranaṁ cha tvāṁ āhur divyā maharsha-  
 yaḥ | sahasra-śringo vedātmā śata-śrshā maharshabhaḥ | tvāṁ trayānām  
 hi lokānām ādi-karttā svayam prabhuh | siddhānām api sadhyānām āśrayaś  
 chāsi pūrvaja | tvāṁ yajñas tvāṁ vashatkāras tvam oṁkārah parāt parah |  
 prabhavām nidhanām vā te na viduh ko bhavān iti | dṛiṣyase sarva-bhū-  
 teshu brahmaṇeshu cha goshu cha | dixu sarvāsu gagane parvateshu nadishu  
 cha | sahasra-charanah śrimān śata-śreḥah sahasra-drik | tvāṁ dhārayasi  
 bhūtāni vasudhām cha sa-parvatām | ante prithivyaḥ salile dṛiṣyase tvam  
 mahoragah | trin lokān dhārayan Rāma deva-gandharva-dānavān | aham  
 te hṛidayām Rāma jihvā devi Sarasvatī | devā romāṇi gātreshu Brahmaṇā  
 nirmitā prabho | nimeshas te smṛitā rātrir unmesho divasas tathā | saṁ-  
 skārās te 'bhāvan vedā naitad asti tvayā vinā | jagat sarvān śāriṇām te  
 sthairyām te vasudhā-talam | Agnih kopalas prasādas te somah śrivatsa-  
 laxana | tvayā lokās trayah krāntāḥ purā snair vikramais tribhiḥ | Mahen-  
 draś cha krito rājā Balim baddhvā sudārunam | [¹³⁷] yat paraṁ śrūyato  
 jyotir yat paraṁ śrūyate tamah | yat param paratas chaivā paramātmoti  
 kathyase | paramākhyam param yach cha tvam era parigīyase | sthity-  
 utpatti-vināśānām tvāṁ āhuḥ paramām gatim | ] Sītā-Laxmī bhavān  
 Viṣṇur devah Krishnah prajāpatih | badhārthaṁ Rāvaṇasyeha pravishṭo  
 mānushīm tanum ityādi |

“Then the righteous Rama, dejected, on hearing the words of those who thus spoke, meditated for a moment, with his eyes disturbed by tears. Then King Kuvera, and Yama with the Pitrīs, and Indra, lord of the gods, and Varuna, lord of the waters, and the glorious three-eyed Mahādeva, whose ensign is a bull, and Brahmā, the creator of the whole world, the most eminent of the knowers of the Veda; [\* and that King Daśaratha, moving in the air on a celestial car, arrived in that region, equal in lustre to the king of the gods]; these all having come on cars brilliant as the sun, and arrived in the city of Lankā, came near to Rāghava (Rāma). Then these most eminent gods, holding the large arms of Rāma, adorned with armlets, addressed him as he stood with joined hands: ‘How dost thou, the maker of the whole universe, the most eminent of the wise, the pervading, disregard Sītā throwing herself into the fire? How dost thou not perceive thyself to be the chief of the host of the gods? [Thou

<sup>¹³⁷</sup> These two lines occur in Gorresio’s edition only.

wast] formerly the Vasu Ritadhāman, and the Prajāpati of the Vasus. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, the eighth Rudra of the Rudras, and the fifth of the Sādhyas. The Aśvins are thine ears, the Moon and Sun thine eyes. Thou, vexer of thy foes, art seen in the end and at the beginning of created things. And yet thou disregardest Sītā like a common man.' Being thus addressed by these guardians of the world, Rāma, the lord of the world, chief of the supporters of righteousness, said to the most eminent gods, 'I regard myself as a man,<sup>138</sup> Rāma, son of Daśarātha; do you, divine being, tell me who and whence I am.' Brahmā, chief of the knowers of the Veda, replied to Kākutstha (Rāma) thus speaking: 'Hear my true word, thou, o being of genuine power. Thou art the god, the glorious lord, Nārāyaṇa, armed with the discus. Thou art the one-horned boar, the conqueror of thy foes, past and future, the true, imperishable Brahma, both in the middle and end. Thou art the supreme righteousness of the worlds, Visvakṣema, the four-armed; the bearer of the bow Sāṅga, Hṛishikeśa (lord of the senscs), Purusha (the male), the highest of Purushas, the unconquered, sword-wielding, Viṣhṇu, and Krishna<sup>139</sup> of mighty force, the general, the leader, the true. Thou art intelligence, thou art patience, and self-restraint. Thou art the source of being and cause of destruction, Upendra (the younger Indra), and Madhu-sūdana. Thou art Mahendra (the elder Indra) fulfilling the function of Indra, he from whose navel springs a lotus, the ender of battles. The great divine rishis call thee the refuge, the resort of suppliants. Thou art the thousand-horned, composed of the Veda, the hundred-headed, the mighty. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the

<sup>138</sup> In the parts of the Mahābhārata where Kṛishna is identified with the supreme Deity, he is always represented as perfectly conscious of his true character. The commentator explains away this eleventh verse in the following manner: *Atha Brahmā-nugrahād eva Brahma-vidyaunmukhyasya śruty-ādi-siddhatayā tad-aunmukhyasya "ātmānam nāvabudhyase"* iti *Brahmanaiva kṛitatvā taj-jijñāsur iwa svīcaya svarūpa-bodhanāya Brahmānañ gurum ajña iwa upāsad ity āha "ātmānam"* iti | "As it is established by the Veda, etc., that the aspiration after the science of Brahma comes only from the grace of Brahmā, and since Brahmā had just prompted that aspiration by the words 'how doest thou not perceive thyself?' Rāma, assuming the appearance of a desire to know, applies to Brahmā, as an ignorant student to his teacher, to explain his own nature, and says 'I regard myself,' etc."

<sup>139</sup> If this means, as it seems to do, Kṛishna the son of Devakī, it must, if not an anachronism, be regarded as prophetic. The commentator makes it mean merely the "black-coloured" (*kṛishṇas tad-varṇah*).

self-dependent lord, and the refuge of the Siddhas and Sādhyas, o thou primevally born. Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashatkāra, and the omkāra, higher than the highest. Men know not who thou art, the source of being, or the destroyer. Thou art seen in all creatures, in Brahmans and in cows, in all the regions, in the mountains and rivers, thousand-footed, glorious, hundred-headed, thousand-eyed. Thou sustaineſt creatures, and the earth with its mountains; thou art seen, Rāma, at the extremity of the earth, in the waters, a mighty serpent supporting the three worlds, gods, Gandharvas, and Dānavas. I am thy heart, Rāma, the goddess Sarasvatī is thy tongue. The gods have been made by Brahmā the hairs on thy limbs. The night is called the closing, and the day the opening, of thine eyes. The Vedas are thy thoughts.<sup>140</sup> This [universe] exists not without thee. The whole world is thy body; the earth is thy stability. Agni is thine anger, Soma is thy pleasure, o thou whose mark is the Srivatsa. By thee the three worlds were traversed of yore with thy three paces, and Mahendra was made king after thou hadſt bound the terrible Bali. [\*That which is known as the chiefest light, that which is known as the chiefest darkness, that which is higher than the highest,—thou art called the highest Soul. It is thou who art hymned as that which is called the highest, and [is] the highest. Men call thee the highest source of continuance, production, and destruction]. Sitā is Laxmī, and thou art Vishṇu, the divine Krishṇa, the lord of creatures, who hast entered a mortal body for the slaughter of Rāvaṇa,’ ” etc.

In the same way as Vishṇu is associated with Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa, so is he connected with Krishṇa in the Mahābhārata, the Vishṇu, Bhāgavata, and Brahma-vaivartta Purāṇas, and other Vaishnava works of a later date. In the two first-named Purāṇas though Krishṇa is sometimes spoken of as a partial incarnation of Vishṇu (see the passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, quoted above, p. 42, and another from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, which will be adduced below), he is generally regarded as a perfect manifestation of that deity, who, again, is identified with the supreme Spirit. •In the Mahābhārata—which, as we have

<sup>140</sup> The commentator explains *sāṃskārāḥ* thus. *Sāṃskriyante bodhyante ebbhir lokāḥ iti sāṃskārāḥ pravritti-nivṛitti-vyavasthā-bodhakāḥ* | “*Sāṃskāras* are the things by which people are instructed, the things which prescribe the rules of acting and forbearing to act.” But this cannot well be the sense here.

seen, contains a vast collection of heterogeneous materials originating in different ages, and embodying the opinions of various sects—we shall find that Krishna is diversely represented in different parts of the work. I have already (p. 142) quoted some remarks of Professors Wilson and Lassen on this subject. According to these authors Krishna, in so far as he is introduced as an actor in the events of the poem, is generally made to play a merely human part, and to manifest no superhuman power in succouring friends, or overcoming enemies; while, as professor Wilson remarks, his divine character is frequently disputed. In the Chhāndogya Upanishad he is spoken of simply as the son of Devakī. In various parts of the Mahābhārata he is described as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and as receiving from him boons of various kinds. In many passages he is identified with the rishi Nārāyaṇa, while his friend Arjuna appears as one with the rishi Nara, the inseparable companion of the former. In these various passages, however, Krishna is by no means regarded in general as an ordinary mortal. He receives various divine weapons from Mahādeva; in his character as the rishi Nārāyaṇa, he lives through successive ages, and displays superhuman faculties. Even while acting as the ally of the Pandus, he destroys Siśupāla supernaturally with his discus. And in numerous passages he is identified in the clearest manner with Vishṇu, who again, as I have said, is commonly assumed to be one with the supreme Spirit. I shall now proceed to adduce a variety of passages illustrative of these various assertions.

I. The following short passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad (pp. 220 ff. of the Bibl. Ind.) is, I believe, the oldest text yet known in which Krishna the son of Devakī is mentioned. It is extremely unfortunate that it is so brief; that it leaves us without any particulars of a personage about whom we should have been glad to possess the fullest details, who in after times became so famous as to obtain the honour of deification,—except the meagre information that he was the son of Devakī, the pupil of a teacher named Ghora,<sup>141</sup> and that he was so enthusiastically devoted to the pursuit of mystical lore as to become indifferent to every thing else :

*Tad ha etad Ghora Āngirasaḥ Krishṇaya Devakī-putrāya uktvā uvācha*

<sup>141</sup> I am not aware whether Ghora is mentioned in connection with Krishna in any other work.

*apipāsa eva sa babbūva so 'nta-volāyām etat-trayam pratipadyeta "axitam  
asy ahyutam asi prāṇa-saṁśitam asi"* iti | “Ghora, the descendant of Angiras, having declared this [the preceding mystical lore] to Krishna the son of Devaki, said to him that [which, when he heard], he became free from thirst [*i.e.* desire], viz.: ‘let a man at the time of his death have recourse to these three texts, *Thou art the undecaying, thou art the imperishable, thou art the subtle principle of breath.*’”

I quote some of the commentator’s remarks on this important text :  
*Tad ha etad yajña-darśanaṁ Ghoro nāmata Āngiraso gotrataḥ Krishnāya Devakī-putrāya śishyā uktvā urācha tad “etat trayam” ityādi-  
vyavahitena sambandhaḥ | sa cha etad darśanaṁ śrutvā apipāsa eva  
anyābhyo vidyābho babbūva | itthāṁ cha viśiṣṭā iyaṁ vidyā yat  
Krishnasya Devakī-putrasya anyāṁ vidyām prati triḍ-vichcheda-kari  
iti purusha-yajña-vidyām stauti | Ghora Āngirasaḥ Krishnāya uktvā  
imāṁ vidyām kim uvācha iti tad āha | sa evaṁ yathokta-yajña-vid anta-  
volāyām marana-kāle etan-mantra-trayam pratipadyeta japed ity arthaḥ |  
. . . . prāṇa-saṁśitam prāṇasya saṁśitāṁ samyak tanukṛitañcha sūx-  
maṁ tattvam asi . . . . | “A person, Ghora by name, and an Āngi-  
rasa by family, having declared this doctrine of sacrifice to Krishna the son of Devakī, his pupil, then said, etc. The connection of the last word ‘said,’ is with the words which occur some way below, ‘these three,’ etc. And having heard this doctrine, he became free from desire for any other kinds of knowledge. In this manner he praises this knowledge of the *Purusha*-sacrifice by saying that it was so distinguished that it destroyed all thirst in Krishna, the son of Devakī, for any other knowledge. He now tells us what Ghora Āngirasa said after declaring this knowledge to Krishna. It was this: ‘Let him who knows the aforesaid sacrifice, at the time of his death have recourse to, mutter, these three texts . . . . *prāṇa-saṁśitam* means, ‘thou art the very minute, subtle principle of breath.’”*

II. I shall next quote some passages of the Mahābhārata in which Krishna is represented as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and consequently, to all appearance, as acknowledging his own inferiority to that deity. It is related in the Vana-parva (vv. 1513–1656) in a passage which I shall quote further on, that Arjuna goes to supplicate Mahādeva for celestial weapons, and obtains from him the Pāśupata.

At a later stage of the poem (Drona-parva, v. 2838) Arjuna is advised

by Krishna to apply again to Mahadeva for the same Pāśupata weapon, as if the author (if indeed he is the same by whom the earlier passage was written) had forgotten that he had already got it. Arjuna, it appears, had vowed (vv. 2681 ff.) to slay Jayadratha on the following day, though all the inferior deities should stand forward as his protectors. Subsequently, however, he becomes dejected, reflecting that the enemy's leaders would do their utmost to preserve Jayadratha, and that he would thus be unable to fulfil his promise (vv. 2830 ff.). Krishna hereupon advises Arjuna to supplicate Mahadeva for the Pāśupata weapon with which that god himself had formerly destroyed all the Daityas, and with which he (Arjuna) would be able to slay Jayadratha on the morrow (vv. 2838 ff.). Arjuna and Krishna then arrive (it does not clearly appear whether mentally or bodily) with the speed of the wind, at the mountain on the summit of which Mahadeva abode, where they obtain a vision of that deity, with Pārvatī and his attendant Bhūtas (demons). On seeing him Vāsudeva (Krishna) bows down to the earth:

Mahābhārata, Drona-parva, vv. 2862 ff.—*Vāsuderas tu taṁ drishṭvā jagāma śirasā xitim | Pārthena sṛha dharmātmā grīṇan brahma sanātanam | lokādīm viśva-karmāṇam ajam iśānam avyayam | manasaḥ paramāṁ yoniṁ khaṁ vāyuṁ jyotishāṁ nidhim | srashṭāram vāridhārāṇāṁ bhu-vascha prakṛitīm parām | deva-dānava-yaxāṇāṁ mānavānāñcha sādhanam | yogānāñcha param brahma triptam brahma-vidāṁ nidhim | charācharasya srashṭāram pratiharttāram eva cha | kāla-kopam mahātmānaṁ śakra-surya-guṇodayam | vavande taṁ tada Krishna vāñ-mano-buddhi-karmabhibhiḥ | yam prapadyanti vidvāṁsaḥ sūxmaḍhyātma-padaishināḥ | tam ajāṁ kāraṇātmānaṁ jagmatuh śaranam Bhavam | Arjunaś chāpi taṁ devam bhūyo bhūyo 'py avandata | jñātvā taṁ sarva-bhūtādīm bhūta-bhavya-bhavo-dbhavam | tatas tāv āgatau drishṭvā Nara-Nārāyanāv ubhau | suprasanna-manāḥ Sarvāḥ provācha prahasann iva | āgataṁ vāṁ nara-śreshṭhāv uttishtetāṁ gata-klamau | kiñcha vāṁ īpsitaṁ vīrau manasaḥ xipram uchyatāṁ | yena kāryena samprāptau yuvāṁ tat sādhayami kim | vriyatāṁ ātmanāḥ śreyas tat sarvam pradadāmi vām |*

"The righteous Vāsudeva (Krishna) then, together with the son of Prithī (Arjuna), reciting the eternal Veda, bowed his head to the ground, beholding him, the source of the worlds, the maker of the universe, the unborn, the imperishable lord, the supreme source of mind, the sky, the wind, the abode of the luminaries, the creator of the

oceans, the supreme substance of the earth, the framer of gods, Dānavas, Yaxas, and men, the supreme Brahma of meditative systems, the satisfied, the treasure of those who know Brahma, the creator of the world, and also its destroyer, the great impersonated destructive Wrath, original of the attributes of Indra and Sūrya. Krishna then reverenced him with voice, mind, understanding, and act.<sup>142</sup> Those two [heroes] had recourse to Bhava (Mahādeva) as their refuge,—to him whom the wise, desiring the subtle and spiritual abode, seek after,—to him the unborn cause. Arjuna, too, again and again revered that deity, knowing him to be the beginning of all beings, the source of the past, the future, and the present. Beholding those two, Nara and Nārāyana, arrived, Sarva (Mahādeva) then greatly gratified, said, as if smiling: ‘Welcome, most eminent of men, rise up freed from fatigue, and tell me quickly, heroes, what your mind desires. Shall I accomplish for you the object for which you have come? Choose what is most for your welfare. I will give you all.’”

Krishna and Arjuna then recite a hymn in honour of Mahādeva, in the course of which he is designated as the “soul of all things, the creator of all things, and the pervader of all things” (*viśvātmane viśva-srīje viśvam āvṛitya tishṭhate*). Arjuna then, after reverencing both Krishna and Mahādeva, asks the latter for the celestial weapon. They are thereupon sent by Mahādeva to a lake where he says he had formerly deposited his bow and arrows. They there saw two serpents, one of which was vomiting flames, and approached them, bowing to Mahādeva and uttering the Satarudriya.<sup>143</sup> Through the power of Mahādeva, the serpents change their shape and become a bow and arrow (v. 2899), which Krishna and Arjuna bring to Mahādeva. Eventually Arjuna receives as a boon from Mahādeva the Pāśupata weapon, with the power of fulfilling his engagement to slay Jayadratha (vv. 2906 ff.); after which they both return to their camp.

The Anusāsana-parva also contains several sections in which the

<sup>142</sup> In a passage from the Sāntiparva, which I shall quote further on, Krishna explains away the worship which here and elsewhere he is said to have rendered to Mahādeva, by saying that it was done for the sake of example to others, and was in reality offered to himself, Mahādeva being one of his manifestations. But Mahādeva himself is here, and in the next passage, identified with the supreme Deity (Brahma).

<sup>143</sup> A hymn from the Yajur veda, which will be quoted further on in the chapter on Rudra.

praises of Mahādeva are celebrated at considerable length, and in which he is declared to have been worshipped by Krishna. At v. 588 of that book Yudhishthira asks Bhīshma to declare the names of that deity, when the latter replies as follows (vv. 590 ff.):

*Asaktio 'hañ gunān vaktum Mahādevasya dhīmataḥ | yo hi sarva-gato  
devo na cha sarvatra drisyate | Brahma-Vishnu-sureśānāṁ srashtā cha  
prabhur eva cha | Brahmādayaḥ Piśāchāntaḥ yañ hi devā upāsate | pra-  
kṛitīnāṁ paratvena purushasya cha yah paraḥ | chintyate go yoga-vidbhīr  
rishiḥ tattva-darśibhiḥ | axaram paramam Brahma asachcha sad-asachha  
yat | prakṛitim purushāñchaiva xobhayitvā sva-tejasā | Brahmānām  
asrijat tasmād deva-devaḥ prajāpatiḥ | ko hi śakto gunān vaktūn deva-  
devasya dhīmataḥ | garbha-janma-jarā-yukto martyo mrityu-samanvitaḥ |  
ko hi śakto Bhavañ jñātum mad-vidhāḥ Paramēśvaram | rite Nārāyaṇāt  
puttra śāṅkha-chakra-gadā-dharāt | esha vidvān guna-śreshṭho Vishnuḥ  
parama-durjayaḥ | divya-chaxur mahātejā vīryate [vīryate?] yoga-chaxushā |  
Rudra-bhaktyā tu Krishnena jagad vyāptam mahātmunā | tam prasādyā  
tadā devañ Badaryyām kila Bhārata | arthāt<sup>144</sup> priyataratvām cha sarva-  
lokeshu vai tadā | prāptavān eva rājendra suvarṇāxād Maheśvarāt | pūr-  
ṇām varsha-sahasram tu taptavān esha Mādhavaḥ | prasādyā varadañ  
devañ charāchara-guruñ Sivam | yuge yuge tu Krishnena toshito vai  
Maheśvaraḥ | bhaktyā parāmayā chaiva prītaśchaiva mahātmānaḥ |  
aiśvaryām yādrīśām tasya jagad-yoner mahātmānaḥ | tad ayām dṛiṣṭa-  
vān sāxāt pūtrārthe Harir achyutaḥ | tasmāt paratarañchaiva nānyam  
paśyāmi Bhārata | vyākhyātūm deva-devasya śakto namāny aśeshataḥ |  
esha śakto mahābhāhur vaktum bhagavato gunān | vibhūtiñchaiva kārtṣṇyena  
satyām māheśvariṁ nrīpa |*

"I am unable to declare the attributes of the wise Mahādeva, who is an all-pervading god, yet is nowhere seen, who is the creator and the lord of Brahmā, Vishnu, and Indra, whom the gods, from Brahmā to the Piśāchas, worship, who transcends material natures as well as spirit (Purusha), who is meditated upon by rishis versed in contemplation (*yoga*), and possessing an insight into truth, who is the supreme, imperishable Brahma, that which is both nonexistent, and at once existent and nonexistent. Having agitated matter and spirit by his power, this god of gods and lord of creatures (Prajāpati) thence created

<sup>144</sup> The MS. of the Mahābhārata in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society reads *annāt*.

Brahmā. What human being like me, who has been subject to gestation in the womb, and to birth, and is liable to decay and death, can declare the attributes of Bhava, the supreme lord,—[who can do this] except Nārāyana, the bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club? This Vishṇu, wise, eminent in qualities, very hard to overcome, with divine insight, of mighty power, beholds<sup>145</sup> [him] with the eye of contemplation. Through his devotion to Rudra, the world is pervaded by the mighty Krishna. Having then propitiated that deity (Mahādeva) at Badari, he (Krishna) obtained from the golden-eyed Maheśvara the quality of being in all worlds more dear than wealth (?). This Mādhava (Krishna) performed austerity for a full thousand years, propitiating Siva, the god who bestows boons, and the preceptor of the world. But in every mundane period (*yuga*) Maheśvara has been propitiated by Krishna, and has been gratified by the eminent devotion of that great personage. This unshaken Hari (Krishna), when [seeking] for offspring, has beheld distinctly of what character is the glory of that great parent of the world. Than him (Mahādeva ?) I behold none greater.\* This long-armed [Krishna] is able to recount fully the names of the god of gods, to describe the qualities of the divine [being], and the real might of Maheśvara in all its extent.”

Bhīshma then calls upon Krishna (whom he designates as Vishṇu, and as the divine teacher of gods and Asuras) to celebrate Mahādeva’s greatness. Krishna accordingly says (vv. 610 ff.):

*Na gatiḥ karmanāṁ śakyā vettum iśasya tattvataḥ | Hiranyagarbha-pramukhā devāḥ sendrā maharshayah | na vidur yasya bhavanam Ādityāḥ sūxma-darśināḥ | sa kathaṁ nara-mātrena śakyo jñātum satāṁ gatiḥ | tasyāham asura-ghnasya kāṁścid bhagavato gunān | bhavatāṁ kirtta-yishyāmi vratesāya [vratesāya ?] yathātatham |* “The course of the deeds of Iśa (Mahādeva), cannot be really known. He whose essence neither the gods headed by Hiranyagarbha, nor the great rishis with Indra, nor the Adityas the perceivers of the minutest objects, understand,—how can he, the refuge of saints, be known by any mere man? I shall declare to you exactly some of the attributes of that divine slayer of the Asuras, of the lord of religious ceremonies.”

<sup>145</sup> The printed text reads *viryate* “is beheld,” but the sense seems to require *vizate*, “beholds.”

Krishna then relates how he had formerly seen Mahādeva. It appears that his wife Jāmbavatī (v. 616), daughter of the king of the monkeys<sup>146</sup> (*kapīndra-putri*, v. 629), had come to him desirous of a son; she says (vv. 619 f.):

*Na hi te 'prāpyam astīha trishu lokeśu kiñchana | lokān srijes tvam  
aparān ichhan Yādu-kulodvaha | trayā drādaśa-varshāṇi vratibhūtena  
śushyatā | ārādhya paśubharttāraṁ Rukminyāñ janitāḥ sutāḥ |* “For there is nothing in these three worlds unattainable by thee (Krishna). Thou, scion of the race of Yādu, couldst create other worlds. By thee after twelve years' fasting and mortification,<sup>147</sup> and worship of the nourisher of beasts (Mahādeva), sons were begotten on Rukmini (another of his wives).”

Krishna promises to bring about the accomplishment of Jāmbavati's wishes. The story proceeds that he was then conveyed by the celestial bird Garuḍa to the Himālaya (v. 632), where he sees the delightful hermitage of the saint Upamanyu, which is described at length (vv. 634–652).<sup>148</sup> Krishna enters and is reverentially saluted by Upamanyu (v. 655), who tells him that after propitiating Mahādeva by austerities, he shall obtain a son equal to himself (v. 658).<sup>149</sup> The saint then goes on to celebrate the greatness of Mahādeva, who, he said, had given boons to various beings, and to Vishnu his discus (vv. 662 ff.):

*Hiranyakasipur yo 'bhūd dānavo Meru-kampanah | tena sarvāmaraiś-  
vāryyañ Sarvāt prāptāñ samārbudam | tasyaiva putra-pravaro Man-  
darō nāma viśrutāḥ | Mahādeva-varāch chhakrañ varshārbudam ayodhayat |  
Viśnoś chakrañcha tad ghorāñ vajram Ākhanḍalasya cha | śīrnam purā  
'bhavat tāta Grahasyāngeshu Keśava | yat tad bhagavatā pūrvam dattam*

<sup>146</sup> He is, however, called king of the bears in the *Vishnu Purāna*.—See Wilson's translation, p. 547.

<sup>147</sup> This twelve years' austerity performed before for the sake of progeny is alluded to further on in the *Anusūdana-parva*, v. 6397, and the birth of a son is mentioned, v. 6889. As Krishna is represented in that passage in a higher character than he is in the one before us, it will be more appropriately quoted further on.

<sup>148</sup> One of the features of the hermitage is thus depicted in v. 651: *Kridanti sar-  
pair nakulā myigair vyāghrāścha mitra-vat | prabhāvād dīpta-tapasāñ sannikarshād  
mahātmanām |* “Weasels sport in a friendly fashion with serpents, and tigers with deer, through the power of those saints of brilliant austerity, from the proximity of those mighty ones.”—Compare Isaiah, xi. 6 ff.: “The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid,” etc.

<sup>149</sup> In v. 655 the appellation *pundarīkāṣa*, “lotus-eyed,” and in v. 659, that of *adhozaja*, are applied to Krishna.

*chakrañ tavānagha | jalāntara-charañ hatvā daityañcha bala-garvitam | utpāditañ Vrishāñkena diptāñ jvalana-sannibham | dattam bhagavatā tubhyañ durdhārsham tejasā 'dbhutam | na śakyañ drashṭum anyena varjayitvā Pinākinam | Sudarśanam bhavaty evam Bhavenoktañ tadā tu tat | Sudarśanañ tadā tasya loke nāma pratiṣṭhitam | taj jīrnā abhavat tāta Grahasyāngeshu Keśava | Grahasyātibalasyāngē varadattasya dhīmataḥ | na śastrāñi vahanty aṅge chakrañ vajra-śatāny api | ardamānāścha vibudhā Grahena subalīyasū | Siva-datta-varān jaghnur asurēndrān Surā bhṛiśam |*

"Hiranyakaśipu, the Dānava, the shaker of mount Meru, obtained from Sarva (Mahādeva) the sovereignty of all the immortals for a hundred million years. He had an eminent and renowned son, called Mandara, who by the grace of Mahādeva fought with Indra for a hundred million years. Formerly both the dreadful discus of Vishṇu and the thunderbolt of Akhaṇḍala (Indra) were shattered against the limbs of Graha (Rāhu). That discus, resplendent and fiery, which was formerly given to thee by the god after slaying the marine monster, and the Daitya, proud of his strength, was produced by Mahādeva.<sup>150</sup> Bestowed upon thee by the god, resistless, and wonderful in its potency, it could not be looked upon by any other than Pinākin, (the bearer of the bow, i.e. Mahādeva). It then received from Bhava (Mahādeva) the name of Sudarśana, and by that name it is celebrated in the world. That discus was shattered against the limbs of Graha. On the body of the wise and very powerful Graha, who had received a boon, no weapons, not even the discus, or a thousand thunderbolts, produce any effect. The gods being harassed by the most mighty Graha, slew on many occasions the Asuras who had received boons from Siva."

After telling that many other persons had obtained boons by worshipping Mahādeva, the saint Upamanyu relates a story about himself, how his mother, after smelling him on the head (*mūrdhany āghrāya*) had fully declared to him the greatness of this deity (vv. 724 ff.) In addition to the more general attributes assigned to the god, the follow-

<sup>150</sup> In an account of Krishna's exploits in the Drona-parva, however, it is said (v. 402) that the chakra was obtained by worshipping Agni : *Khāṇḍave Pārtha-sahitas toshayitvā Hutaśanam | Āgneyam astrañ durdhārsham chakrañ lebhe mahābalaḥ |* In the same passage (v. 401) he is said to have obtained his shell (*śankha*) by conquering Panchajana in the infernal regions.

ing are some characteristics of a more special description (some of them sufficiently horrible or disgusting), as detailed with admiration by this female devotee. He assumes many forms of gods (as Brahmā, Vishnu, Indra, Rudra), and of men, of goblins, demons, barbarians, tame and wild beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, with many varieties of human disguises, etc. (v. 731 ff.). He is the soul of all the worlds, all-pervading, residing in the heart of all creatures, knowing all desires (v. 742 f.). He carries a discus, a trident, a club, a sword, an axe (v. 745). He has a girdle of serpents, earrings of serpents, a sacrificial cord of serpents, and an outer garment of serpents' skins (v. 746). He laughs, sings, dances charmingly, and plays various musical instruments (v. 747). He leaps, gapes, weeps, makes others weep; speaks like a madman or a drunkard, as well as in sweet tones (v. 748). He laughs terrifically (v. 749). He is both visible and invisible, on the altar, on the sacrificial post, in the fire, a boy, an old man, a youth (v. 751). He dallies with the daughters and the wives of the rishis, with erect hair, obscene appearance,<sup>161</sup> naked, with excited look (v. 742 : *kṛīḍate rishi-kanyābhīr rishi-patnībhīr eva cha | ūrdhva-keśo mahāśepo nagnō vikṛita-lochanāḥ |*) He is one-faced, two-faced, three-faced, many-faced.

Such is the deity, of whom, after hearing this description, Upamanyu becomes a constant devotee, and whom he gratifies by long austerities, standing for a thousand years on the tip of his left toe, during the first hundred years of which period he lives on fruits, the second hundred on withered leaves, the third hundred on water, and the remaining seven hundred on air (v. 758 ff.) Mahādeva at length appears to him in the form of Indra, and offers him his choice of a boon. Upamanyu, however, is indifferent about Indra, and declares that he cares nothing about any other god than Mahādeva, and will accept no boon however great at the hand of any other, adding many passionate expressions of devotion to this deity. And a further occasion being offered by a question of Indra, the saint again proceeds to expatiate at some length on the attributes of his favourite god (vv. 784–829), of which I shall only quote the following lines (v. 822 ff.):

*hetubhir vā kim anyais tair iṣaḥ kārana-kāranaṁ | na śūruma yad anyasya liṅgam abhyarchoyate suraib | kasyānyasya suraib sarvair liṅgam*

<sup>161</sup> Literally, *ingenti membro virili proditus*.

*muktvā Maheśvaram | archyate 'rchita-pūrvaṁ vā brūhi yady asti te  
śrutiḥ | yasya Brahmā cha Vishnuś cha tvaṁ chāpi saha daivataḥ |  
archayethāḥ sadā lingaṁ tasmāch chhreshṭhatamo hi saḥ | na padmāṇikā  
na chakrāṇikā na vajrāṇikā yataḥ prajāḥ | lingāṇikā cha bhagāṇikā cha  
tasmād Maheśvari prajā | Devyāḥ kāraṇa-rūpa-bhāva-janitā[ḥ] sarvā  
bhagāṇikā[ḥ] striyo lingenaḥpi Harasya sarva-purushāḥ pratyaxa-chih-  
nīkritāḥ | yo 'nyat kāraṇam īśvarat pravadate deryā cha yaḥ nāṇkitāṁ  
trailokyे sa-charāchare sa tu pumān vāhyo bhaved durmatiḥ | puṇīlingāṁ  
sarvam īśanaṁ strī-lingāṁ viddhi chāpy Umāṁ | dvābhyaṁ tanubhyaṁ  
vyāptāṁ hi charācharam idāṁ jagat | “Is īśa (Mahādeva) the Cause of  
causes for any other reasons? We have not heard that the linga (male  
organ) of any other person is worshipped by the gods. Declare, if thou  
hast heard, what other being's linga except that of Maheśvara is now  
worshipped, or has formerly been worshipped, by the gods? He whose  
linga Brahmā and Vishnu, and thou (Indra), with the deities, continually  
worship, is therefore the most eminent. Since children bear neither  
the mark of the lotus (Brahma's), nor of the discus (Vishnu's), nor of  
the thunderbolt (Indra's), but are marked with the male and the female  
organs,—therefore offspring is derived from Maheśvara. All women  
produced from the nature of Devī as their cause, are marked with the  
female organ, and all males are manifestly marked with the linga of  
Hara. He who asserts any other cause than īśvara (Mahādeva) or  
[affirms] that there is any [female] not marked by Devī in the three  
worlds, including all things moveable or immoveable, let that fool be  
thrust out. Know everything which is male to be īśana, and all that  
is female to be Umā, for this whole world, moveable and immoveable, is  
pervaded by [these] two bodies.”*

Indra is not much pleased with this address; but Mahādeva himself appears with his spouse Pārvatī (vv. 837-841 f.); and a long description of the vision is given. Brahmā and Vishnu stand on Mahādeva's right and left, and celebrate his praises (v. 869, f.):

*Savya-deśe tu devasya Brahmā loka-pitāmahāḥ | divyaṁ vimānam āsthāya  
haṁsa-yuktam mano-javam | vāmg-pārśva-gataś chāpi tathā Nārāyanāḥ  
sthitāḥ | Vainateyāṁ samāruhya śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-dharāḥ | . . . . .  
875 f. Astuvan vividhaiḥ stotrair Mahādevaṁ surās taddā | Brahmā  
Bhavaṁ taddā 'staushid Rathantaram udīrayan | jyeshṭha-sāmnā cha deve-  
śām jagau Nārāyanas taddā | grīnan brahma param Sakraḥ śata-rudriyam*

*uttamam | Brahmā Nārāyanaś chaiva devarājaścha Kauśikāḥ | aśobhanta  
mahātmānas trayas trayā ivāguayah |* 869. “On the left (right?) of the god was Brahmā, patriarch of the world, standing on a celestial car, drawn by swans, and fleet as thought. On the left was Narayana (Vishnu) mounted on Garuda, bearing a shell, discus, and club. . . . 875. The gods then lauded Mahādeva with various hymns. Brahmā celebrated him, reciting the *rathantara*, while Nārāyana hymned the god of gods with the *jyeshṭha sāman*, and Indra, uttering that most eminent prayer, the excellent *Satarudriya*. Brahmā, Nārāyana, and the king of the gods (Indra) the son of Kuśika,<sup>152</sup> the three mighty deities, shone like the three fires.”

Upamanyu himself then lauds Mahādeva (vv. 880–923). At the conclusion of his hymn a shower of flowers falls from the sky on his head, accompanied by celestial odours, and music (v. 925 f.), and Mahādeva addresses him, offering to bestow everything he wishes. Upamanyu sheds tears of joy, falls on his knees, makes repeated prostrations, and after acknowledging with gratitude the god’s condescension in granting him this vision, proceeds to say (vv. 839 ff.):

*Sa esha bhagavān derah saru a-sattvādir aryayaḥ | sarva-tattva-vidhāna-  
jñāḥ pradhānā-purushaḥ parah | yo 'srijat daxinād angādā Brahmānam  
loka-sambharam | rāma-pārsrāt tathā Viṣṇum loka-raxarthanam īśvaraḥ |  
yugānte chaiva samprāpte Rudram īśo 'srijat prabhur ity ādi |* “This is the glorious god, the beginning of all existences, undecaying, who knows the formation of all principles, who is Pradhāna and Purusha (or the principal Purusha), the supreme; who, the lord, created from his right side Brahmā, the originator of the worlds, and from his left side Vishnu, for the preservation of the universe; and when the end of the age (*yuga*) had arrived, the mighty lord created Rudra,” etc.

Upamanyu concludes by asking these boons, viz. that his devotion to the god may be perpetual, that he may know the past, the present, and the future, that he may always eat food cooked with milk (*xiraudana*) with his relations, and that they may ever enjoy the near presence (*sānnidhya*) of Mahādeva in their hermitage (vv. 945, ff.). The god bestows all these and many other blessings, and disappears (vv. 949 ff.).

Having heard all this account from Upamanyu, Krishna expresses a

<sup>152</sup> The epithet of *Kauśika* is given to Indra in R. V. i. 10, 11.

desire that the god may vouchsafe to him a similar vision and the like favour. Upamanyu promises that Mahādeva shall appear to Krishna in six months, and bestow on him twenty-four boons, and pays him the compliment of saying that any of the gods would consider it as a highly laudable act to have an interview with such a pious, innocent, and devout person as he (Krishna) is (vv. 964 ff.). Krishna is then consecrated by the Brahman (973 ff.). Equipped with a staff, shaved, clothed with rags, anointed with ghee, and provided with a girdle, living for one month on fruits, for four more on water, standing on one foot, with his arms aloft, he at length obtained a glorious vision of Mahādeva and his wife (v. 978), whom all the gods were worshipping, and among them Indra, Vishnu (the delight of his mother Aditi), and Brahmā, uttering the rathantara sāma (*Sutakratuś cha bhagavān Vishnuś chāditi-nandanaḥ | Brahmā rathantaraṁ sāma īrayanti Bharāntike*). Krishna then describes the effect of this vision on himself (vv. 997 ff.):

*Purastād dhishṭhitah Saro māmāśit tridaśeśvaraḥ | purastād dhishṭhitāñ drishṭvā mameśānañcha Bhārata | sa-Prajāpati-Sakrāntaū jagad mām abhyudaixata | ixitum cha Mahādevām na me śaktir abhūt tadā | tato mām abravid derah “paśya Krishṇa radasra cha | trayā hy āradhi-taś chāhañ śatāś ‘tha sahasruśaḥ | trat-samo nāsti me kaśchit trishu lokeshu vai priyaḥ” | śirasā randite dave derī prītā hy Umā ‘bharat | tato ‘ham abruvam Sthānuñ stutam Brahmādibhiḥ suraḥ | “Before me stood Siva the lord of the gods. Beholding, as I then did, Isāna standing before me—the world from Prajāpati to Sakra (Indra) gazed upon me (?)—I had no power to look on Mahādeva. The god then said to me, ‘Behold, Krishna, and speak. I have been adored by thee hundreds and thousands of times. There is no one in the three worlds so dear to me as thou.’ The god having been reverenced by obcisance, the goddess Umā was gratified. I then said to Sthānu (Mahādeva) who had been praised by Brahmā and the rest of the gods.”*

Krishna proceeds to laud Mahādeva (vv. 1002–1018) as the supreme Deity. Mahādeva then says (v. 1023): *Vidmaḥ Krishṇa parām bhaktim asmāsu taraśtruhan | vriyatām atmanāḥ śreyah pritir hi tvayi me para | vriṇīshvāshṭau varān Krishṇa dātāsmi tava sattama | brūhi Yādava-sārdūla yān ichhasi sudurlabhaḥ | “We know, Krishna, slayer of foes, thy eminent devotion to us. Choose what is most advantageous to thee, for my love for thee is extreme. Choose eight boons; I will give them*

to thee, most excellent being. Specify, chief of the Yadus, those boons which are most difficult to obtain." Krishṇa then asks these eight boons : (1) steadfastness in righteousness, (2) the destruction of his foes in battle, (3) eminent renown, (4) the greatest strength, (5) abstraction (*yoga*), (6) amiability (*priyatram*), (7) close proximity to Mahādeva, and (8) a hundred hundreds of sons,—all of which were accordingly granted by Mahādeva. Umā next offers him his choice of eight more boons, and he selects (1) the goodwill of the Brahmans, (2) the favour of his father, (3) a hundred sons, (4) eminent enjoyment, (5) the affection of his tribe, (6) the favour of his mother, (7) tranquillity of mind, and (8) ability. These boons are granted by the goddess, who superadds sixteen thousand wives whose affection he should retain, and several other blessings. Mahādeva and his spouse then disappeared, and Krishṇa related to Upamanyu all that had happened (v. 1034). That sage then goes on to tell him a story about a rishi called Tāṇḍi, who had formerly worshipped Mahādeva, in the Kṛita age, and praised him in a long hymn (which is given vv. 1049–1103) as the supreme Deity whom even Brahmā, Indra, and Vishṇu did not perfectly know (vv. 1052, and 1103–5). Tāṇḍi had come to Upamanyu's hermitage and recited to him the eleven thousand mystical names of Mahādeva, which Upamanyu repeated to Krishṇa (vv. 1144 ff.). This hymn, existing in the heart of Brahmā was, we are told (vv. 1287 ff.), declared by that deity to Indra, by him to Mrityu (Death), by him to the Rudras, and from them it came to Tāṇḍi, etc.

A little further on (vv. 1358 ff.) we are told that Upamanyu expressed himself thus to Krishṇa :

*Aśubhaiḥ pāpакarmāṇo ye narāḥ kalushikritāḥ | Īśānaṁ na prapad-*  
*yante tamo-rūjasa-rittayah | Īśvaraṁ samprapadyante drijā bhāvita-bhā-*  
*vānāḥ | sarrathā varittamāno 'pi yo bhaktah parameśvare | sadṛiṣo 'raṇya-*  
*vāsānāṁ muninām bhāvitātmanām | Brahmaṭraṁ Keśavatvāṁ cha Śakra-*  
*traṁ vā suraiḥ saha | trailokasyādhipatyāṁ vā tushṭo Rudraḥ pra-*  
*yachhati ityādi |* "Those sinful men who are soiled by unhallowed (deeds) do not seek Īśāna, living under the dark and passionate qualities. Brahmans who have meditated on the cause [of all things] seek Īśvara. The man who is devoted to Maheśvara—whatever mode of life he follows—is equal to those contemplative munis who dwell in the forests. Rudra, when he is gratified, bestows the rank of Brahmā, or of Keśava

(Keśava is a name of Krishna), or of Indra, or the supreme lordship of the three worlds, including the deities."

In a later part of the Anuśāsana-parva, 7402 ff., Krishna relates to Yudishhthira the benefits which had resulted to himself from his patient submission to the caprices and freaks of the irritable Brahman Durvāsas (an incarnation of Śiva, as it is stated below, pp. 166, 169) who, among other tricks, had yoked Krishna's wife Rukminī to his car, and had wounded her with a goad, while drawing him on the road, and as a reward of Krishna's patient endurance of all this annoyance, had offered him his choice of boons, and had promised to Rukminī that she should be eminently renowned in the world, and the most distinguished of the sixteen thousand wives of Krishna, whom she should worship. The Brahman then disappeared, and Krishna performed an *Upānsu* rite, i.e. muttered prayers, with his wife. Then entering his house he found that all the articles which Durvāsas had broken or burned, were replaced.

Yudishthira then says to Krishna (vv. 7458 ff. : *Durrāsasah prasādāt te yat tadā Madhusūdana | arāptam iha vijñānam tan me vyākhyātum arhasi | mahābhāgyañcha yat tasya nāmāni cha mahātmanāḥ | tatrato jñātum icchāmi sarvam matimatān rara | Vāsudeva uvācha | Hanta te kīrttayishyāmi namaskṛitya Kaparddine | yad arāptam māyā rājan śreyo yach chārjyitām yaśāḥ | prayataḥ prātar utthāya yad adhīye riśāmpate | prāṇjaliḥ śatarudriyām tan mo nigadataḥ śrinu | Prajāpatis tat sasṛijo tapaso 'nle mahātapāḥ | Saṅkaras tv avyijat tāta prajāḥ sthāvara-jāṇgamāḥ | nāsti kiñchit param bhūtam Mahādevād viśāmpate | iha trishu api lokeshu bhūtānām pravaro hi saḥ | na chairotsahale sthātum kiñchid agre mahātmanāḥ | na hi bhūtām samān tena trishu lokeshu vidyate | gandhenāpi hi sangrāme tasya kruddhasya śatrarah | risaijñā hata-bhāyishthā vepante cha patanti cha | ghorāñcha ninadaṁ tasya Parjanya-ninadopamam | śrutrā viśīryed hrīdayām devānām api saṁyuge | yāṁścha ghorena rūpena paśyet kruddhah pināka-dhrik | na surā nāsurā loke na gandharvā na pannagāḥ | kupite sukhām edhante tasminn api guhāgatāḥ | Prajāpates tu Daxasya yajato vitate kratau | rivyādha kupito yajñām nirbhayas tv abhavat tadā | dhanishthā vāṇam utsrījya saghoshām vinānāda cha | tena śarma kutāḥ sāntiṁ vishādaṁ lebhire surāḥ | riddhe cha sahasa yajñe kupite cha Maheśvare | tena jyā-tala-ghosheṇa sarre lokāḥ samakulaḥ | babbhūvur avaśāḥ Pārlha vishedaś cha surāsurāḥ | āpaś chuxubhire chaiva chakampे cha vasundhara | vyadravan giriryaś chāpi dyauḥ paphāla oha*

sarvaśah | andhena tamasā lokāḥ prātritā na chakāśire | pranashṭā jyo-  
 tishām bhāś cha saha sūryena Bhārata | bhṛīśam bhītās tataḥ śāntim  
 chakruḥ srastiyayanāni cha | rishayah sarra-bhūtānām ātmānaś cha  
 hitaishiṇaḥ | tataḥ so 'bhyadravat derān Rudro raudra-parākramāḥ |  
 Bhagasya nayane kruddhaḥ prahārena ryaśūtayat | Pūshāṇām chābhī-  
 dudrāva pādena cha rushānvitāḥ | puroḍāśam bhaxayato daśānāṁś cha  
 vyāśūtayat | tataḥ pranemur derāś te veṇumānās tu Saṅkaram | punaś  
 cha sandadhe Rudro dīptaṁ sunisītaṁ śaram | Rudrasya vikramām  
 drishṭvā bhīta derāḥ saharshibhiḥ | tataḥ prasādayāmasuḥ sarve te  
 vibudhottamāḥ | jepuś cha śata-rudriyām devāḥ kṛītvā 'ñjaliṁ taddā |  
 saṁstūyamānas tridaśāḥ prasasāda Maheśvaraḥ | Rudrasya bhāgām yajñe  
 cha viśiṣṭām te tv akalpayan | bhayena tridaśā rājan śaraṇām cha pra-  
 pedire | tena chāra hi dushtena (tushṭena?) sa yajño sandhito 'bhavat | yad  
 yach chāpahṛitaṁ talra tat talhaiva sa jīvayat | Asurāṇām purāṇyāsaṁs  
 trīṇī vīryavatām dirī | āyasām rājataṁ chāra sauvarṇam api chāparam |  
 nāśakat tāni Maghavā bhettūm sarvāyudhair api | alha sarve Mahārudram  
 jagmuḥ śaraṇām ardditāḥ | tala nūchur mahātmāno devāḥ sarve samāgatāḥ |  
 Rudra raudrā bhavishyanti paśaraḥ serva-karmasu | jahi daityān saha  
 purair lokānām trāyasya mānada | sa tathoklas tathety uktrā kṛītvā Vish-  
 ṣuṇī śarottamam | śalyam Agniṁ tathā kṛītrā puṇkham Vairastataṁ  
 yamam | vedān kṛītvā dhanuḥ sarrān jyām oha sūcītrīm uttamām | Brahmā-  
 māṇām sārathiṁ kṛītvā viniyujya cha sarvaśah | triparvanā triśalyena  
 kāle tāni bibheda saḥ | śareṇāditya-varṇena kālāgnī-sama-tejasā | te śurāḥ  
 sa-purās tātru dagdhā Rudrenā Bhārata | tam chārānka-gataṁ drishṭvā  
 bālam pañchaśikhām punaḥ | Umā jījñāsamāna rai ko 'yam ity abravīt  
 taddā | asūyataś cha Sakrasya rajrena prahariṣhyabuḥ | sa vajraṁ stambha-  
 yāmāsa tam bāhum parighopamam | na sambubudhire chaiva devās tam  
 bhuvaneśvaram | sa-prajāvatayaḥ sarce tasmin sumahatiśvare | tato dhyā-  
 trā tu bhagavān Brahmā tam amitaujasam | ayaṁ śreshṭha iti jñātvā  
 varande tam Umā-patim | tataḥ prasādayāmāsur Umām Rudram cha te  
 suraḥ | babbūva sa taddā bāhur balahantur yathā purā | sa chāpi brāhmaṇo  
 bhūtvā Durrāsā nāma vīryavān | Dvāravatīyām mama pure chirām  
 kālam upāvasat | viprakārān prayuṇktz sma subahūn mama veśmani |  
 tān uddratayā ohāhaṁ chaxame chāti-duḥsahān | sa rai Rudraḥ sa oha  
 Sivāḥ so 'gniḥ Sarvāḥ sa sarva-jit | sa rai chendras cha Vāyuś cha so  
 'śvinā sa oha Vidyutāḥ | sa chandramāḥ sa cheśānāḥ sa Sūryo Varuṇāḥ  
 cha soḥ | sa kālaḥ so 'ntako mrityuḥ sa tamo rātry ahāni oha | māsā-

*dha-mūsā ritavaḥ sandhye sañvatsaraś cha saḥ | sa dhātū sa ridhātū cha  
viśvakarmā sa sarva-vit | naxatrāṇī grahāś chaira diśo'tha ridiśāś tathā |  
viśva-mūrttir ameyātmā bhagavān amara-dyutih | ekadhā cha dvidhā chaira  
bahudhā cha sa evi hi | tathā sahasradhā chaira tathā śata-sahasraśāḥ |  
īdriśāḥ sa Mahādevo bhūmaḥ sa bhagavān ajah | na hi śakyā gunā vaktum  
api varsha-śatāir api | Yudhishthira mahābhāho mahābhāgyam mahāt-  
manah | Rudrāya (?) bahurūpāya bahu-nāmne nibodha me | Tadanty  
Agnim Mahādevāṁ tathā Sthānum Maheśvaram | ekāxam tryambakāṁ  
chaira riśva-rūpāṁ Sirāṁ tathā | dre tanū tasya derasya brāhmaṇā reda-  
jñā viduḥ | ghorāṁ anyāṁ śirāṁ anyāṁ te tanū bahudhā punaḥ | ugrā  
ghorā tanūr yā sā so 'gnir vidyut sa bhāskaraḥ | śirā saumyā cha yā tv  
a-ya dharmas tr āpo'tha chandramāḥ | ātmano'rddhaṁ tu tasyāgnih somo  
'rddham punar uchyate | brahmacharyyāṁ charaty ekā śirā yā 'sya tanus  
tathā | yā 'sya ghoratamā mūrttir jagat sañharate tadā | iṣvaratrād mahat-  
vāch cha Maheśvara ili smṛitaḥ | yad nirdhati yat tixno yad ugro yat  
pratāparān | māṁsa-śonita-majjādo yat tato Rudra uchyate | derānāṁ  
sumahān yach cha yach chāsyā rishayo mahān | yach cha riśvam mahat  
pāti Mahādevas tataḥ smṛitaḥ | dhūmra-rūpāṁ cha yal tasya dhūrjatīty  
ata uchyate | sa medhayati yad nityāṁ sarrān rai sarva-karmabhiḥ |  
manushyān śivam anvichhaṁs tasmād era Sirāḥ smṛitaḥ | ityādi*

Anuśāsana-parva, v. 7458 ff.—Yudhishthira says to Krishna : “ Thou oughtest, Madhusūdana, to expound to me that knowledge which thou then obtainedst by the favour of Durvāsas. I wish, most eminent of sages, to know exactly all the grandeur of that great Being, and his names. Vāsudeva replies : Yes, I shall declare to thee, after bowing down before the god with the braided hair (Mahādeva), the happiness which was obtained by me, and the glory which was acquired. Hear from me, o king, the Satarudriya, which, when risen in the morning, I intently repeat with joined hands. The great devotee, Prajāpati, created that [prayer<sup>153</sup>] at the end of his austerity. Sankara has created [all] beings, stationary and moving. There is nothing, o king, which exists superior to Mahādeva; for he is the most excellent of beings in all these three worlds. And nothing can stand before this great deity : for there is no being like him in the three worlds. In battle, when he is even in the slightest degree (*lit.* ‘even by a scent’)

<sup>153</sup> It is a part of the Veda. Compare Part III. of this work, on the modes in which the Veda is conceived to have been produced.

incensed, his enemies tremble and fall senseless, and mostly slain. And the heart even of the gods would be withered in battle, on hearing his dreadful voice, resembling the sound of Parjanya (*i.e.* of the thunder clouds). And neither gods, nor Asuras, nor Gandharvas, nor Pannagas, nor whomsoever the Holder of the bow (Mahādeva), incensed, looks upon with his direful aspect, can enjoy tranquillity when he is angry, even though they hide themselves. When the Prajāpati Daxa was sacrificing, and his ceremonial was arranged, Mahādeva in his wrath pierced the sacrifice, and was then devoid of fear, and discharging an arrow with his bow, he uttered a loud sound. The gods received from this no pleasure or tranquillity, but rather dejection. And forthwith, the sacrifice being pierced, and Maheśvara being incensed, all the worlds were disturbed at the sound of his bowstring; both gods and Asuras became helpless and cast down; the waters were troubled, and the earth shook; the mountains were dissolved; the sky was rent in all directions; enveloped in thick darkness, the worlds did not shine, and the light of the luminaries and of the sun was quenched. Being greatly alarmed, the rishis then sought to appease Mahādeva, and recited texts to avert his anger, seeking their own welfare, and that of all creatures. Rudra of dreadful power then ran up to the gods, and, in his rage, knocked out the eyes of Bhaga with a blow, and incensed, assaulted Pūshan with his foot, and knocked out his teeth, as he was eating the puroḍāśa offering. The gods trembling then made obeisance to Sankara, and he again fitted on the string (?) the glittering, well-whetted arrow. Beholding the prowess of Rudra, the gods, with the rishis, terrified, propitiated him, and with joined hands, muttered the Satarudriya. Being thus lauded by the gods, Maheśvara became pleased; and they apportioned to him a distinguished share in the sacrifice, and, through fear, resorted to him as their refuge. He then became pleased and replaced the sacrifice, and whatever was removed he restored to life as it had been before. There were in the sky three cities of the valorous Asuras, one of iron, another of silver, and a third of gold,<sup>164</sup> which Maghavan (Indra) could not demolish, with all his weapons. Then all the great gods, distressed, went to the great Rudra as their refuge, and said to him, after they were assembled: 'Rudra, there

<sup>164</sup> See the Second Part of this work, pp. 395 ff., and the Karga-parva, vv. 1402 ff., below.

shall be beasts devoted to thee in all the sacrifices. Bestower of honour, destroy the Daityas with their cities, and deliver the worlds.' He, being thus addressed, said, 'So be it;' and making Vishṇu his arrow, Agni its barb, Yama, the son of Vivasvat, its feather, all the Vedas his bow, and the excellent Sāvitri (the Gāyatrī) his bowstring, and having appointed Brahmā his charioteer,<sup>155</sup> he in due time pierced through these cities with a three-jointed three-barbed arrow, of the colour of the sun, and in fierceness like the fire which burns up the world. These Asuras with their cities were there burnt up by Rudra. Again, beholding him a child in the lap, with five locks (?), Umā, desiring to know, asked, 'Who is this?' And when Indra, envious, was about to smite him (the child) with the thunderbolt, he stayed the thunderbolt, and that arm resembling a club. All the gods, including Prajāpati, did not understand the lord of the worlds, [existing] in that most mighty deity [in the form of an infant?]. Then the divine Brahmā, meditating on that being of boundless glory, and knowing that he was supreme, adored the lord of Umā. Then these gods propitiated Umā and Rudra; and the arm of slayer of hosts became as before. And again, Mahādeva, becoming a powerful Brahman, by name Durvāsas, dwelt a long time in my city Dvāravatī. He practised very many perversities in my house, which, though difficult to support, I, through generosity, endured. He is Rudra, he is Śiva, he is Agni, he is Sarva, the all-conquering; he is Indra, he is Vāyu, he is the Aśvins, he is the lightning, he is the moon, he is Īśāna, he is Sūrya, he is Varuna, he is time, he is death the ender, he is darkness, and night, and the days, he is the months, and the half months, and the seasons, the morning and evening twilight, and the year. He is Dhātṛi, and Vidhātṛi, Viśvakarman, the all-knowing, the constellations, the planets, the regions or [points], and intermediate regions or [points of the compass]; universal-formed, immeasurable in essence, divine, of undecaying splendour. He is simple, twofold, manifold, a thousand-fold, and a hundred-thousand-fold. Such is Mahādeva, the vast (?), the divine unborn being; his qualities cannot be declared in a hundred years." Krishna proceeds uninterruptedly at the beginning of a new section: "Large-armed Yudishthira, understand from me the greatness of the glorious, multiform, many-named Rudra. They call Mahādeva Agni, Sthānu,

<sup>155</sup> See the story from the Karna-parva, cited below, vv. 1515 ff.

Maheśvara, One-eyed, Tryambaka, the universal-formed, and Siva. Brahmans versed in the Veda know two bodies of this god, one awful, one auspicious; and these two bodies again have many forms. The dire and awful body is fire, lightning, the sun. The auspicious and beautiful body is virtue, water, and the moon. The half of his essence is fire, and the moon is called the [other] half. The one, which is his auspicious body, practises chastity: while the other, which is his most dreadful body, destroys the world. From his being lord (*īsvāra*) and great (*mahat*), he is called *Maheśvara*. Since he consumes, since he is fiery, fierce, glorious, an eater of flesh, blood, and marrow,—he is called Rudra. As he is the greatest of the gods, as his domain is wide, and as he preserves the vast universe,—he is called Mahādeva. From his smoky colour, he is called Dhūrjaṭi. Since he constantly directs all men in all their acts, seeking their welfare (*śira*), he is therefore called Siva," etc. etc.

In the Bhīshma-parva (vv. 793 ff.) Krishṇa is introduced as recommending Arjuna to worship the goddess Durgā :

*Sañjaya uvācha | Dhṛitarāshṭram balam dṛishṭvā yuddhāya samupasthitam | Arjunasya hitārthaya Krishṇo rachanam abravit | Sri-bhagavān uvācha | Suchīr bhūtrā mahabāho saṅgrāmābhimukhe sthitāḥ | parājayāya śatrūnām Durgā-stotram udīraya | Sañjaya uvācha | evam ukto 'rjunaḥ saṅkhye Vāsudevena dhīmatā | avatīryya rathāt Pārthah stotram aha kritāñjaliḥ |*

"Beholding the host of Dhṛitarāshṭra come near to the conflict, Krishṇa, for the good of Arjuna, addressed to him these words: 'Having purified thyself, o large-armed hero, standing in front of the battle, utter a hymn to Durgā for the overthrow of thine enemies.' Arjuna, being thus addressed in battle by the wise Vāsudeva, descending from his chariot, uttered a hymn with joined hands."

III. In the passage which I have quoted above (p. 142, note 134) from Professor Wilson, it is remarked that in some places of the Mahābhārata the divine nature of Krishṇa is disputed or denied. An instance of this denial is to be found in the following passage of the Subhā-parva, in which Siśupāla, prince of the Chedis, is introduced as objecting to the divine honours which had been paid to Krishṇa, and as ultimately suffering the penalty of his proud and contemptuous impiety at the hands of the incarnate deity.

Yudhishthira having proposed to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice, numerous kings assembled to witness the celebration (Sabhā-parva, 1260 ff.) On this occasion Bhīshma proposed that apart from the customary presents bestowed on all the kings, Kṛishṇa should be singled out as the most eminent of the chiefs to receive gifts indicative of his superiority (vv. 1333 ff.).

Sabhā-parva, 1333 ff. :—*Esha hy eshāṁ samastānāṁ tejo-bala-parā-kramaiḥ | madhye tapann ivābhāti jyotishām iva bhāskaraḥ | asūryam iva sūryena nirrāta[m?] iva rāyunā | bhāśitām hlāditaṁ chaiva Kṛishnene-dām sado hi naḥ | tasmai Bhīshmābhyanujñātaḥ Sahadevaḥ pratāpavan | upajahre 'tha vidhvad Vārshneyāyārgam uttamam | pratijagrāha tat Kṛishnāḥ śāstra-dishṭena karmanā | Siśupalas tu tām pūjām Vāsudeve na chaxame |* “For he, by his energy, force and valour, appears shining in the midst of all these princes, like the sun among the luminaries. This assembly of ours is enlightened and gladdened by Kṛishṇa, as a sunless place is by the sun, and a windless spot is by the wind. Commissioned by Bhīshma, the majestic Sahadeva then presented in due form to Vārshneya (Kṛishṇa) a most excellent offering, which the latter received with the act prescribed by the śāstra.”

Siśupāla, as I have said, could not endure that this compliment should have been paid to Kṛishṇa, and states at length a variety of objections to what had been done (vv. 1338 ff.). He urges that Kṛishṇa was a “transgressor of the injunctions of law (*smṛiti*), a contemptible and ill-instructed person” (v. 1340: *Ayaṁ cha smṛity atikrānto hy apageyo 'lpa-darśanah*); that he was not a king, or a person venerable from age, his father Vasudeva being still alive (v. 1343: *Athāra manyase Kṛishnāṁ sthavirām Kurū-pungava | Vasudere sthile vriddhe katham arhati tat-sutah |*); that in other respects he was inferior to other chiefs present, and that he had unjustly killed Jarāsandha (v. 1360, compare verses 1474 ff.); and taunts him with being greatly elated with the undeserved honour that had been paid him, like a dog devouring in a secret place the leavings of an oblation which he has discovered (v. 1364: *Ayuktānātmanah pūjām tam punar bahu manyase | harishaḥ prāpya nisyandam prāśitā śreva nirjane |*). Having thus vented his indignation, Siśupālu leaves the assembly, followed by Yudhishthira, who endeavours to soothe him. Bhīshma then defends Kṛishṇa’s claims to the honour which he had received (vv. 1377 ff.):

*Na hi kevalam asmākam ayam archyatamo 'chyutah | trayāñām api lokānām archanīyo mahābhujah | Krishnena hi jitā yuddhe bahavāḥ xatriyarshabbhāḥ | jagat̄ sarvāṁ cha Vārshneye nikhilēna pratisthīhitam | tasmāt satsvapi vriddheshu Krishnam archāmi netarān | . . . . 1382 : Nā keralaṁ vayaṁ kāmāch Chedi-rāja Janārdanam | na sambandham puraskṛitya kritārthaṁ rā kathañchana | archāmahe 'rchitāṁ sadbhīr bhūvi bhūta-sukhārahām | Yaśah śauryaṁ jayaṁ chāsyā vijñāyārchām prayujīmahe | na cha kaścid ihaśmābhiḥ subālo 'py aparīxitah | gunair vriddhān atikramya Harir archyatamo mataḥ | jñāna-vriddho dvijātināṁ xatriyāñām balādhikah | “ 1377 : This unfalling being (Achyuta) is not only deserving of the utmost worship from us, but, large of arm, he is also to be worshipped by the three worlds. For many eminent Xatriyas have been conquered by Krishṇa: and the whole world rests upon Vārshneya. Wherefore, even though there be aged men [present], I worship Krishṇa and not the others. . . . “ 1382 : It is not therefore from interested motives, king of the Chedis, nor in consequence of our connection, nor for the sake of anything he has done for us, that we worship Janārdana, who is worshipped by the good on earth, and who promotes the happiness of creatures. But knowing his renown, heroism, and victories, we offer him our worship. Nor is there here any mere youth whom we have never tried. Hari, surpassing the aged in his virtues, is regarded by us as most worthy of worship. In knowledge he excels Brahmans, and in force Xatriyas.” . . . .*

1386 : *Pūjyatāyāñcha Gorinde hetū dvāv api saṁsthītau | veda-vedāṅga-vijñānam balaṁ chāpy adhikāñ tathā | nṛināṁ loke hi ko 'nyo 'sti viśishṭah Keśavād rite | dānaṁ dāxyaṁ śrutāṁ śauryaṁ hrīḥ kirttir buddhir uttamā | sannatiḥ śrīr dhritis tuṣṭiḥ puṣṭiśha niyatā 'chyuto | tam imāṁ loka-sampannam achāryam pitaram gurum | arghyam architam ardhārhaṁ sarve saṁxantum arhatha | ritvig gurur vivāhyaś cha snātako nripatih priyah | sarvāṁ etad Hrishīkeśas tasmād abhyarchito 'chyutah | Krishṇa eva hi lokānām utpattir api chāpyayah | Krishṇasya hi krite viśvam idam bhūtaṁ charācharam | esha prakritir aryaktā karttā chaiva sanātanaḥ | paraś cha sarva-bhūtebhyāś, tasmād pūjyatamo 'chyutah | Buddhir mano mahad rāyus tejo 'mbhah kham mahī cha yā | chaturvidhām cha yad bhūtam sarvāṁ Krishne pratishthīhitam | . . . . 1396 : Sa-devakeshu lokeshu bhagavān Keśavo mukham | ayaṁ tu purusho balaḥ Siśupālo na budhyate | sarvatra sarvada Krishnam*

*tasmād evam prabhāshate | yo hi dharmāñ vichinuyād utkrishṭam  
 matimān naraḥ | sa rai paśyed yathā dharmāñ na tathā Chedi-rāḍ ayam |  
 sa-triddha-bāleshv athāvā pārthiveshu mahātmasu | ko nārham manyato  
 Krishṇāñ ko vā py enām na pūjayed | athainām dushkritām pūjām Siśu-  
 pālo vyarasyati | dushkritāyām yathānyāyām tathā'yaṁ karttum arhati|*

"There are two reasons why Govinda is worthy of honour: his knowledge of the Vedas and Vedāngas, and his superior strength. For who in the world of men is distinguished except Keśava? Generosity, ability, sacred learning, heroism, modesty, eminent renown, intelligence, humility, splendour, endurance, cheerfulness and joyousness, exist continually in Achyuta. You ought all to tolerate this teacher arisen in the world (or successful in the world), this father, preceptor, venerable, honoured, deserving of honour. Priest, preceptor, marriageable man, householder, king, beloved,—Hrishikesa is all this, and therefore he has been honoured. It is Krishṇa who is the origin and the destruction of the worlds: all this universe, moveable and immoveable, has come into being through (or for the sake of) Krishṇa.<sup>151</sup> He is undistinguishable matter (*prakṛiti*) and he is the eternal maker, transcending all beings: hence Achyuta is most worthy of honour. Intellect, mind, the great one (*mahat*), air, fire, water, sky, and earth—whatever fourfold being exists—all depends upon Krishṇa. . . . . 1396: The divine Keśava is chief among the worlds including the gods. But this foolish man, Siśupāla, does not know that Krishṇa [is] everywhere and always—and hence he speaks thus. For this king of the Chedis does not regard righteousness in the same way as an intelligent man who can distinguish eminent righteousness. Who is there, whether among old or young, or among mighty kings, who will not regard Krishṇa as honourable, or who will not reverence him? Siśupāla treats this honour as unduly paid. But it having been unduly paid, he should act as is befitting."

Siśupāla afterwards renews his denunciations of Krishṇa, in a long harangue, of which the following is a specimen (vv. 1433 ff.):

<sup>150</sup> The grounds urged for honouring Krishṇa in this and the following verses are of a different character from those in the preceding lines, which do not ascribe to him any qualities of a superhuman character; whilst the succeeding ones do. It is quite possible that the whole of this description of Krishṇa's qualities may not be of one age, but may contain interpolations subsequently introduced.

1433. *Sisupala uvācha | vibhishikābhīr bahvibhir bhishayan sarva-pārthivān | na vyapatrapase kasmād vridhāḥ san kula-pāṁsanāḥ | yuk-tam etat trilīyāyām prakritau iarttata tvayā | valtuṁ dharmād apetār-thām tvaṁ hi serra-kurūttama[ḥ] | nāvi naur iva sambaddhā yathā'ndho vā'ndham aniyāt | tathā bhūtā hi Kauravyā yeshām Bhishma tam agranīḥ | Pūtanā-ghāta-pūrvāni karmāny asya viśeshataḥ | trayā kīrtta-yatū'smākam bhūyah pravyathitam manah | araliptasya mūrkhasya Keśavaṁ stotum ichhataḥ | katham Bhishma na tt jihvā śatadhyeyām vidīry-yate | yatra kutsā prayoktavyā Bhishma bālatarair naraiḥ | tam imām jñāna-vridhāḥ san gopam saṁstotum ichhasi | yady anena hatā bālye śakuniś chitram atra kīm | tau rā 'śia-vrishabhau Bhishma yau na yuddha-viśāradau | chetanā-ralitaṁ kāshthaṁ yady anena nipātitam | pādena śakaṭam Bhishma tatra kīm kṛitam abhukutum | ralmīka-mātrāḥ saptāhaṁ yady anena dṝrito 'chalaḥ | tadā Gorardhano Bhishma na tach chitram matam mama | bhuktam etena bahv annām kṛidatā naga-mūrdhani | iti te Bhishma śrinvānāḥ param rismayam āgatāḥ | yasya chānena dharma-jña bhuktam annam baliyasah | sa chānena hataḥ Kaṁsaḥ ity etan na mahādhutam | na te śrutam idam Bhishma nūnām kathayatām satām | yad varye tvām adharma-jñānām vākyām Kuru-kulādhama | strīshu goshu na ūastrāṇi pātayed brāhmaṇeshu cha | yasya chānnāni bhuñjita yasya cha syāt pratisrayaḥ | iti santo 'nuśāsanti sojjanaṁ dharmināḥ sadū | Bhishma loke hi tat sarvām vitathaṁ tvayi dṝisyate | jñāna-vridhāḥ cha vridhāḥ oha bhūyāṁsaṁ Keśavam mama | ajānata irākhyāsi saṁstuvan Kauravādhama | go-ghnaḥ strī-ghnaś cha san Bhishma tvad-vākyād yadi pūjyate | evam-bhūtaś cha yo Bhishma kathaṁ saṁstavam arhati | . . .*

1451. *Nūnam prakritir eshā te jaghanyā nātra saṁśayaḥ | atah pāpīyaśi chaishām Pāṇḍavāndam apīshyate | yeshām archyatamāḥ Krishnas tvām cha yeshām pradarśakah | dharmavāṁs tvām adharma-jñāḥ satām mārgād avaplutaḥ | ityādi |*

*Sisupala answers Bhishma: "How is it that thou, disgracing thy race, art not ashamed, old man as thou art, to terrify all the kings with many alarming [speeches]? It is very fitting [forsooth] that thou who art now existing in the neuter gender (*i.e.* an old man, and passionless) shouldst utter things contrary to righteousness, seeing thou art the most eminent of all the Kurus! For as a boat is tied to a boat, or as one blind man follows another, so is it with the Kurus of whom thou, Bhishma, art the leader. Our minds have frequently been harassed by*

thee when detailing his (Krishna's) slaughter of Pūtanā<sup>157</sup> and other feats. How is it, Bhīshma, that thy tongue, thou proud fool, is not split into a hundred pieces, when thou seekest to magnify Keśava? Thou who art ripe in knowledge, art eager to eulogise the cowherd who ought to be vilified even by the silliest of men! (If in his childhood he slew Sakuni (or the bird), or the horse and bull, who had no skill in fighting, what is the wonder? If a waggon, an inanimate piece of wood, was upset by him with his foot,<sup>158</sup> what wonderful thing did he do? If the mountain Govardhana, a mere ant-hill, was held up by him for seven days,<sup>159</sup> I do not regard that as anything remarkable. Hearing that when playing on the hill-top, he had eaten a great quantity of food, these people were very much astonished. And it is no great miracle, o Bhīshma, thou judge of duty, that he slew Kansa, the powerful king whose food he had eaten.) Hast thou not heard virtuous men declaring this which I shall tell thee, who art ignorant of duty, Bhīshma, basest of the tribe of Kurus? (Let no one smite with his weapons women, cattle, or Brahmans, or him whose food he eats, or on whom he is dependent?) Such is the instruction which good and virtuous men always give to a virtuous [pupil].) All this, Bhīshma, is seen by all to be falsified in thee. Thou, basest of the Kurus, eulogizing, speakest of Keśava as old in knowledge, and mature, and superior, as if I did not know him. (If he, being a slayer of cattle, and of women, is to be reverenced,—how, Bhīshma, can such a person merit encomium? . . . . 1451. Certainly this nature of thine is base, of this there is no doubt; and hence [the nature] of these Pāṇḍavas also is shewn to be most wicked,—[these Pāṇḍavas] to whom Krishna is an object of the highest honour, and of whom thou art the virtuous preceptor,—thou, who art ignorant of duty, and hast gone astray from the path of good men!")

This speech excites the wrath of Bhīmasena (v. 1482), who, however, is restrained by Bhīshma from assaulting Siśupāla, though the latter is anxious to fight him. Bhīshma then goes on (1494 ff.) to give Bhīmasena an account of Siśupāla's infancy and early history. He had, it seems, been born with three eyes and four arms; and his parents, alarmed at his portentous appearance, were disposed to cast him out, but were prevented by a voice from the sky, which declared to them that the

<sup>157</sup> A female demon slain by Krishna.—See Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 508.

<sup>158</sup> See Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 508.

<sup>159</sup> See Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 526.

time fated for his death had not yet arrived. In answer to his mother's enquiry, the voice informed her that her son was doomed to die by the hands of the person who should take him into his lap, and by so doing should occasion his two superfluous arms to drop off, and his third eye to disappear. A part of this prediction was fulfilled when Krishna came and took him into his lap, and the infant got rid of his superfluous members.<sup>160</sup> On seeing this, his mother begged a boon from Krishna, viz., that he would forgive Siśupāla's offences. Krishna promises to pardon a hundred. Bhīshma then proceeds (v. 1518 ff.):

*Evam esha nṛipāḥ pūpaḥ Siśupālaḥ sumanda-dhiḥ | trāṁ samāhvayato  
vīra Govinda-vara-darpitāḥ | Naishā Chedi-pater buddhir yayā trā "hṛa-  
yate 'chyutam | nūnam esha jagad-bhartuḥ Krishṇasyaiva viniśchayaḥ |  
ko hi mām Bhīmasenādyā xitāv arhati pārthivāḥ | xeptum kāla-pari-  
tātmā yathaisha kula-pāñsanāḥ | esha hy asya mahābāhus tejo 'mśas cha  
Harer dhruvam | tam eva punar ādātum ichhaty uta tathā vibhuḥ |  
grenaisha Kuru-śārdūla śārdūla iva Chedi-rāṭ | garjaty atīra durbuddhiḥ  
sarvān asmān achintayan |*

"Thus this wicked king Siśupāla, slow of understanding, proud of the boon conferred by Govinda, challenges thee, o hero. This does not shew wisdom in the lord of the Chedis, that he challenges thee who art Achyuta. For this is the fixed opinion of Krishna, the sustainer of the world, 'What king on earth, o Bhīmasena, ought to-day to revile me, deprived by destiny of his reason, like this degrader of his race?' For this large-armed (Siśupāla) is certainly [an emanation of] the strength, and a portion, of Hari, which the pervading [deity] wishes to draw back again [into himself]; in

<sup>160</sup> On this story of Siśupāla Lassen remarks (Indian Antiquities, i. 674): "Siśupāla here represents Siva, and the conflict of the Siva-worship with that of Vishnu: for he was born with three eyes and four arms, and the legend attributes the falling off of his two superfluous arms and the disappearance of his frontal eye to the look and embrace of Krishna. This story is of especial importance for the purpose of determining the periods to which the different parts of the Mahābhārata belong. Krishna's deification belongs to the period after Buddha. In the attack upon Jarāsandha he is still exhibited principally as a hero, acts upon human motives, and performs actions unworthy of a god. but there are evident beginnings of his deification." The same author adds in a note on the same page: "Siśupāla is probably an earlier name of Siva, who is called *Pasiupati*, or lord, protector, of beasts. *Sīśu* denotes the young of men and beasts, and *pāla* protector. He had a second name *Sunītha* (Sabbhap. v. 1410), which no doubt was the proper one."

consequence of which, o chief of the Kurus, this foolish king of the Chedis growls loudly, like a tiger, disregarding us all."

Sisupala here breaks in angrily (v. 1524 ff.) and asks why Krishna should be so praised to the exclusion of all other warlike kings. Bhishma replies (1551), that he values not a straw all the other chiefs who were present. On hearing this, some of them became greatly incensed; and some cried out that Bhishma should be killed or burned. Bhishma replied that they might slay or burn him if they pleased, but that Krishna, the object of his reverence, would survive, and that anyone who was desirous to incur speedy destruction should challenge him to fight. Sisupala hereupon challenges Krishna; and the narrative proceeds:

(Verses 1561 ff.): *Tataḥ śrutraira Bhīshmasya Chedi-rāḍ uru-vikramah | yuyutsur Vāsudevena Vāsuderam urācha ha | ākraye tvāṁ ranāṁ gachha mayā sūrddhaṁ Janārdana | yāvad adya nihānmi trāṁ sahitāṁ sarva-Pāṇḍavaiḥ | saha tvayā hi me badhyāḥ surrathā Krishṇa Pāṇḍavāḥ | nrīpatin samatikramya yair arājā tram architaiḥ | ye tvāṁ dāsam arājānam būlyād archanti durniatim | aññāham arha-rat Krishṇa badhyā te iti me matiḥ | ity uktvā rāja-śārdūla[<sup>s?</sup>]tasthau garjann amarashayaḥ | evam ukte tataḥ Krishṇo mṛidu-pūrram idāṁ rachaḥ | urātha pārthivān sarvān sa sama cañ cha Pāṇḍavān | esha naḥ śatrur atyantam pārthivāḥ Sāetrati-sutaiḥ | Sāetratānāṁ nrīśāṁsātāmā nahito 'napukāriṇām | Prāg-jyotiṣha-puram yātān avān jñātvā nrīśāṁsa-krit | aduhad Dvārakām esha svasriyāḥ san narādhīpāḥ | krīdato Bhoja-rājasya esha Rairatake girau | hatvā baddhṛā cha tān sarrān upāyāt sra puram purā | aśvamedhe hayam medhyam ulśriṣṭām raxibhir vritam | pitur me yajñā-vighnārtham ahurat pāpa-niśchayaḥ | Saurīrān pratiyātāñcha Babhror esha tapasvināḥ | bhāryām abhyaharad mohād akāmā[<sup>m?</sup>] tām ito gatām | esha māyā-pratichhannaḥ Kārūshārthe tapasrinīm | jahāra bhadrām Vaiśālīm mā-tulasya nrīśāṁsa-rat | pitri-srasuḥ krite duḥkhāñ suniḥ adā marshayāmy aham | dishtyā hūdūm sarva-rājāñ sarniḥdhāv adya varītate | paśyanti hi bhavanto 'dyā mayy atīva vyatikramam | kritāni tu paroxam me yāni tāni nibodhata | imām tv asya na śāryāmi xantum adya vyatikramam | avalepād badhārhasya samagre rāja-mandale | Rukminyām asya mūḍhasya prārthanāśid mumūrshataḥ | na cha tām prāptavān mūḍhaḥ śūdraḥ veda-śrutim iva | evam-ādi tataḥ sarve sahitās to narādhīpāḥ | Vāsudeva-vachaḥ śrutiā Chedi-rājām vyagarhayan | tasya tad-vachanām śrutiā*

*Sisupālah pratīpavān | jahāsa svanavaddhāsaṁ vākyam chedam uvācha  
ha | mat-pūrvām Rukmiṇīm Kṛishṇa saṁneatsu parikīrttayan | viśeshataḥ  
pārthiveshu rīḍām na kurushe katham | manyamāno hi kah satsu purushāḥ  
parikīrttayat | anya-pūrvām st̄riyam jātu tvad-anyo Madhusūdana | xama  
vā yadi te śraddhā mā vā Kṛishṇa mama xama | kruddhād vā 'pi  
prasannād vā kiṁ me tattlo bharishyati | tathā brurata evāsyā  
bhagavān Madhusūdanāḥ | manasā 'chintayach chakram daitya-garva-  
nisūdanam | etasminn era kule tu chakre hasta-gale sati | uvācha  
bhagavān uchehair vākyam vākyā-viśāradāḥ | śrinrantu me mahipālā  
yenaitat xamitam moyā | aparādhā-śatām xāmyam mātur asyairā yāchane |  
dattam mayā yāchitām cha tad rai pūrṇām hi pārthivāḥ | adhunā ba-  
dhayishyāmi paśyatūm vo mahixitam | evam uktiā Yādu-śreshṭhaś Chedi-  
rājasya tat-xanūt | ryapāharach chhiraḥ kruddhāś chakrenāmitra-kar-  
shaṇāḥ | sa papāta mahābāhur ajrāhata ivāchalaḥ |*

"Having heard Bhīshma, the king of the Chedis, mighty in valour, desirous to fight with Vāsudeva, then addressed the latter: 'I challenge thee, approach to combat with me, Janārdana, till I slay thee with all the Pāṇḍavas. For together with thee, Kṛishṇa, I must utterly destroy the Pāṇḍavas, who, passing over kings, have honoured thee who art no king. 'They who, through childishness, honour thee, a fool, who art a slave, and no king, and who art unworthy, as if thou wert worthy, [they, I say,] ought in my opinion to be slain.' Having so spoken, the chief of kings stood raging and impatient. Kṛishṇa then addressed these mild words to all the kings and the Pāṇḍavas, in their presence: 'This son of Sātvatī, o princes, is the bitter enemy, truculent and ill-disposed, of us the Sāttvatas, who have done him no wrong. This malignant man, our sister's son, knowing that we had set out for the city of the Prāgjyotishas, burned Dvārakā. While the king of the Bhojas was formerly amusing himself on the Revata mountain, he slew and captured them all, and then returned home. Bent upon wickedness, to interrupt my father's sacrifice, he carried off the horse intended as a victim, which had been let loose, attended by keepers. He in his infatuation carried off the wife of the devotee Babhru, who had set out to return to [the country of] the Sauvīras, who had gone hence, and who had no passion [for him]. Under a magical disguise, he wickedly carried off for the Kārusha the devout and virtuous Bhadrā Vaiśālī, [the daughter] of my maternal uncle. For the sake of my father's sister (Sisupāla's

mother), I submit to great vexation. Luckily, this occurs to-day in presence of all the princes, for ye all behold the great transgression committed against me. As for the offences which have been done out of your sight, learn them now from me. I shall not to-day be able to endure this transgression of this infatuated man, who, for his presumption, deserves to be slain in the assembly of princes. He who is doomed to die, sought to gain Rukmiṇī, but the fool did not obtain her, as a Śūdra is excluded from the *veda*.' Hearing these and such other words of Vāsudeva, all the princes together then reviled the king of the Chedis. But the mighty Śiśupāla, hearing these words, laughed a sonorous laugh, and thus spake: 'How is it that thou art not ashamed, Krishṇā, thus in the assembly, and especially before the princes, to make mention of Rukmiṇī, who was betrothed to me?'<sup>161</sup> For what man but thou, Madhusūdana, after reflection, would mention among respectable persons a woman who had been betrothed to another? Forgive me, Krishṇa, if thou hast generosity, or refuse to forgive me. What shall happen to me from thee whether thou art well-pleased or angry?' As he thus spake, the divine Madhusūdana in his mind thought upon the discus, the humbler of the pride of the Daityas. The discus having come into his hand at that very time, the divine being, skilled in words, uttered aloud this word: 'Let the kings listen to me by whom this forgiveness has been practised. At the request of his mother, a hundred offences were to be pardoned. That request was granted by me, and it has been fulfilled, o kings. I shall now slay him, while you kings look on.' Having thus spoken, the chief of the Yadus, the vexer of his foes, incensed, instantly struck off the head of

<sup>161</sup> Rukmiṇī had been betrothed to Śiśupāla, as we are told in the *Vishṇu Purāna*, v. 26, 1 ff. (Wilson, p. 573). *Bhīṣmakaḥ Kundīne rājū Vidarbha-vishaye 'bhavat | Rukmī tasyābhavat puṭo Rukmiṇī cha varāṅganā | Rukmiṇīṁ chakame Krishṇāḥ sūcha tāṁ chāru-hāsinī | na dadau yūchate chaināṁ Rukmī dveshena chakriṇe | dadau cha Śiśupālāya Jarāsandha-prachoditaḥ | Bhīṣmako Rukmiṇī sūrddhañ Rukmiṇīṁ uru-vikramah |* "Bhīṣmaka was king in Kundina, in the country of the Vidarbhas. Rukmin was his son, and the beautiful Rukmiṇī (his daughter). Krishṇa loved Rukmiṇī, and the sweet-smiling maid (loved) him, but Rukmin did not give her to the wielder of the discus, when he asked her; but urged by Jarāsandha, Bhīṣmaka, mighty in valour, together with Rukmin, gave her to Śiśupāla." Krishṇa comes to witness the nuptials of his rival, and carries off the princess on the eve of the wedding.

the king of the Chedis with his discus. The great-armed (warrior) fell like a mountain smitten by a thunder-bolt.”<sup>162</sup>

Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarâshtra, and the principal leader of the Kurus, is represented as manifesting a similar disbelief of Krishna’s divine character, or at least as maintaining a proud and contumacious resistance to his claims. In the Udyoga-parva (vv. 2523 ff.), Sanjaya unfolds the divine nature of Krishna, “who,” he says, “being distinct in nature, and self-subdued, is able, by a thought, to subject to himself the earth, the air, and the heaven” (*prithivîñghânatarîxañcha dyâñchaiva Purushottamah | manasaiva visishṭatmâ nayaty âtma-vaśam vaśi |*) He then goes on to say :

*Ekato vâ jagat kṛitsnam ekato vâ Janârdanah | sârato jagatah kṛitsnâd atirikto Janârdanah | bhasma kuryâd jagad idam munasaira Janârdanah | na cha kṛitsnam jagach chhaktam bhasmîkarttuñ Janârdanum | yatah satyam yato dharmo yato hrîr ârjavam yatah | tato bharati Govindo yatah Krishnas tato jayah | prithirîm chântarîxañcha divañcha Purushottamah | rîcheshtayati bhûtâtma kriḍanniva Janârdanah | sa kṛitvâ Pâñdavân sattrañ lokañ sammohayann ira | adharma-niralân mûḍhân dagdhum ichhati te sutân | kâla-chakrañ jagach-chakrañ yuga-chakrañcha Keśavah | âtma-yogena bhagavân parivearttayalo ’nisam | kâlasya cha hi mrityoscha jaṅgama-sthâvarasya cha | rîte bhagavân ekaḥ satyam etud bravîmi te | rîann api mahâyogi sarvasya jagato Harih | karmâny ârabhate kartluñ kinâśa ira vardhanaḥ | tena rañchayate lokân mâyâyogena*

<sup>162</sup> We are told in the Vishnu Purâna (see Wilson’s translation, p. 437) that Sisupala had been in a former birth the Daitya Huanyakaśipu, who was killed by Vishnu in his man-lion incarnation. He afterwards became Râvana, who was slain by Râma. In his character as Sisupala he evinced a greater hatred than ever towards Vishnu, “a portion of the supreme being, who had descended to lighten the burthens of the earth,” and was in consequence slain by him; but as his thoughts were “constantly engrossed by the supreme being,” Sisupala became united with him after death; for the lord gives “to those to whom he is favourable whatever they desire,” and “bestows a heavenly and exalted station even upon those whom he slays in his displeasure.” This is further explained in the next section, where we are told that Krishna as an object of hatred was ever present to Sisupala’s thoughts, and that he was constantly uttering his names, and though this was done disrespectfully and in malediction, yet he at last beheld the deity in his true character when he was being slain by him, and that then all his passion and hatred ceased, and his sins were consumed by his divine adversary, with whom he became united. The attempt of Sisupala’s brother, king of the Sâlvâs (whose capital was Saubha), to revenge his death, his assault on Dvârakâ, his desire to slay Krishna, and the destruction which he thereby drew upon himself, are narrated in the Vana-parva, vv. 615-890.

*Keśavāḥ | ye tam eva prapadyante tena muhyanti mānavaḥ | Dhṛitarāshṭra uvācha | kathaṁ tvam Mādhavaṁ vettha sarva-loka-maheśvarum | katham enaṁ na vedāhañ tad mamāchaxva Sañjaya | Sañjaya uvācha | śrinu rājan na te vidyā mama vidyā na hīyato | vidyā-hīno tamo-dhvasto nābhijānāti Keśavam | vidyayā tāta jānāmi triyugam Madhusūdanam | karttāram akritañ devam bhūtānām prabhavāpyayam | . . . māyām na seve bhadrañ te na vrithā dharmam āchare | śuddha-bhārañ gato bhaktyā śāstrād vedni Janārdanam | Dhṛitarāshṭra uvācha | Duryodhana Hṛishi-keśam prapadyasva Janārdanam | āpto nah Sañjayas tāta śaraṇām gachhu Keśavam | Duryodhana uvācha | Bhagavān Devakī-putro lokāmś eched nihaniṣyati | pravaddann Arjune sakhyām nāhaṁ gachhe 'dyā Keśavam |*

"On the one side the whole world, on the other Janārdana,—in his essence Janārdana exceeds the whole world. He could by a thought reduce this world to ashes; but the whole world could not reduce him to ashes. Since he is truth, righteousness, modesty, rectitude,—therefore is he Govinda; since he is Krishṇa, he is therefore victory. The chief of males (or spirits), Janārdana, the soul of beings, imparts activity to the earth, air, and sky, as if in sport. He having made the Pāndavas a sacrifice, deluding, as it were, the world, wishes to burn up thy (Dhṛitarāshṭra's) infatuated and unrighteous sons. The divine Keśava by his own abstraction (*yoga*) makes the circles of time, of the world, and of the ages (*yugas*), continually to revolve. This divine being alone is lord of time, of death, and of things moveable and immoveable,—this I tell thee as a truth. Hari, the great contemplator, though the lord of the whole world, undertakes to perform works, like a poor peasant seeking gain. He deceives the world by this display of delusion whereby the men who seek him are bewildered. Dhṛitarāshṭra said : How dost thou know Mādhava, the great lord of the whole world? and how is it that I do not know him?—tell me that, Sanjaya. Sanjaya answered: Hear, o king, thou hast not knowledge; but to me knowledge is not wanting. He who is devoid of knowledge, and sunk in darkness, does not recognize Keśava. By knowledge I recognize Madhusūdana who exists in the three ages (*yugas*), the maker, the unmade, the god, the source of beings, and the cause of their destruction." Dhṛitarāshṭra asks Sanjaya for a further explanation of his devotion to Krishṇa. Sanjaya proceeds: "I do not pursue a delusion, bless thee, nor do I vainly practise righteousness. Having by devotion attained to purity, I know Janārdana from the

scripture (*śāstra*). Dhṛitarāshṭra said: Duryodhana, do thou seek Hṛishikeśa, Janārdana : Sanjaya is to us an authoritative teacher : go to Keśava as thy refuge. Duryodhana said: If the divine son of Devakī should destroy the worlds, I should not, declaring friendship for Arjuna, resort to-day to Keśava."

Duryodhana is hereupon reproved by his father and mother for his pride, self-will, and ambition, and is told by the latter that "when he has received his death-blow from Bhimasena, he will remember the words of his father (*nihato Bhīmasenena smṛttāsi vachanam pituh*). After some further conversation, Dhṛitarāshṭra asks to be further instructed about Krishna, when Sanjaya proceeds as follows (vv. 2560 ff.):

*Sanjaya urāchā | śrutum me Vāsudevasya nāma-nirrachanām ūbhām | yāvat tatrābhijāne 'ham aprameyo hi Keśavāḥ | rasanāt sarva-bhūtānām vasutvād deva-yonitāḥ | Vāsudevas tato vedyo vṛīhatvād Vishnur uchyate | maunād dhyānāch cha yogāchcha riddhi Bhārata Mādhavam | sarva-tattvamayatvāch cha Madhuḥā Madhusūdanaḥ | kṛishir bhū-vāchakaḥ śabdo naścha nirṛiti-vāchakaḥ | Vishnus tad-bhāva-yogāchcha Kṛishṇo bharati Sattvātāḥ | puṇḍarīkam paramā dkāma nityam axayam arayayam | tad-bhāvāt Puṇḍarīkāxo dasyu-trāsāj Janārddanāḥ | yataḥ sattvād na chayavate yach cha satteād na hīyate | sattvataḥ Sattvatas tasmād ārshabbād Vṛishabhexanāḥ | na jāyate janitrā 'yam ajas tasmād anīkajit | devānām sva-prakāśutvād damād Dāmodaro vibhuḥ | harṣhāt sukhāt sukhaiśvaryyād kṛishhikosatvam aśnute | bāhubhyām rodasi bibhrad mahābāhur iti smṛitāḥ | adho na xīyate jātu yasmāt tasmād adhoxajāḥ | narānām ayanāch ohāpi tato Nārāyanāḥ smṛitāḥ | pūrṇāt sudanāch chōpi tato 'sau Purushottamāḥ | asataś cha sataś chaiva sarvasya prabhārāpyayāt | sarvasya cha sadā jñānāt Sarvam etam pracharato | satye pralishhīhitāḥ Kṛishṇāḥ satyam atra pratishhīhitam | satyāt satyañcha Govindas tasmāt Satyo 'pi nāmataḥ | Vishnur vikramāñd devo jayanāj Jishnur uchyate | śāśvatatrād Anantaścha Govindo vedanād garām | atattvañ kurute tattvām tena mohayato prajāḥ | evañvidho dharma-nityo bhagavān Madhusūdanaḥ | āgantū hi mahābāhur ānṛiśāñsyārtham achyutaḥ |*

"Sanjaya says: Thou hast heard from me the auspicious explanation of Vāsudeva's names, as far as I understand the subject; for Keśava is immeasurable. He is to be known as Vāsudeva from his dwelling (*vasanāt*) in all beings, from his issuing as a *Vāsu* from a divine womb. From his greatness (*vṛīhatvāt*) he is called Vishnu. From his silence,

(*maunāt*) contemplation, and abstraction, do thou know him to be *Mad-hava*. From his possessing the nature of all principles, he is *Madhuhan*, and *Madhusūdana*. The word *krishi* denotes 'earth,' and *na* denotes 'cessation' (?); *Vishnu*, from containing the nature of these things, is *Krishna*, the Sātvata. *Pundarīka* means the highest abode, eternal, unchangeable, undecaying: from his having that character he is *Pundarīkāxa*. From terrifying the Dasyus he is Janārdana. Inasmuch as he does not fall from, or fail in, existence (*sattrā*), therefore, from his existence, he is *Sātvata*, and from his excellency (*ārshabhat*) he is *Vrishabherana*. As he is not generated by a father, he is the unborn, the victorious in battle. From the self-illumination of the gods, and from self-restraint (*dama*), the all-pervading is *Dāmodara*. He obtains his character as *Hṛishikeśa* from joy (*harsha*), pleasure, and the ease with which he rules. Sustaining the two worlds with his arms, he is called Mahābāhu (*great-armed*). Since he never sinks downwards (*adho na xiyyate*) he is *Adhoरaja*. From movement among men (*narāṇām*<sup>163</sup> *ayanat*) he is called Nārāyana. From filling (*pūrayāt*) and from abiding (*sadanāt*) he is *Purushottama*. Since he is the source and the destruction of everything (*sarrasya*) both non-existent and existent, and since he always knows all, they call him *Sarva*. Krishna is based on truth (*satye*) and truth is based on him, and from his truth Govinda is truth, therefore he is also called *Satya*. The god is called *Vishnu* from striding (*vikramāt*), *Jishnu* from conquering (*jayanāt*), *Ananta* from his eternity, and *Govinda* from the knowledge of cattle<sup>164</sup> (*cedanād gavām*).

<sup>163</sup> Perhaps the true reading is *nārāṇām*, "waters," as in the text of Manu, cited above, p. 26.

<sup>164</sup> Another explanation of this name is given in the Sāntiparva, v. 13228 f.: *Nashṭāñ cha dhurāñ pūrvam avindān rai guhāyatām | Gorinda iti tēnāham devair vāgbhir abhīsthitataḥ |* "And since I discovered the earth which had formerly been destroyed, and had sunk into the abyss, I was therefore lauded by the gods with praises as Govinda." And in the following verse, occurring in the description of the ocean, in the Ādi-parva, v. 1216, the word Govinda is thus interpreted: *Gāñ vindatā bhagavatā Govindenāmitanjasā | varāha-rūpiñ chāntar vicobhita-julāvilam |* "[That ocean] which was rendered turbid when its waters were agitated within by the divine Govinda of illimitable power, who in the form of a boar *found the earth* [beneath its surface]." I notice in the same passage another verse (1215) which seems to shew that, at the period when it was written, the Hindus were acquainted with the cause of the tides, or at least with the influence of the moon upon the ocean: *Chandra-vriddhi-zaya-vaiñud udevritormi-samākulam |* "The ocean] tossed with waves which rise in obedience to the waxing and waning of the moon."

He makes the reality an unreality, and so deludes creatures. Of such a character, constant in righteousness, is the divine Madhusūdana. For the great-armed Achyuta (or unfalling deity) will come for the abolition of cruelty."

The following is another illustration of Duryodhana's enmity to Krishṇa, and of his scepticism in regard to the supernatural character of that personage, at the same time that it shews the writer's faith in the divine nature of his hero. It is related in the Udyoga-parva that Krishṇa went to the Kurus, with the intention of mediating between them and the Pandus. While he was with them, Duryodhana plotted to confine him (v. 4368), but Vidura warns the plotter that his attempt would be vain, owing to the divine power of Krishṇa. On the conclusion of Vidura's speech, Krishṇa addresses himself to Duryodhana (4418 ff.):

*Vidureñavam uktas tu Keśavaḥ śatru-pūga-hā | Duryodhanāṁ Dhārtarāshṭram abhyabhāshata vīryavān | eko 'ham iti yad mohād manyase mām Suyodhana | paribhūya sudurbuddhe grahitum mām chikīrshasi | ihaiva Pāñḍavāḥ sarve tathāvāndhaka-vrishṇayāḥ | ihādityāścha Rudrāś cha Vasavaś cha saharshibhiḥ | evam uktvā jahāsochchaiḥ Keśavaḥ para-vīra-hā | tasya sañsmayataḥ Saurer vidyud-rūpā mahātmanāḥ | anguṣṭha-mātrās tridaśātumumuchuḥ pāvakārcishāḥ | asya Brahmā lalāṭa-stho Rudro vaxasi chābhavat | loka-pālā bhujeshv āsann Agnir āsyād ajāyata | Ādityāś chaiva Sādhyāś cha Vasavo 'thāśvināv api | Marutaś cha sahen-drena Viśe devāś tathaiva cha | babhūvus chaika-rūpāṇi Yaxa-Gandharva-Raxasām | prādūrāstaṁ tathā dorbhyāṁ Saṅkarshaṇa-Dhanañjayau | daxine 'thārjjuno dhanvī halī Rāmaś cha savyataḥ | Bhīmo Yudhiṣṭhīraś chaiva Mādri-putrau cha priṣṭhataḥ | Andhakā Vṛishuayaś chaiva Pradyumna-pramukhās tataḥ | agre babhūvuh Krishṇasya samudyata-mahāyudhāḥ | saṅkha-chakra-gadā-śakti-śārṅga-lāngalu-nundakāḥ | adriṣ-yantodyatāny eva sarva-praharanāni cha | nānā-bāhuṣu Krishṇasya dīpyamānāni sarvaśāḥ | ityādi*

" Being thus addressed, the heroic Keśava, slayer of hostile bands, thus addressed Duryodhana, son of Dhṛitarāshṭra : ' Since, Suyodhana, thou, in thy delusion, regardest me as if I were alone, and, o fool, seekest to overcome and confine me, [know that] here are all the Pāñḍavas, the Andhakas, and the Vrishnis, as well as the Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus, together with the rishis.' Having thus spoken,

Kēśava, slayer of hostile heroes, laughed aloud. As the mighty descendant of Sūra [Krishṇa] smiled, the gods, wearing the appearance of lightning, of the size of a thunder, and luminous as fire, issued forth from him. Brahmā occupied his forehead, Rudra was produced on his chest, the guardians of the world appeared on his arms, and Agni sprang from his mouth. The Ādityas, too, and the Sādhyas, Vasus, Aśvins, Maruts, and all the gods along with Indra were produced, and also the forms of the Yaxas, Gandharvas, and Rāxasas. Sankarshana and Dhananjaya also were manifested from his arms, Arjuna armed with a bow from his right, and Rāma with a plough from his left, Yudishthira and Bhīma, the sons of Mādrī, from his back. Next Andhakas and Vrishnis, headed by Pradyumna, arose on his front, with their weapons ready. A shell, discus, club, spear, bow, plough, and sword, were seen prepared, and all weapons, gleaming in every form on the different arms of Krishṇa."

In the next passage, taken from the Karna-parva, also, Duryodhana, and other warriors on his side, put themselves on the same level as Krishṇa (except in one place, vv. 1625 ff.). It is there related (vv. 1265 ff.) that Karna promised to Duryodhana to encounter and slay Arjuna, or be slain by him. Karna says, however, that in some respects he is inferior to Arjuna; as, for instance, in not having such a charioteer as Arjuna had in Govinda (Krishṇa); (v. 1302: *Sārathis tasya Govindo mama tādriṇ na vidyate*); while in other respects he regards himself as having the advantage (v. 1304). As, then, Krishṇa, creator of the world, preserves the car of Arjuna (*Krishṇaś cha srashtā jagato ratham tam abhiraxati*<sup>165</sup>), if, in like manner, Salya, king of the Madras, the ornament of the battle-field, who is equal to Sauryi (Krishṇa) and is well skilled in horses, will act as his charioteer, Karna thinks the victory of Duryodhana's side will be certain (v. 1308: *Ayaṁ tu sadriśah Saureḥ Salyaḥ samiti-śobhamūḥ | sārathyāṁ yadi me kuryād dhruvas te vijayo bhavet | . . . . 1311: Evam abhyadhikāḥ Pārthāt bhavishyami gunair aham | Salyo 'py abhyadhikāḥ Krishnād Arjunād api chāpy aham | yathā 'sva-hridayām veda Dāśurhāḥ para-vīra-hā | tathā Salyo 'pi jānīte*

<sup>165</sup> If the words *srashtā jagataḥ*, "creator of the world," are not an interpolation, it is not easy to perceive how Karna could have regarded Krishṇa as his equal, as he would never have thought of calling Salya, or any other of his brother warriors, the creator of the world.

*haya-jñānaṁ mahārathah* |) Duryodhana then goes to Salya and asks him to act as charioteer to Karna, saying that he (Salya) was equal to Krishṇa, that there was no other person who could drive Karna but himself; and that Brahmā had fulfilled the same office to Mahādeva (v. 1328 f.: *Sārathyaṁ ratihināṁ śreshṭha pranayāt karttum arhasi | tvayi yantari Rādheyo ridvisho me vijeshyate | abhiśhūnāṁ hi Kārnasya grahitā 'nyo na vidyate | rite hi trām mahābhāga Vāsudera-samaṁ yudhi | sa pāhi sarvathā Kārnāṁ yathā Brahmā Mākesvaram* |). Salya, however, is very much offended (v. 1354 f.) that a person of his dignity should be asked to undertake the office of charioteer, and boasts that he is superior to Karna, and could alone destroy their enemies. He points to his thick arms, which would smite like a thunderbolt, and asserts that he could by his own strength cleave asunder the earth, scatter the mountains, and dry up the seas (v. 1361: *Paśya pīnau mama bhujau vajra-samhananopamau | . . . .* 1363: *Dārayeyam mahīṁ kṛtsnāṁ rikireyaṁ cha parratān | Soshayeyam samudrānś cha tejasā svena pārthiva* |). He will not brook to undertake the inferior office of driving a person who is his own inferior<sup>166</sup> (v. 1365: *Kasmād yunaxi sārathye nīcha-yādhirathe rāne | na mām adhuri rājendra niyoktuṁ tvam iḥārhasi | na hi pāpīyasaḥ śreyān bhūtrā preshyatram utsahe* |). He threatens, in consequence of the insult thus offered to him, to go home (v. 1375); and accordingly rises and goes, but is followed by Duryodhana, who endeavours to soothe him by saying that he did not regard Karna as superior to him (v. 1379: *Na Kārno 'bhyadhikas trattah*), but considered Karna to be superior to Arjuna; while the world regarded him (Salya) as superior to Krishṇa, whom he excelled in strength, as well as in knowledge of horses and their dispositions, (v. 1384: *Manye chābhya-dhikaṁ Sulya gunaiḥ Kārnāṁ Dhanañjayāt | bhavantaṁ Vāsudevāch cha loko'yam iti manyate | Kārno hy abhyadhikāḥ Pārthād astrair era narar-shabha | bhavān abhyadhikāḥ Krishnād aśva-jūnē bōle tathā | yathā 'sva-hridayaṁ veda Vāsudevo mahāmanāḥ | driguṇāṁ trām tathā vetsi Madra-rājesvarātmaja* |). Salya is flattered by his being reckoned superior to Krishṇa, and agrees to act as charioteer to Karna, vv. 1387 ff.: *Yad mām bravishi Gāndhāre madhye sainyaṣṭya Kaurava | viśiṣṭāṁ Devakī-puttrāt prītimān asmy ahaṁ tvayi | esha sārathyam ātishṭhe Rādheyasya*

<sup>166</sup> He regarded Karna as what he was generally supposed to be, a Sūta, or charioteer, by caste (v. 1374).

*yaśasvinah | yudhyataḥ Pāndavāgryena yathā tvam vīra manyase | samayaś  
cha hi me vīra kaśhid Vaikarttanam prati | utsrijeyaṁ yathā-śraddham  
ahaṁ vācho 'syā sannidhau | Sañjaya uvācha | tatheti rājan putras te  
saha Karṇena Bhārata | abrāriḍ Madra-rājasya matam Bharata-sattama |*  
“I am pleased with thee, Kaurava, since in the midst of the army thou declarest me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Karṇa when he fights with the chief of the Pandus, as thou, hero, thinkest [I ought to do]. And now that I have entered into a certain agreement with Karṇa, let me candidly excuse to him the words I have used. Sanjaya proceeded: “Thy son (*i.e.* Duryodhana) having assented, declared to Karṇa the resolution of the king of the Madras (Salya).”

Though he had thus gained his point, by persuading Salya to act as charioteer to Karṇa, Duryodhana is nevertheless represented as proceeding, in the next three sections, the 33rd–35th, vv. 1391 ff., (which, for reasons to be afterwards assigned, I regard as probably interpolated,) to repeat to Salya an ancient legend, telling how Brahmā had formerly done duty as charioteer to Mahādeva in a war between the gods and Asuras. In this war the gods, it is related, were at first the victors (1394). The three sons of the Asura Tāraka thereupon performed severe austerities, which induced Brahmā to grant them a boon (1397). They asked that they might become indestructible by any being whatever, which, however, Brahmā declined to grant, as immortality, he said, was not an universal attribute (1399). They then asked that they should occupy three cities, and from thence move about the earth at will, and that after a thousand years these three cities should become united, and that they themselves should only be destructible by the deity who should be able to overthrow the cities with a single arrow, (1402 ff.: *Vayam purāṇi  
trīny eva samāsthāyā mahīm imām | vicharishyāmo loke 'smiṇ . . . .  
tato varsha-sahasre tu sameshyāmaḥ parasparam | ekibhāvaṁ gamishy-  
anti purāṇy etāni chānagha | samāgatāni chaitāni yo hanyād bhagavāns  
tadā | ekeshuṇā dera-rurāḥ sa no mṛityur bharishyati |*). Brahmā granted this boon, and the Asura Maya built them three cities, one of gold, in heaven; a second of silver, in the air; and a third of black iron, on earth<sup>167</sup> (1406 ff.), which the three Asura kings above-named severally

<sup>167</sup> See above, p. 168.

occupied, and where innumerable hosts of formidable demons were collected. Maya, by his magical power, gave them everything that any of them wished (1415) : and Hari, the son of Tārakāxa, obtained as a boon from Brahmā that there should be a pond in their city, into which, when any Asuras slain in battle were thrown, they should be resuscitated and become stronger than ever (1418 ff.). Armed with all these powers, the Asuras harassed the worlds, putting to flight the celestial hosts, and destroying the gardens of the gods, and the hermitages of the rishis (1421 ff.). Indra attacked the cities of the Asuras with his thunderbolts, but without effect (1427). He then went with the other gods to consult Brahmā about the means of overthrowing the demons (1429 ff.). Brahmā replied that the cities could only be destroyed by a single arrow, and that this could only be effected by Mahādeva (1434), to whom they should apply. The deities, then, headed by Brahmā himself, went to supplicate Mahādeva, the soul of all things, by whom the universe is pervaded, who, through particular austeries, knows the *yoga* and the *sāṅkhyā* of himself, (or of spirit,) and whose spirit is always in subjection,—(they went to supplicate him) practising rites of austerity, repeating the eternal Veda, and uttering awful or fierce hymns, (1437 ff. : *Tapo-niyamam āsthāya  
grīnānto brahma sāśvatam | . . . tushṭuvur vāgbhir ugrābhīr bhayeshv  
abhaya-dām nṛīpa | sarvātmānam mahātmānām yenāptām sarvam ātmanā |  
tapo-viśeshair vividhair yogam yo reula chātmanah | yaḥ sāṅkhyam  
ātmano retti yasya chātmā vaše sadā |*). They beheld Mahādeva, to whom a variety of other honorific epithets are applied, such as “the essence of all beings, the unborn, the lord of the world” (1442 : *saṃ-  
bhūtamayañ dṛishṭvā tam ajāñ jagataḥ patim |*). Mahādeva received them smiling, and invites them to state their wishes (1444). They then recite a number of his epithets (1445 ff.), and Brahmā replies on their behalf (1455 ff.) that he himself, who had obtained from Mahādeva his rank of Prajāpati, had bestowed a boon on the Dānavas, that they had in consequence transgressed all bounds, and that now there was no one but Mahādeva who could destroy them,—which he was therefore implored to do. Mahādeva answers (1459) that he could not destroy them himself, but that, with the aid of half his strength, they themselves would be able to conquer their enemies. They answered that they could not contain half of his strength (*vibharttum tava tejo*

'*rddhaṁ na śaxyāmaḥ*), but proposed that he should undertake the work, aided by half of their strength. To this Mahādeva consented, and became stronger than all the gods, and was thenceforward called Mahādeva, or "the great god," (*arddham ādāya sarveshāṁ tejasā 'bhya-*  
*adhiko 'bhavat | sa tu dero balenāśit sarvebhyo balavattaraḥ | Mahādeva*  
*iti khyātus tataḥ prabhṛiti Saṅkaraḥ |*). Mahādeva then (1468) desired the gods to provide him with a bow and arrows, and a chariot. The gods promised to provide a chariot which should be composed of all the forms of the universe (1469 : *mūrtīḥ sarvāḥ samādhāya trilokyasya*  
*tatas tataḥ | rathaṁ te kalpayishyāmaḥ |*). The composition of the car, formed by Visvakarman and the gods, is then described at great length (vv. 1471–1492). Vishṇu, Soma, and Agni became different parts of Mahādeva's bow and arrow; the earth became his chariot, the mountain Mandara its axle; and the great river, the regions, the constellations, the Kṛita age, the serpent Vāsuki, the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains, plants, the sun and moon, day and night, various goddesses, duty, truth, the vashaṭkūra, the gāyatrī, etc., formed portions of the car, or of its appurtenances. Mahādeva's weapons and equipments are then specified (1495 ff.). At verse 1503 it is repeated that "Vishṇu, Agni, and Soma formed his arrow, for all the world," it is added, "is formed of Agni and Soma, and is said to be composed of Vishṇu, and Vishṇu is the soul of Mahādeva of boundless power.<sup>168</sup> Hence they could not abide the bow, or the contact of the bowstring of Hara. In that arrow the terrible god, dark-blue, and dusky in hue, clad in an antelope's skin, hurled forth the fire of wrath, of fierce intolerable fury, and sprung from the rage of Bṛigu and Angiras. . . . He is the constant preserver of virtuous, and destroyer of wicked, men. The divine Sthānu (Mahādeva) shines forth distinguished by these inherent qualities, which are destructive, fearful in power, fearful in form, and rapid as thought. This whole universe, moveable and immoveable, existing contained in his members, shone forth, wonderful to behold."

(*Ishuś chāpy abhavat Vishṇur Jvalanāḥ Soma eva cha | Agnī-Somāṁ*  
*jagat kṛitnamāṁ Vaishṇavaṁ chochyate jagat | Vishṇuś chātmā bhagavato*  
*Bhavasyāmita-tejasāḥ | tasmat dhanur jyā-saṁsparśāñ na vishehur*  
*Harasya te | tasmin śare ligma-manyum munochāsahyam Īśvaraḥ |*  
*Bṛigv-Aṅgiro-manyu-bharam krodhāgnim ati-dussaham | sa nīla-lohitō*

<sup>168</sup> Can these words be a Vaishnava addition to the passage?

*dhūmrah krittirāsā bhayaṇkarah | . . . . 1507: Nityaṁ trātā cha  
hantā cha dharmādharmāśritān narān | pramāthibhir bhīma-balair bhīma-  
rūpair manojaraiḥ | vibhāti bhagavān Sthāṇus tair erātma-guṇair rritāḥ |  
tasyāṅgāni samāśritya sthitān viśram idūm jagat | jaṅgamājaṅgamām  
rājan śuśubhe 'dhuta-darśanam | )*

Taking the arrow produced from Soma, Vishnu, and Agni, Mahadeva mounted the car which had been made for him (1510 ff.). He then smilingly asked (1515) who was to be his charioteer. The gods answered that any one whom he should appoint would undertake that office. He then said that the god who was greater than he should be made his charioteer. The gods next went to Brahmā and asked him to appoint one (1520), expressing an opinion that he himself was the only person who was fit for the office (1526). Brahmā consented (1530 ff.). Mahadeva is again represented as mounting the car, with the arrow produced from Vishnu, Soma, and Agni in his hand (1535). He then sets out,<sup>169</sup> and arrives at the triple city of the Asuras (1551), when some of the Asuras are destroyed by the roaring of his bull (1553), and others come forth to battle. Mahadeva becomes insensate with rage. The three worlds tremble. The chariot begins to sink from the agitation of Soma, Agni, and Vishnu in the arrow, and from the movement of Brahmā and Mahadeva. Vishnu then issues from a portion of the arrow (1556), takes the form of a bull, and raises up the chariot. Mahadeva fits his arrow on the string (1562), and discharges it against the triple city (1567), which falls to the ground, while the Asuras are burnt up and thrown by Mahadeva into the western ocean. The gods praise Mahadeva and depart (1572).

Duryodhana now (1575 ff.) makes his application of this legend by exhorting Salya to follow Brahmā's example, and act as charioteer to Karna. Salya, he adds, is superior to Krishña, Karna, and Arjuna, and as Karna resembled Mahadeva in fighting, so Salya resembled Brahmā in guiding [a chariot], etc. To supply additional motives for compliance, he then (1581 ff.) goes on to tell Salya another story about Parashurama performing austerity to propitiate Mahadeva and obtain

<sup>169</sup> In vv. 1545 ff. it is said that the rishis praised Mahadeva, and increased his strength (*rishayas tatra deveśām stuvanto bahubhiḥ stavaiḥ | tejas chāmaī vardha-yanto rājann āśān punah punah |*). The same power of imparting strength to the gods by their praises is frequently asserted of the bards in the Rig-veda.

celestial arms. Mahādeva appears to him and tells him he shall obtain arms when he has qualified himself by purification to obtain them. Paraśurāma renews his penances and religious ceremonies (1591), and is at length appointed by Mahādeva to slay the Daityas who had been harassing the gods (1599). He successfully accomplishes this task (1806) and receives celestial arms from Mahādeva. Paraśurāma had, as Duryodhana goes on to say, taught the divine science of archery to Kṛṣṇa (1613), which proves that Kṛṣṇa is free from sin; and Kṛṣṇa is not, as Duryodhana believes, a Sūta or charioteer by birth, but a son of one of the gods, born in a Xatriya family. For how could a doe give birth to a tiger (1617)? Duryodhana then recurs to the legend of Brahmā becoming Mahādeva's charioteer, and renews his exhortation to Salya to perform the same office to Kṛṣṇa. Salya appears now to waver in his determination, formerly expressed, to comply with Duryodhana's request, as he replies (1625) that he himself had often heard this story before; and that Kṛishṇa also had no doubt heard of it, as he knows the future and the past, and that he had for that reason consented to be the charioteer of Arjuna. And, Salya adds, if Kṛṣṇa should slay Arjuna, Kṛishṇa would himself fight, and armed with the shell, discus, and club, burn up the whole of Duryodhana's army, and no one would be able to stand before him when he was incensed, (*Yadi hanyāch cha Kaunteyam Sūta-putraḥ kathañchāṇa | dṛishṭvā Pārthaṁ hi niḥatūm svayam yotsyati Keśavaḥ | śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-pāṇīr dhaxyate tava rāhinīm | na chāpi tasya kruddhasya Vārshneyasya mahātmanaḥ | sthāsyate pratyānikeshu kaścid alaṁ nṛipas tava*). Duryodhana in reply expatiates on the eminent prowess of Kṛṣṇa, and of Salya himself: (1643) *Tram śalya-bhūtaḥ śatrūnām arishahyah parākramo | tatas tram uchyase rājan Salya ity ari-sūdana | tura bāhu-balām prāpya na śekuh sarva-Sālitratāḥ | tura bāhu-balād rājan kintu Krishṇo balādhikāḥ | yathā hi Krishnena balaṁ dhāryam rai Phālgune hate | tathā Karna-tayibhāve trayā dhāryam mahad balam | kimarthaṁ samare sainyam Vāsudevo nyavārayet (sic) | kinharthaṁ cha bharān sainyam na hanishyati Mārisha |* “Thou art a spear (*śalya*) to [pierce] thine enemies, irresistible in valour: hence, o king, destroyer of thy foes, thou art called Salya.<sup>170</sup> Feeling the power of thy arm, all the Sāttvatas could

<sup>170</sup> In verse 1381 the same thing had been said in nearly the same words; *Salya-bhūtas tu śatrūnām yaśmāt tvaṁ yudhi mānada | tasmāt Salyo hi te nāma kāthyate*

not [resist]. But [it is said that?] Krishṇa is superior in force to the strength of thy arm. Just as great strength is to be exhibited by Krishṇa, if Arjuna were killed; so is great strength to be put forth by thee, if Karna were slain. Why should Krishṇa withstand [our] army? and why shouldst not thou slay the [enemy's] host?" Salya then answers (1648 ff.) in the same words<sup>171</sup> which had formerly been assigned to him in vv. 1387-9: "I am pleased with thee, bestower of honour, since before the army thou declarest me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Karna," etc. This repetition of the same speech of Salya at the close of the episode regarding Mahādeva's conquest of the Asuras with Brahmā for his charioteer, and Paraśurāma's acquisition of celestial weapons, renders it probable, as I have already said, that this episode has been subsequently interpolated. As Salya had already consented, in vv. 1387 ff., to do duty as Karna's charioteer, it was quite unnecessary to detail at great length the legend of Brahmā and Mahādeva, which had been already briefly alluded to in verse 1330, and which is merely followed by a renewed expression of Salya's willingness to comply with the request of Karna and Duryodhana.

IV. In various parts of the Mahābhārata Krishṇa and Arjuna are singularly represented as having formerly existed in the persons of two rishis, Nārāyana and Nara, who always lived and acted together. A similar close union exists between the two heroes in the various transactions narrated in the great epic. Their earlier connection will appear from the following passages,<sup>172</sup> in which, however, these two rishis are always represented as possessed of supernatural or divine powers.

It is related in the Vana-parva (vv. 461 ff.) that Krishṇa, having gone with other friends of the Pāṇḍus to visit them after they had retired into the forest, expressed great indignation at the way in which they had been treated by Duryodhana and his party. Arjuna (one of the Pāṇḍus), with the view of soothing Krishṇa, recounts (vv. 471 ff.)

*prithivī-tale* | The repetition of this idea is an additional argument in proof of the probable interpolation of the passage between v. 1389 and v. 1648.

<sup>171</sup> The only difference of reading in the two passages is, that in the first line of the later passage the words *agre sainyasya mōñada*, "before the army, conferrer of honour," are substituted for *madhye sainyasya Kaurava*, "in the midst of the army, o Kaurava."

<sup>172</sup> See also the extract from the Drona-parva, translated above, p. 155.

his marvellous deeds in former births, his austorities, his slaughter of the Daityas and Dānavas (478), his various forms (480), his three strides as the son of Aditi (484),<sup>173</sup> and his destruction of various enemies (487 ff.) ; and then proceeds thus (vv. 496 ff.) :

*Yugānte sarvū-bhūtāni sanxipya Madhusūdana | ātmanaivātmasāt  
kṛitvā jagad āśīḥ parantapa | yugādau tara Vārshneya nābhi-padmād  
ajāyata | Brahmā churāchara-gurur yasyedaṁ sakalaṁ jagat | taṁ han-  
tum udyatau ghorau Dānavau Madhu-kaiṭabhaḥ | tuyor vyatikramāṁ  
dṛishṭvā kruddhasya bhurato Hareḥ | lalāṭaj jātarān Sambhuḥ śula-  
pāṇis trilochnaḥ | itthāṁ tār api deresau tach-chhurīra-samudbhavau |  
tan-niyoga-karār etār iti me Nārada 'bravīt | tathā Nārāyaṇa pura  
kratubhir bhūri-dariṇaiḥ | iṣṭavāṁs tvam mahāsatrām Krishṇa Chait-  
rarathe vane | naivam pūrve nāpare vā karishyanti kṛtāni vā | yāni  
karmāṇi dera tram bāla era mahābulāḥ | kṛitaīṇ Pundarīkāra Baladera-  
saḥāyavān | Kallusa-bhuvane chāpi brāhmaṇair nyavasaḥ saha | Vaiśan-  
pāyana uvācha | evam uktrā mahātmānam ātmā Krishṇasya Pāṇḍavaḥ |  
tūshṇīm āst tataḥ Pārtham ity uācha Janārddanaḥ | mamaiva tām  
tavaivāham ye madhyās taracī te | yās tvāṁ deshī su mām dreshī yas  
trām anu su mām anu | Naras tām asi durdharsha Harir Nārāyaṇo hy  
aham | kāle lokam imam prāptau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv rishi | ananyah  
Pārtha mattas traṁ trattaś chāham tathāira cha | nārayor antaram sak-  
yām redditum Bharatarshabha |*

“ ‘At the end of the mundane period (*yuga*), thou, o Madhusūdana, wexer of thy foes, having caused all created things to collapse, and by thyself made them subject to thyself, wast the world. At the commencement of the *yuga*, o Vārshneya (Krishṇa), Brahmā, the chief of things moveable and immovable, whose [is] all this world, sprang from the lotus issuing from thy navel. Two horrible Dānavas, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, were ready to slay him. From the forehead of Hari, who became incensed when he saw their transgression, was produced Sambhu (Mahādeva), wielding the trident, and three-eyed. Thus even those two lords of the gods (Brahmā and Mahādeva) are sprung from his (Krishṇa’s) body, and they execute his commands,—this Nārada declared to me. So, too, o Krishṇa, Nārāyaṇa, thou didst formerly celebrate a great sacrifice in the Chaitraratha forest, with oblations and many gifts. The ancients [have] not [done], nor shall those who are to

<sup>173</sup> See above, p. 115 ff.

come do, the deeds which thou didst, Pūndarīkāxa, even when a child, mighty in power, accompanied by Baladeva. And thou didst dwell with the Brāhmans in the abode of Kailāsa.' Having thus addressed that great being, the Pāṇḍava (Arjuna, who was) the soul of Krishna, became silent. Then Janārdana (Krishna) thus addressed the son of Prithā : 'Thou art mine, and I am thine; <sup>174</sup> those who are mine are thine also. He who hates thee hates me ; he who loves (*lit. follows*) thee loves me. (Thou, invincible hero, art Nara, and I am Hari Nārāyana : in due time we came into this world, the rishis Nara and Nārāyana. Thou, son of Prithā, art not different from me, nor, in like manner, I from thee ; no distinction can be conceived between us.)"

Again, it is related in the Vana-parva that, with the view of obtaining celestial weapons, Arjuna, at the suggestion of Indra (vv. 1513 ff.), went northward, to the top of the Himālaya, to see Mahādeva (vv. 1526 ff.). Arrived there, he performs austerity. The rishis, not knowing his object, are alarmed, and go to tell Mahādeva (vv. 1543 ff.), who assures them that there is no cause for apprehension, as Arjuna cherishes no ambitious designs. Mahādeva then takes his bow and arrows, and assuming the form of a Kirāta (barbarous mountaineer), approaches Arjuna (vv. 1551 ff.). At that moment a Dānava, in the form of a boar, is meditating an attack upon Arjuna, who prepares to shoot him with his arrows. The Kirāta desires Arjuna to allow him to shoot the Dānava, as he had been the first to take aim ; but Arjuna will not consent ; and they both shoot together, and kill the boar. Arjuna addresses the Kirāta, and complains that he had acted in an unsportsmanlike manner (*na hy esha mrigayā-dharmo yas twayā 'dya krito mayi*), and that he should therefore kill him. The Kirāta replies that he had aimed first, and had killed the Dānava, and would kill Arjuna also. Mahādeva, in the form of the Kirāta, and Arjuna then fight together (vv. 1582 ff.) with a succession of weapons, arrows, swords, trees, stones, etc., till at length Arjuna is squeezed by his opponent, and falls exhausted (v. 1613). He, however, revives, and worships his enemy, falling at his feet. Mahādeva expresses admiration of Arjuna's

<sup>174</sup> The mutual attachment of Nara and Nārāyana, or Arjuna and Krishna, may therefore be quoted as an Indian parallel to the renowned friendships which are already proverbial in the western world, viz., those of David and Jonathan, Pylades and Orestes, Damon and Pythias.

prowess, and promises to give him an irresistible weapon which he is fit to wield. The narrative then proceeds (vv. 1622 ff.): *Tato devam Mahādevam Giriśum śalapāṇinam | dadarśa Phālgunas tatra saha deryā mahādyutim | sa jānubhyām mahīm gatvā śirasā pranipatiya cha | prasādayāmāsa Ḫaram Pārthaḥ para-purañjayah | Arjuna uvācha | “Kapardin sarva-deveśa Bhaga-netra-nipātana | dera-dera Mahādeva nīla-grīra jaṭā-dhara | kāraṇānāñcha puramañ jāne trāñ Tryambakaṁ vibhum | devānāñcha gatīm deva trāt-prasūtam idāñ jagat | ajeyas trām tribhir lokaiḥ sa-derā-sura-mānushaiḥ | Sivāya Viṣhṇu-rūpāya Viṣhṇare Sīra-rūpiṇe | Daxayajña-vināśaya Ḫari-Rudrāya vai namaḥ | lalāṭāxāya Sarvāya mīlhushe śūla-pāṇaye | pināku-goptre sūryāya mārjālīyāya redhase | prasādaye tvām bhagavan sarva-bhūta-mahēśvara | gaṇeśāñ jagataḥ śambhuṁ lokā-kāraṇa-kāraṇam | pradhāna-purushātītam parām sūxmataram Ḫaram |*

“Then Phālguna (Arjuna) beheld the god Mahādeva, Giriśa, bearer of the trident, resplendent, together with his goddess. Falling on the ground on his knees, and bowing his head, the son of Prīthā, conqueror of hostile cities, propitiated Hara (Mahādeva) in these words : ‘God with the braided hair, lord of all the gods, extinguisher of Bhaga’s eyes, god of gods, Mahādeva (the great god), blue-necked, wearer of matted hair, I know thee to be of causes the supreme, Tryambaka, the pervading, the refuge of the gods. From thee this world has been produced. Thou art invincible by the three worlds, including the gods, Asuras and men. Adoration be to Siva in the form of Viṣhṇu, to Viṣhṇu in the form of Siva, to the destroyer of Daxa’s sacrifice, to Hari-Rudra, to him with the frontal eye, to Sarva, the beneficent, the wielder of the trident, the bearer of the bow, the sun, the cat, the disposer. I propitiate thee, divine lord of all creatures, lord of troops, benefactor of the world, cause of the causes of the world (*i.e.*, ultimate creator of the immediate creators), who transcendent Pradhāna and Purusha (matter and spirit), the supreme, most subtle, Hara.”

Mahādeva then embraces Arjuna, and says to him :

1637 ff.—*Deradeva uvācha | Naras trām pūrvā-dehe rai Nārāyanā-sahāyavān | Badaryām taptravān ugrañ tapo varshāyutān bahūn | tvayi vā pāramāñ tejo Viṣhṇau vā purushottame | yurābhīyām puruṣāgryābhīyām tejasā dhāryyyate jagat | Sakrābhiseke sumahad dhanur jalada-niḥsvanam | pragṛihya dānavāḥ śāstās tvayā Krishṇena cha prabho*

*ityādi* | “Thou wast Nara in a former body, and with Nārāyana for thy companion, didst perform dreadful austerity at Badari for many myriads of years. Either in thee is the highest power, or in Vishṇu the supreme Purusha. By you twain, the chief of men (or Purushas), through your power, the world is upheld. At the inauguration of Śakra (Indra), the Dānavas were chastised by thee and Krishṇa, when thou hadst grasped a great bow resounding like the clouds.”

Mahādeva then offers Arjuna the choice of a boon. Arjuna asks the Pāśupata weapon (v. 1643) which Mahādeva gives him (v. 1650), though he cautions him against discharging it rashly, as it might destroy the whole world. Arjuna accordingly receives the weapon (v. 1656).

Again, in the Udyoga-parva (vv. 1917 ff.) it is related that Bhīshma informed Duryodhana that on one occasion the gods of different classes came to Brahmā, and the narrative then proceeds (vv. 1920 ff.):

*Namaskṛityopajagmus te loka-riddham Pitāmahaḥ parivāryya cha  
viśveśam paryāsata divaukasah | teṣām manascha tejaśchāpy ādadānā  
ivaujasū | pūra-a-devau ryatikrāntau Nara-Nārāyanār rishī | Vṛihaspati  
tu paprachha Brahmānaṁ kāv imār iti | bhavantām nopaliskheto tau nah  
śāṁsa Pitāmaha | Brahmā urācha | yār etau pṛithuriṁ dyāñcha bhāṣa-  
yantau tapasi inau | jīalantau rochamanau cha ryāpūśitau (nau?) mahō-  
balau | Nara-Nārāyanōv etau lokāl lokaṁ samāsthitaū | ūrjitau seena  
tapasā mahāsattra-parākramau | etau hi karmaṇā lokaṁ nandayāmāsatut  
dhruram | dridhā-bhātāu mahā-praśnāu viddhi brahmaṇ parantapau |  
asurānām vināśaya dera-gandharva-pūjitaū | Vaīśampāyana urācha |  
jagāma Śukras tach chhrutrā yatra tau tepatas tapaḥ | sārddhaṁ dera-  
ganaiḥ sarrair Vṛihaspati-purogamaiḥ | tadā devāsure yuddhe bhaye jāte  
divaukarām | ayāchata mahātnānau Nara-Nārāyanāu varam | tāv abrū-  
tām vriñiśreti tadā Bharata-sattama | athaitāv abravīch chhakraḥ  
sahyām nah kriyatām iti | tatas tau Sakram abrūtām karishyāro yad  
iḥhasi | tābhyañcha sahitāḥ Sakro vijigye daitya-dānarān | Nara Indrasya  
saṅgrāme hatiā śatrūn parantapah | Paulomān Kālakañjāṁścha sahaerāni  
śatāni cha | esha bhrānte rathe tishṭhan bhallenāpāharach ohhiraḥ |  
Jambhasya grasaṁnasya tadā hy Arjunam āhave | esha pāre samudrasya  
Hiranyapuram ārujat | jītvā shashṭiṁ sahasrāni Nirātakavachān rāne |  
esha devān sahendrena jītvā para-purañjayāḥ | atarpayad mahābūhur  
Arjuno Jātavedasam | Nārāyanas tathaivātra bhūyaśo 'nyān jaghāna ha |*

*evam etau mahā-vīryyau tau paśyata samāgatau | Vāsudeva-rjunau vīrau  
 samavetau mahārathau | Nara-Nārāyanau derau pūrva-devāv iti śrutiḥ |  
 ajeyau mānusho loka sendrair api surāsuraiḥ | esha Nārāyanāḥ Krishṇāḥ  
 Phālgunaś oha Naraḥ smritāḥ | Nārāyaṇo Naraś chaira satvram ekaṁ  
 dvidhā-kritam | etau hi karmanā lokān aśnuvāte 'xayān dhruvān | tatra  
 tatraiva jāyete yuddha-kale punaḥ punaḥ | tasmāt kurmaira karttavyam iti  
 hovācha Nāraduḥ | etad hi sarvam āchashṭa Vrishṇi-chakrasya veda-vit |  
 ṣaṅkha-chakra-gadā-hastam yadā draṣyasi Keśavam | paryādudānaṁ  
 chāstrāṇi bhīma-dhanvānam•Irjunam | sanātanau mahātmānau krishṇāv  
 eka-rathe sthitau | Duryodhana tadā tātu smarttāsi rachanam mama |*

" Doing obeisance, the gods approached the Progenitor, the chief (or ancient) of the worlds; and encompassing, they sat around the lord of all. The two ancient and powerful gods, the rishis Nara and Nārāyana, deprived them, as it were, of thought and of strength by their splendour. Vrihaspati enquired of Brahmā, ' Tell us, Progenitor, who these two are who do not approach thee.' Brahmā said: ' These devotees of mighty strength, burning and shining, who sit pervading and illuminating the earth and the sky, these are Nara and Nārāyana, who have travelled from world to world, strong by their own austerity, of great dignity and valour. These two have perpetually gladdened the world by their deeds. Know, o Priest, that these, destroyers of their foes, of great intelligence, adored of gods and Gandharvas, have become twain for the destruction of the Asuras.' Having heard this, Indra, accompanied by all the hosts of gods, headed by Vrihaspati, went to the place where these two devotees were performing austerity. Alarm having been at that time excited among the celestials by a war between the gods and Asuras, he (Indra) begged of the great Nara and Nārāyana a boon. They replied, ' Choose.' Then Indra said, ' Let us be assisted.' They answered Indra, ' We will do what thou desirest.' And with their assistance Indra conquered the Daityas and Dānavas. Nara, the vexer of foes, having slain in battle the enemies of Indra, thousands and hundreds of Paulomas and Kālakanjas,—he, standing in a whirling chariot, cut off the head of Jambha,<sup>175</sup> who was swallowing up Arjuna in battle. . He demolished Hiranyapura (or the city of gold), on the other side of the ocean, having slain in battle sixty

<sup>175</sup> The name of a demon. It will occur again below.

thousand Nivātakavachas. The large-armed Arjuna, conqueror of hostile cities, having, along with Indra, overcome the gods, satiated Jātavedas (Agni,) [with his oblations]. In like manner Nārāyana slew many others. Thus behold those twain arrived—those twain who are of so great strength, Vāsudeva and Arjuna, united together, riders on great cars, Nara and Nārāyana, the deities, the ancient deities, as it is reported, invincible in the world of mortals even by Indra and the other gods and Asuras. This Nārāyana is Krishna, and Nara is called Phālguna (Arjuna). Nārāyana and Nara are one being, divided into twain. These two with their operation pervade the undecaying and perpetual worlds. They are born in different places at the time of battle again and again. Wherefore Nārada said that works are to be performed. All this he (Nārada) who knew the Veda said to the army of the Vrishnis. When thou shalt see Keśava (Krishna) with his shell, discus and club, and Arjuna with the dreadful bow, assuming his arms, these two eternal and glorious beings, of dark complexion, mounted on one car,—then, dear Duryodhana, thou shalt remember my words." (Compare the same warning given in p. 182.)

It is narrated in another part of the same Udyoga-parva (vv. 3459-3488) that, in order to persuade the Kurus to adopt moderate counsels by shewing the great power of Arjuna and Krishna, Paraśurama told them another story about the two rishis Nara and Nārāyana. There was formerly, he says, an universal sovereign named Dambhodbhava, who had an overweening conceit of his own prowess. Being told by his independent Brāhmans that there were two ascetics whom he could not match, viz., Nara and Nārāyana, he proceeded with his army to the mountain Gandhamādana, where he found the emaciated saints, and challenged them to fight. They tried to put him off by saying that they were divested of all earthly passions, and lived in an atmosphere of peace. Dambhodbhava, however, insisted on fighting, when Nara took a handful of straws, and defied him. With these arms he neutralized all the arrows of Dambhodbhava's host, and as the straws whitened all the air, and penetrated into the eyes, ears, and noses of the assailants, Dambhodbhava was soon forced to fall at Nara's feet, and sue for peace. Being admonished by his conqueror to be more humble in future, he departed homeward, and ever after led a righteous life.

The next passage on the same subject is from the Drona-parva, vv. 419 ff. :

*Arjunah Keśavasyātmā Krishṇo 'py ātmā Kiriṭinah | Arjune vijayo  
nityaṁ Krishṇe kirttiścha śāśrati | sarveshv api cha lokeshu Bibhatsur  
aparajitah | prādhānyenaira bhūyishtham ameyāḥ Keśave gunāḥ | mohād  
Duryodhano Krishṇaṁ yo na rettīha Keśavam | mohito daiva-yogena  
mrityu-pāśa-puraskritah | na veda Krishṇaṁ Dāśārham Arjunaṁ chaira  
Pāṇḍaram | pūrva-devau mahātmānau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ubhau | ekāt-  
mānau dvidhā-bhātau dṛiṣyete mānushair bhuri | manasā 'pi hi durdharshau  
senām etām yaśavinau | nāśayetām ihechhantau mānushatrāch cha ne-  
ohhataḥ |*

"Arjuna is the soul of Keśava (Krishṇa), and Krishṇa too is the soul of Kiriṭin (Arjuna). Victory abides perpetually with Arjuna, and eternal renown with Krishṇa. And even in all worlds Arjuna is unconquered. Through his pre-eminence there are infinite virtues in abundance in Keśava. [The reason why] Duryodhana, through infatuation, does not know Krishṇa, is that, deluded by destiny, and involved in the bonds of death, he does not recognize Krishṇa the Dāśārha, and Arjuna the Pāṇḍava. The former gods, the two mighty ones, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, though, in reality, one in nature, are by men on earth seen separated into two. These illustrious [beings], who are invincible even in imagination, could, if they desired, destroy this army, but from their humanity they do not desire it."

Again, in the Bhīshma-parva, vv. 2932 ff., Bhīshma exhorts Duryodhana to come to terms with the Pāṇḍavas who, he says, are invincible in consequence of Krishṇa's protection. To illustrate Krishṇa's divine greatness Bhīshma goes on to tell a story of his being celebrated by Brahmā in a hymn (2944 ff.), and entreated to become incarnate in the tribe of the Yadus, for the establishment of righteousness, the destruction of the Daityas, and the support of the world (2964 f.). Vishṇu assents to Brahmā's request, and disappears. Being then asked by the attendant gods and rishis who it was that he had just worshipped, Brahmā replies as follows (2978, ff.):

*Yat tat param bhavishyañcha bharitā yachha yat param | bhūtātmā  
yah prabhuś chaiva Brahma yach cha param padum | tenāsmi krita-sam-  
vēdaḥ prasannena surarshabhāḥ | jagato 'nugrahārthāya yāchito me  
jagat-patiḥ | "mānushaṁ lokam ātishṭha Tāsudera iti śrutaḥ | asurānām*

*badhārthāya sambhava-sva mahitale | saṅgrāme nihatā ye te daitya-dānavarāxaśāḥ | te ime nrishu sambhūtā ghorā-rūpā mahābalāḥ | teshām bādhārtham bhagavān Nareṇu sahitō bali | mānushīm yonim āsthaya charishyasi mahī-tale” | Nara-Nārāyaṇau tau tu purāvāv rishi-sattamau | ajeyau hi rane yau tau sametair amarair api | sahitau mānushe loke sambhūtāv amita-dyutī | mūḍhāś te tau na jānanti Nara-Nārāyaṇav rishi | yasyāham ātmajo Brahmā sarasya jayataḥ patiḥ | Vāsudevo ‘nuneyo rāḥ sarra-loka-maheśvaraḥ | tathā manushyo ‘yam iti kadāchit sura-sattamāḥ | nāvajñeyo mahāvīryyaḥ śaṅkha-chakra-gudā-dharaḥ | etat paramakām guhyam etat paramakam padam | etat paramakam Brahma etat paramakam yaśaḥ | etat axaram wyaktam etat chhāśvatam eva cha | etat Purusha-saṁjño rai gīyate jñāyate na cha | etat paramakām teja etat paramakām sukham | etat paramakām satyam kīrtitam Viśvakarmanā | tasnuāt surāsuraiḥ sarvaiḥ sendraiś chāmita-vikramāḥ | nāvajñeyo Vāsudevo mānusho ‘yam iti prabho | yaś cha mānushu-mātro ‘yam iti brūyat a manda-dhīḥ | Hṛishīkeśam avajñānāt tam āhuḥ purushādhamam | tuṁ yoginam mahātmānam pravishṭam mānushīm tanum | yo ‘vamanyed Vāsuderam tam āhus tāmasām jaṇāḥ | derām charācharātmānam śrīrat-saṅkām suvṝchāsam | padma-nābhām na jānāti tam āhus tāmasām jaṇāḥ | kiriṭa-kaustubha-dharam mitrānām abhayaṇharam | avajñānā mahātmānam ghore tamasi majjati | . . . 3002: Vārito’si purā tāta muni-bhir bhāvitātmabhiḥ | mā gachha saṁyugām tena Vāsuderena dhanvinā | Pāṇḍavaiḥ sārdham iti yat tat tram mohād na budhyase | manye tvāṁ Rāxasām krūraṁ tathā chāsi tamo-vrītaḥ | tasnuād dvishai Govindam Pāṇḍavañcha Dhanañjayam | Nara-Nārāyaṇav devau ko ‘nyo dvishyād hi mānavaḥ |*

“That being who is supreme, who is to be, who shall be, and who [is] supreme, who is the soul of beings, and the lord, and who is Brahma, the supreme existence,—it is with him, propitious, that I have been conversing, o eminent deities. The lord of the world was entreated by me [in these words] to shew favour to the world: ‘Do thou who art known as Vāsudeva appear in the world of men: be born on earth for the slaughter of the Asuras. The Daityas, Dānavas, and Rāxasas who have been slain by thee in battle, they are these who have been born among men, horrible in form and great in might. To slay them, thou, the divine and mighty being, accompanied by Nara, having entered a human womb, wilt act upon earth.’ Those ancient and most excellent

of rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who are invincible in battle even by the united immortals, and who are of boundless splendour, have been born together in the world of men. Those fools do not know these rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. He of whom I, Brahmā, the master of the whole world, am the son, that Vāsudeva, the lord of all the worlds, is to be reverenced by you. Never, o most excellent deities, is the potent bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club, to be slighted as a mere man. This Being is the highest mystery, this the highest sphere, this the highest Brahma, this the highest renown. This Being is the undecaying, the undiscernible, the eternal. This Being which is called Purusha is hymned and is not known. This Being is celebrated by Viśvakarman as the highest power, as the highest joy, and as the highest truth. Wherefore Vāsudeva of boundless might is not to be contemned by the deities, including Indra, or by the Asuras, as a [mere] man. Whoever says that he is a mere man is dull of comprehension : from his contempt of Hṛishikeśa they call such a person the lowest of men. Whoever despises Vāsudeva, that great contemplator who has entered a human body,—men call that person one full of darkness. Whoever is ignorant of the glorious god whose self is the world, whose mark is the śrivatsa, from whose navel sprang the lotus,—men call that person full of darkness. Despising that great being who wears the diadem and jewel (*kaustubha*), who relieves his friends from fear, a man is plunged in horrible darkness.”<sup>176</sup>

Bhīṣma then says to Duryodhana (v. 3002) : “Thou wast formerly, my son, prohibited by the contemplative munis [who said] : ‘Engage not in battle with that archer Vāsudeva and the Pāṇḍavas.’ Since thou, through infatuation, regardest not this [prohibition], I look upon thee as a cruel Rūxasa, and thou art enveloped in darkness. It is for this reason that thou hatest Govinda (Krishna) and the Pāṇḍava Dhananjaya (Arjuna). For what other man could hate the gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa?”

The next passage is from the Sāntiparva, where Krishna, after describing many of his other forms and functions, is introduced as saying (vv. 13265 ff.) :

*Purā 'ham ātmajuh Partha prathitah kāraṇāntare | Dharmasya Kuru-*  
*sardula tato 'ham Dharmajah smṛitah | Nara-Nārāyanau pūrvam tapas*

<sup>176</sup> This passage seems to have a polemical object, and to be aimed at some contemporaries of the author, who did not assign so high a dignity to Krishna.

tepatur avyayam | dharma-yānaṁ samārūḍhau parvate Gandhamādane |  
 tat-kāla-samaye chaiva Daxa-yajño babhūra ha | na chaivākalpayad  
 bhāgaṁ Daxo Rudrasya Bhārata | tato Dadhīchi-rachanād Daxa-yajñam  
 apāharat | sasarjja śūlaṁ kopena prajvalantam muhur muhuḥ | tach  
 ohhūlam bhasmasāt kritvā Daxa-yajñam sa-vistaram | ārayoḥ sahasā  
 "gachhad Vādary-āśramam antikāt | vegena mahatā Pārtha patad Nārā-  
 yanorasi | tatas tat-tejasā "vishṭāḥ keśā Nārāyanasya ha | babhūrur muṇja-  
 varnās tu tato 'ham muṇja-keśarān | tachcha śūlaṁ vinirddhūtaṁ huṁ  
 kareṇa mahātmanā | jagāma Saṅkara-karaṇ Nārāyan-a-samāhatam |  
 atha Rudra upādhāvat tāv rishī tapasā 'nritau | tata enaṁ samudbhūtaṁ  
 kaṇṭhe jagrāha pāṇinā | Nārāyanāḥ sa risvātmā tenāsyā śiti-kaṇṭhatā |  
 atha Rudra-vighātārtham ishikām Nara uddharat | mantraiś cha saṁ-  
 yuyojāśu so 'bhavat paraśur mahūn | xiptaś cha sahasā tena khanḍanam  
 prāptavāṁs tada | tato 'haṁ ['yaṁ ?] Khaṇḍaparaśuḥ smṛitih paraśu-  
 khanḍanāt | . . . . tayoḥ saṁlagnayor yuddhe Rudra-Nārāyanātmanoḥ |  
 udvignāḥ sahasā kṛtsnāḥ sarva-lokās tada 'bhavun | nāgrīhnāt Pāvakaḥ  
 śubhram makheshu suhutaṁ haviḥ | redā na pratibhānti smv  
 rishīṇām bhāvitātmanām | devāḥ rajas tamaś chaiva samāvivisitūs  
 tada | vasudhā sañchakampe cha nabhaś cha vipaphāla ha | nishprabhāṇi  
 cha tejāṁsi Brahmā chairāsana-chyutah | agāch chhoshāṁ samudraś cha  
 Himavāṁś cha ryaśiryyata | tasminn eva samutpanne nimitti Pāṇḍu-  
 nandana | Brahmā vrīto deva-gaṇair rishibhiḥ cha mahātmabhiḥ | ājagām-  
 āśubhaṁ deśāṁ yatra yuddham avarttata | so 'ñjali-pragraho bhūtvā cha-  
 tur-vaktra nirukta-gaḥ | urācha vachanaṁ Rudraṁ "lokānām astu vai  
 śivam | nyasyāyudhāni viśreśa jagato hita-kāmyayā | yad axaram athā-  
 vyaktam iśāṁ lokasya bhāvanam | kūṭasthaṁ kartti-nirdvandvam akar-  
 tteti cha yaṁ viduḥ | vyakti-bhāva-gatasyāsyā ekā mūrttir iyaṁ śubhā |  
 Naro Nārāyanāś chaiva jātā Dharmā-kulodvahau | tapasā mahatā yu-  
 ktai deva-śreshṭhau mahā-vratau | aham prasāda-jas tasya kutaśchit kāra-  
 nāntare | tvāṁ chaiva krodha-jas tāta pūrva-sarge sānātanaḥ | mayā cha  
 sārddhaṁ varadaṁ vibudhaiś cha maharshibhiḥ | prasādayāśu lokānām  
 sāntir bhavatu mā chiram" | Brahmaṇā tv evam uktas tu Rudraḥ krodh-  
 agnim utsṛijan | prasādayāṁśa tato ḍevaṁ Nārāyanām prabhūm |  
 śaranyaṁ cha jagāmadyaṁ varenyāṁ varadam prabhūm | tato 'tha varado  
 devo jita-krodho jitendriyah | prītimān abhavat tatra Rudrena saha sañ-  
 gataḥ | rishibhir Brahmaṇā chaiva vibudhaiś cha supujītaḥ | uvācha  
 devam Iśānam iśāḥ sa jagato Hariḥ | "yas tvāṁ vetti sa mām vetti yas

*tvām anu sa mām anu | nāvayor antaraṁ kiñcid mā te bhūd buddhir  
anyathā | adya-prabhṛiti śrīvatsah śūlāṅko me bhavatv ayam | mama  
pāny-aṅkitāś chāpi śrīkanṭhas tvam bhavishyasi” | evaṁ laxaṇam utpā-  
dya parasparsa-kritām tada | sakhyām chaivātulaṁ kṛtvā Rudreṇa  
sahitāv rishiḥ | tapas tepatur avyagrāv viserijya tridivaukasah | esha te  
kathitah Pārtha Nārāyana-jayo mridhe | nāmāni chaiva guhyāni niruk-  
tūni cha Bhārata | rishibhiḥ kathitānīha yāni saṅkirttitāni te | evam  
bahu-vidhaiḥ rūpaiḥ charāmīha rasundharām | Brahma-lokañcha Kaunteya  
golokañcha sanātanam | mayā tvaṁ raxito yuddhe mahāntam prāptavān  
jayaṁ | yas tu te so 'grato yāti yuddhe sampraty upasthite | taṁ viddhi  
Rudraṁ Kaunteya deva-devam kaparddinam | kālaḥ sa eva kathitah  
krodhajetī mayā tava | nihatās tena vai pūrvam̄ hatavān asi yān ripūn |  
aprameya-prabhāvām̄ taṁ deva-devam Umā-patim | namasva devam pra-  
yato viśveśam̄ Haram axayam | ityādi |*

“Formerly, son of Prithā, most excellent of the Kurus, I was celebrated on another occasion as the son of Dharma : and hence I was called Dharmaja. In former times Nara and Nārāyana, mounted on the chariot of righteousness, performed an undecaying penance, on the mountain Gandhamādana. At that conjuncture of time, the sacrifice of Daxa took place. Daxa did not then divide any share for Rudra, who in consequence, at the suggestion of Dadhichi, swept away the sacrifice of Daxa, and in his anger launched the trident blazing forth repeatedly. That trident, after reducing to ashes the sacrifice of Daxa with all its appurtenances, suddenly approached our hermitage at Badari, and fell with great impetus on the breast of Nārāyana. The hair of Nārāyana penetrated by its power, became of the colour of grass (*muñja*) : from which I am called Muñjakeśavat. The trident being repelled by the great being with an imprecation went back into the hand of Sankara, when struck by Nārāyana. Rudra then ran up to those austere rishis, when Nārāyana, the soul of all things, with his hand seized him by the throat, when he had thus sprung up: hence his (Siva's) name of Sītikantha. Nara next drew out a straw for the slaughter of Rudra, and applied to it sacred texts, whereby it speedily became a huge axe. Hastily hurled by him, the axe (*paraśu*) became shattered into fragments (*khanḍana*), from which shattering of the axe, he is called Khanḍaparaśu.” Arjuna here interposes to ask who was victorious in this conflict; when Krishna proceeds: “When Rudra and

Nārāyana had become engaged in battle, all the worlds were instantly distressed; the fire did not receive the shining butter offered in the sacrifice; the vedas were not revealed to the contemplative rishis; [the qualities of] passion and darkness invaded the gods: the earth trembled, the sky became split; the luminaries lost their light; Brahma fell from his seat; the ocean became dried up, and the Himavat wasted. When this prodigy had arisen, Brahmā, surrounded by the host of gods, and the magnanimous rishis, came to that disastrous place where the battle was raging. The four-faced god (Brahmā), the penetrator of mysteries (?), with joined hands, addressed these words to Rudra: 'Let the welfare of the worlds be [consulted]; put down thy weapons, lord of all, from goodwill to the universe. This is one auspicious form of him, now in the state of manifestation,—of him whom [sages] know as the undecaying, undiscernible [essence], the lord, the creator of the world, the supreme, the doer, the indivisible, and not the doer,—[this I say is one form of him, viz.], Nara and Nārāyana, born in the race of Dharma, distinguished by intense austerity, eminent gods, great devotees. I was once on another occasion born as the offspring of his pleasure, and in a former creation thou didst spring from his anger,<sup>177</sup> an everlasting [being]. Together with me and the gods and rishis, do thou speedily propitiate this bestower of boons; let the worlds have tranquillity without delay.' Being thus addressed by Brahmā, Rudra, abandoning the fire of anger, then propitiated the god Nārāyana, the lord; and the god sought as his refuge the primeval, most excellent, boon-bestowing lord. Then the boon-bestowing god, who had conquered anger and overcome his senses, meeting Rudra, became gratified. Being worshipped by the rishis, by Brahmā, and by the gods, Hari, the lord of the world, addressed the god Īśāna (Mahādeva): 'He who knows thee knows me; he who loves (*lit. follows*) thee loves me.<sup>178</sup> There is no distinction between us: do not thou entertain any other idea. From this day forward let this śrivatsa of mine be the mark of the trident: and thou shalt be the śrikanṭha marked upon my hand.' Having thus created a mark devised by each for the other, and having joined an incomparable friendship with Rudra, the two rishis practised austerity undisturbed, after dismissing the gods. This, son of Prithā, which I

<sup>177</sup> See verses 13140 and 13145 of the Sāntiparva, quoted below.

<sup>178</sup> The same expression has already occurred above, p. 194.

have told thee, was the victory of Nārāyana in battle: and [my] mysterious and unexplained names, too,—those which are celebrated by the rishis, have been declared to thee. In this manner do I frequent this earth and the world of Brahmā, and the everlasting Goloka, in manifold forms. By me thou hast been preserved in battle, and hast gained a great victory. But know, son of Kunti, that he who goes before thee in the conflict which has now arrived, is Rudra the god of gods, with braided hair." He, Time, has been declared by me to thce to be the offspring of my anger. The enemies whom thou formerly slewest were slain by him. Devoutly reverence him the god of gods, the lord of Umā, of boundless power, Hara, the undecaying lord of all."

Again, in the Sāntiparva, Vaiśampayana tells Janamejaya how Nārada, after returning from Sveta Dvīpa, saw the two saints, Naru and Nārāyana (v. 13337) :

*Nipapāta cha khāt tūrṇam viśālām Vadarīm anu | tutalā sa dadṛiṣe  
derau purāṇār ṛishi-sattamau | tapaś charantau sumahad ātma-nishṭhan  
mahā-vratāu | trjasā'bhyaḍhikau sūryāt surva-loku-i irochanāt | śrīvatṣa-  
laxaṇau pūjyau jaṭā-maṇḍala-dhāriṇau | jāla-pāda-bhujau tau tu pādayos  
chukra-laxaṇau | ryūḍhoraskau dīrgha-bhujau tathā mushka-chatushkinau |  
shasti-dantāv ashṭa-duṣṭhītrau meghaṅgha-sadriṣa-sranau | śrāsyau prithu-  
lalāṭau cha subhrū su-hanu-nāśikau | ātāpatreṇa sadṛiṣe śirasi decayos  
tayoḥ | evaṁ-laxaṇa-sampannau mahā-purusha-sañjñitau | tau dṛiṣṭhrū  
Nārado hṛishṭas tābhyaṁ cha pratipūjitaḥ | srāgatenābhibhāshyāttha  
priṣṭhaś chānāmayām tathā | babhūvāntar-gata-matir nirīxya purushott-  
amau |*

" He descended rapidly from the sky to the spacious Badari. There he saw the ancient gods, the two most excellent rishis, performing severe penance, self-sustained, great devotees, in splendour surpassing the sun which illuminates all the worlds, bearing the śrīvatsa mark, adorable, wearing a circle of matted hair, web-footed and web-armed, with the mark of the discus on their feet, broad-chested, long-armed, with four testicles, sixty teeth and eight grinders, with voices sonorous as a host of clouds, with beautiful countenances, broad foreheads, handsome eyebrows, chins, and noses. The heads of those two gods resembled umbrellas. Beholding them, distinguished by such marks, and named the two great males, Nārada rejoicing, and saluted by them in return, welcomed, and questioned in regard to his health, became

absorbed in reflection, beholding those highest of persons." He then recollectod to have previously seen them in the Sveta Dvīpa. Nara and Nārāyaṇa next ask him if he had seen in the Sveta Dvīpa the supreme Spirit, their own highest substance (*ārayoḥ prakṛitiḥ parā*). He replies that he had ; and that now when he beheld them he beheld Him, as they were distinguished by all the same marks, in a manifested form, as Hari possessed in an invisible manner ; and that he had on that occasion beheld them at the side of the deity (vv. 13351 ff.: *Adyāpi chainam paśyāmi yurām paśyan sanātanau | yair laxanair upetāḥ sa Ḫarir aryakta-rūpa-dhṛik | tair laxanair upetāḥ hi ryakta-rūpa-dharau yurām | dṛishṭau yurām mayā tatra tasya derasya pārvataḥ |*) Some further conversation ensues ; and it is then related (v. 13397 f.) that Nārada remained a thousand years of the gods in their hermitage, worshipping the deity, and Nara and Nārāyaṇa.

V. In the following passage (which is commented upon by Lassen in his Indian Antiquities, i. 621 f., and note, p. 622<sup>179</sup>) Krishṇa is represented as possessed of extraordinary prowess and superhuman powers ; but he is not, unless it be in one or two places, represented as the supreme deity.

To shew how little prospect the Kurus had of vanquishing the Pandus, aided as the latter were by Krishṇa, Dhṛitarashtra gives an account of the exploits of the Yādava chief :

<sup>179</sup> His remarks are as follows — "The history of Krishṇa in the Mahābhārata does not describe his juvenile life with the cowherds, and his numerous adventures with their wives, which at a later period were especially noticed and celebrated. On the other hand victories over many kings and tribes are attributed to him, which possess no historical value, and are only important in so far as they represent him as a hero, and indicate that the Yādavas waged frequent wars with the tribes of ancient India. In a short enumeration of his feats (the passage quoted in the text), he is named Govinda, or the proprietor of cows, and it said of him that he grew up among the herds. None of the stories regarding him and the cowherd's wives are here mentioned ; but another is introduced which describes him as a protector of the herds, inasmuch as he strangled with his arms a Dānava which in the form of a bull slaughtered the cattle. His proper and oldest name as the son of Nanda was probably Govinda. There must also have been stories about him in which he was represented as a leader of cowherds, for according to the Mahābhārata he supplied to Duryodhana (by whom he had been solicited to assist him in the great battle) thousands of cowherds, who are called the *gopas* of Nārāyaṇa. These take no share in the battle, and are very seldom mentioned.—See Udyoga-parva, v. 130 ff.; and Drona-parva, vv. 3255 ff. where the Nārāyaṇas, the cowherds, are spoken of along with the Kambojas, etc., as having been conquered by Karna, etc. (*Nārāyaṇai cha gopālāḥ Kāmbojānāñcha ye gandāḥ | Karṇena vijitāḥ |*)

Drona-parva, 382.—*Dhṛitarāshtra uvācha | śrinu dīryāni karmāṇi  
Vasudevasya Sañjaya | kṛitavān yāni Govindo yathā nānyāḥ pumān  
kvachit | samvardhatā gopa-kule bālenāiva mahātmanā | vikhyāpitam  
balam bāhros trishu lokeshu Sañjaya | Uchchhaiśruras-tulya-balāṁ vāyu-  
regā-samāṁ jave | jaghāna Haya-rājānam Yamunā-vana-vāsinam | Dāna-  
vāṁ ghora-karmāṇam garām mṛityum ivotthitam | vriṣha-rūpa-dharam  
bālye bhujābhyaṁ nijaghāna ha | Pralambhaṁ Narakaṁ Jambham Piṭhaṁ  
vā 'pi mahāsuram | Muraṁ chāmara-saṅkāśam abadhit pushkarexanah |  
tathā Kāṁso mahātejā Jarāsandhena pālitah | vikramenāiva Krishnena  
saganah pātito ranē | Sunāmā rāṇa-rikrāntah samagrāxauhiṇī-patiḥ |  
Bhoja-rājasya madhya-stho bhrātā Kāṁsasya vīryavān | Baladeva-driti-  
yena Krishnenāmitra-ghātinā | tarasī samare daghdah sa-sainyah Sūra-  
sena-rāṭ | Durvāsā nāma vīprarshis tathā parama-kopanah | ārādhitaḥ  
sudāreṇa sa chasmāi pradadau rarān | tathā Gāndhāra-rājasya sutām  
vīrah svayaṁvaro | nirjitya prīthivī-pālān āvahat pushkarexanah |  
amṛishyamāṇa rājāno yasya jātyā hayā ira | rathe vairāhike yuktāḥ  
pratodena kṛita-vranah | Jarāsandham mahābāhum upāyena Janār-  
dhanah | pareṇa ghātayāmāsa samagrāxauhiṇī-patim | Chedi-rajān-  
cha rikrāntāṁ rāja-senā-patim balī | arghe virudamānañcha jaghāna  
paśu-vat tadā | Saubhaṁ daitya-purām vrastham Sālva-Śuptuṁ durā-  
sadam | samudra-kuxau rikramya pātayāmāsa Mādhavaḥ | . . . . .*

v. 400 : *Pravisya makarārāsām yādobhir abhisāṁvṛitam | jīgāya Varu-  
ṇām saṅkhye salilāntargatam purā | yudhi Pañchajanām hatra pātāla-  
tala-rāśinam | pāñchajanyaṁ Hrishikeso dīryām saṅkham arāplarūn |  
Khāṇḍave Pārtha-sahitas toshayitrā Hūtāśanam | āgneyam astraṁ dur-  
dharshaṁ chakrañ lebhe mahābalah | Vainateyām samāruhya trāsayile  
'marāratim | Mahendra-bharanād vīrah pārijātam upānayat | tachcha  
marshitarān Śakro jānaṁs tasya parākramam | rājñām chāpy ajitaṁ  
kañchit Krishneneha na śuśruma | yachcha tad mahad āścharyaṁ sabhāyām  
mama Sañjaya | kṛitavān Pundarīkāxah kas tad-anyā ihārhati | labdha-  
bhaktyā prasanno 'ham adrāxaṁ Krishnam iśvaram | tad me suviditām  
sarvam pratyaxam ira chāgamam | nāntām rikrama-yuktasya buddhyā  
yuktasya rā punah | karmāṇa śakyate gantuṁ Hrishikesasya Sañjaya |  
tathā Gadaś cha Śambaścha Pradyumino 'tha Vidūrathaḥ | . . . . .*

410 : *Ete 'nye balavantaś cha Vṛishwi-vīrāḥ prahāriṇah | kathañchit  
Pāñḍavāṇikām śrayeyuḥ samare sthitāḥ | āhūtā Vṛishni-vireṇa Keśavena  
mahātmanā | tataḥ saṁśayitaṁ sarvam bhared iti matir mama | nāgāyuta-*

*balo vīrah Kailāsa-sikharopamah | vana-mālī hali Rāmas tatra yatra  
Janārdanah | yam āhuḥ sarra-pitaram Vāsuderaṁ drijōtayah | apī vā hy  
esha Pāṇḍūnām yote yate'rthāya Sañjaya | sa yadā tāta sannahyet Pāṇḍa-  
vārthāya Sañjaya | na tadā pratisaṁyoddhā bharitā tasya kaśchana |  
yadi sma Kuravaḥ sarre jayeyur nāma Pāṇḍarān | Vārshneyo'rthāya  
teshām rai grihītyāt ūstraṁ uttamam | tatah sarvān nara-vyāghro hatvā  
nara-patiṁ rane | Kauravāṁś cha mahābhāhuḥ Kuntyai dadyāt sa medinīm |  
yasya yantā Hrishīkeśo yoddhā yasya Dhānājayah | rathasya tasya kah  
saṅkhye pratyaniko bhared rathah | na kenachid upāyena Kurūṇām dri-  
yale jayah | tu smād mo survam āchuxra yuthā yuddham urartata |<sup>180</sup>*

" Dhṛitarāshṭra says : Hear, Sanjaya, the divine acts of Krishna, which Govinda performed, such as no other person [ever did]. While he was growing up as a high-souled boy in the tribe of cowherds, the force of his arms was rendered famous by him in the three worlds. He slew the king of the Hayas [horses], dwelling in the woods of the Yamunā, equal to Uccaihṛīras (the horse of Indra) in strength, and to the wind in speed. In his childhood he destroyed with his arms the Dānava, a door of direful deeds, who arose, as it were, the Death of cattle, bearing the form of a bull. The lotus-eyed [hero] slew Pra-lambha, Naruka, Jambha and Piṭha, the great Asura, and Mura, resembling the immortals. So, too, Kansa, of great force, supported by Jarāsandha, was, with his hosts, overthrown in battle by Krishna, through his valour. Sunāman, valiant in fight, the lord of a complete army, the middle brother of Kansa, king of the Bhojas, the bold and heroic prince of the Surasenas, was, with his army, burnt up in battle by Krishna, destroyer of his enemies, seconded by Balarāma. And a Brāhmaṇa rishi called Durvāsas, extremely irascible, was worshipped by him (Krishna), together with his wife, and bestowed on him boons.<sup>181</sup> So, too, the lotus-eyed hero, having conquered the princes, carried off the daughter of the king of the Gandhāras at the *swayamvara* :<sup>182</sup> and the princes, being unable to endure him, were

<sup>180</sup> Towards the close of Dhṛitarāshṭra's speech the following verse of a proverbial character occurs.—v. 429 : *Pukvāṇām hi badhe Sylā vajrīyanti triṇāny api* | "When men are ripe for slaughter, straws smite like thunderbolts."

<sup>181</sup> See the Anusāsana-parva, vv. 7402 ff., referred to above, p. 165.

<sup>182</sup> Lassen, Ind., Art. i, 622, note, thinks this story has probably some foundation in fact, and adds that Nagnajit, king of the Gandhāras, is mentioned in the Ait. Br., vii. 34. See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 46, and the Second Part of this work, p. 365 f.

yoked like natural horses to the bridal car, and wounded with the goad. Janārdana, by an excellent device, caused Jarāsandha, the large-armed, lord of a complete army, to be slain.<sup>183</sup> This hero also slaughtered like a beast the king of the Chedis (see above, p. 179), the valiant lord of a royal army, who quarrelled regarding the offering [made to Krishṇa]. Assailing Saubha, the self-supporting (*i.e.* flying) city of the Daityas, on the shore of the ocean, protected by the Sālva (king), and difficult to destroy, Mādhava overthrew it." [Then follows a list of numerous tribes, Angas, Bangas, etc. etc., conquered by Krishṇa.] . . . . . v. 400: "Entering of old the ocean, filled with marine monsters, he overcame in battle Varuna, who had sunk within the waters. Having slain in battle Panchajana dwelling in Pātāla, Hṛishīkeśa obtained the divine shell Pāñchajanya. Having, along with Pārtha, (the son of Prithū, Arjuna) propitiated Agni in Khāndava, this mighty being acquired the irresistible fiery weapon, the discus.<sup>184</sup> Mounted on Garuḍa, and terrifying Amarāvatī (the city of Indra), this hero brought back the pūrijāta from the abode of the elder Indra.<sup>185</sup> And to this Sakra submitted, knowing his prowess. And we have not heard of any of the kings who has not been conquered by Krishṇa. Then who but Pundarīkāxa could have performed that very wonderful act which he did in my assembly? Through the faith which I had attained, I beheld Krishṇa, the lord, with delight; of all that I was well assured, and I obtained as it were a distinct vision. No one can by act attain to the end of Hṛishīkeśa who is distinguished by valour as well as by wisdom. And Gada also, and Sūmba, and Pradyumna, and Vidūratha, [here follows a list of other warriors] these, and other powerful martial heroes of the Vrishni tribe, summoned by the great Vrishni hero, Kesa, will join in some way the host of the Pandavas, and stand up in the battle. Hence, in my opinion, everything will be doubtful. Wherever Janārdana is, there is also the hero [Bala]rāma, in strength equal to ten thousand elephants, resembling the summit of Kailāsa, wearing a garland of wild flowers, and carrying a plough. Or Vāsudeva, he whom the Brahmans call the universal father, will fight for the Pandavas. When he shall arm [for battle] on their behalf, no one shall then

<sup>183</sup> See the story as told in the Sabhā-parva, vv. 848 ff.

<sup>184</sup> Compare note 150, p. 159; and see Ādi-parva, v. 8196, where the story is told.

<sup>185</sup> See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāna, pp. 585 ff.

stand up to encounter him. Even if all the Kurus were to overcome the Pandavas, Vārshneya (Krishna) would on behalf of the latter seize his pre-eminent weapon; and having then slain all the princes and the Kauravas in battle, this great-armed and lion-like man (*lit.* man-tiger) would bestow the earth on Kunti. What chariot can stand in the conflict against that chariot of which Hṛishikesa is the driver, and on which Dhananjaya (Arjuna) fights? By no contrivance does the victory of the Kurus appear [to be possible]. Give me therefore a full account of the way in which the battle proceeded."

Then follow the verses which have been already quoted above in p. 199, *Arjunah Keśavasyātmā*, "Arjuna is the soul of Keśava," etc.

Another account of Krishna's exploits is given in the Udyoga-parva. It is there related that Sanjaya had been sent on an embassy<sup>\*</sup> to the Pāndus, and that on his return he reported to the chiefs of the Kurus the defiant answer which Arjuna had given. The latter chief prophesied that Duryodhana would certainly repent having engaged in conflict with himself and Krishna (vv. 1863 ff.) He then enlarges as follows on the prowess of Krishna (vv. 1875 ff.):

Pūrvāḥne mām kṛīta-japyaṁ kadāchid vipraḥ prorāchodakāntे ma-  
nojñām | karītavyaṁ te dushkaraṁ karma Pārtha yodhavyaṁ te śatrubhiḥ  
Saryasāchin | Indro rā te harimān vajra-hastāḥ purastād yātu samare 'rīn  
rinighnan | Sugrīra-yuktena rathena rā te paścāt Kṛishṇo raxatu Vāsu-  
derāḥ | ravre chāhaṁ vajra-hastād Mahendrād asmin yuddhe Vāsudevaṁ  
sahāyam | sa me labdho dasyu-badhāya Kṛishṇo manye chaitad vilitam  
daivatair me | sa bāhubhyāṁ sāgaram uttitirshed mahodadhiṁ salilasyā-  
prameyam | tejasvinām Kṛishṇam atyanta-śūraṁ yuddhena yo Vāsudevaṁ  
jigīshet | giriṁ sa icchet tu talena bhellum silochayam śvetam atipramāṇam |  
tasvaira pāṇih sa-nakho viśiryed na chāpi kūñchit sa gires tu kuryāt | agnim  
samiddham śamayed bhujābhyaṁ chandrañcha sūryañcha nivārayeta |  
hareḥ devānām amṛitam prasahya yuddhena yo Vāsudevaṁ jigīshet | yo  
Rukmiṇīm eka-rathena Bhojān utsādya rājñāḥ samare prasahya | uvāha  
bhāryām yaśasā jralantīm yusyām jajñe Raukmineyo mahātmā | ayam  
Gāndhārāṁs tarasā sampramatya jitvā putrān Nagnajitaḥ samagrām |  
baddham mumocha vinadantam prasahya Sudarśanām vai devatānām  
lalātam | ayam kapāṭena jaghāna Pāṇḍyaṁ tathā Kalingān Dantakūre  
mamarda | anena dagdhā varsha-pūgān anāthā Vārāṇasi nagari sam-  
babhūva | ayam sma yuddhe manyate 'nyair ajeyam tam Ekalavyam

nāma Nishāda-rājam | vegeneva śailam abhīhatya Jambhāḥ śete sa  
*Kriṣṇena hataḥ parāsuḥ* | tathograsenasya sutāṁ sudushṭam *Vṛiṣṇy-*  
*Andhakānām madhya-gutāṁ sabhā-stham* | apātayad *Balañvara-dvitiyo*  
*hatvā dadau chograsenāya rājyam* | ayaṁ Saubhaṁ yodhayāṁśa svastham  
*vibhishanām māyayā Sūlva-rājam* | *Saubha-dvāri pratyagrihnāt śatagh-*  
*nīm dorbhyām ka enāṁ risaheta martyaḥ* | *Prāgjyotishaṁ nāma babhūva*  
*durgam purāṁ ghoram Asurānām asahyam* | *mahābalo Narakas tatru*  
*Bhaumo jahārādityā mani-kundale śubhe* | *na tam devāḥ saha Śukrena*  
*śekuḥ samāgatā yudhi mītyor abhitāḥ* | *dṛiṣṭrā cha tam vikramāṁ*  
*Keśarasya bulaṁ tathaivāstram avāraṇīyam* | *jānanto 'syā prakritīm*  
*Keśavasya nyayojayan dasyu-badhāya Kriṣṇam* | *sa tat karma pratiśu-*  
*śrāra dushkaram aiśrāryavān siddhishu Vāsudevaḥ* | *nirmochane shaṭ*  
*sahasrāni hatvā sañchhidya pāśān sahasā xurāntān* | *Muraṁ hatvā vini-*  
*hatyaugha-raxo nirmochanām chāpi jugāma iṛrah* | *tatraiva tenāya*  
*babhūva yuddham mahābulenātibalaśya Viṣṇoḥ* | *śete sa Kriṣṇena hataḥ*  
*parāsur vāteneva mathitāḥ karṇikāraḥ* | *āhṛitya Kriṣṇo mani-kundale*  
*te hatrā cha Bhaumānī Narakam Murañcha* | *śīyā vrito yaśasā chaira*  
*vidvān pratyūjagāmāpratima-prabhārāḥ* | *asmai varān adādāṁs tatra*  
*devā dṛiṣṭrā bhīmaṁ karma kritaṁ rāne tat* | “śramaś cha te yudhya-  
*mānasya na syād ākāśe chāpsu cha te kramāḥ syāt* | *śasthāni gātre na*  
*cha te krameraṇu”* ity eva Kriṣṇāḥ cha tataḥ kṛitārthaḥ | evāṁ-rūpe  
*Vāsudeve 'prameye mahābale guṇa-sampat sadaira* | *tam asahyāṁ Viṣṇuṁ*  
*ananta-vīryam āśāṁśate Dhārttarāshṭro vijetum* |

“Once, in the forenoon, when I had muttered my prayers, and concluded my ablutions, a Brahman addressed to me these pleasant words : ‘Son of Prithū, thou hast a difficult work to do; thou hast to fight with thine enemies, o Savyasāchin (a name of Arjuna). Shall Indra with his steeds, and wielding the thunderbolt, go before thee in battle, smiting thy foes, or shall Kriṣṇa the son of Vāsudeva, with his car, to which Sugrīva (one of Kriṣṇa’s horses) is yoked, protect thee from behind?’ I elected to have in the combat Vāsudeva for an ally, rather than Mahendra, wielding the thunderbolt. Kriṣṇa was obtained by me as a helper in slaying the Dasyus, and I think that this was effected for me by the gods. That man will try to stretch over the ocean, the immeasurable receptacle of waters, with his arms, who thinks to conquer in battle the glorious and eminently heroic Kriṣṇa. If any one should attempt to split with his hand the white mountain (viz. Kailāsa), a vast

pile of rocks, his hand and nails would be worn away, and he could produce no effect upon the mountain. That man would extinguish blazing fire with his arms, would stop the moon and sun, would daringly plunder the ambrosia of the gods, who should think to conquer Vāsudeva in battle,—[Vāsudeva] who having boldly destroyed in battle the Bhoja kings, carried off on the same car with himself Rukmī and his bride, shining in renown, of whom the great Raukmineya was born. He (Krishna) having by his prowess destroyed the Gāndhāras, having conquered all the sons of Nagnajit, forcibly released [king] Sudarśana, renowned even among the gods, who had been bound [by the sons of Nagnajit], and was making an outcry.<sup>166</sup> He slew Pūndya with the fragment of a door, and crushed the Kalingas in Dantakūra. Through him the city of Benares which had been burnt, and remained for many years defenceless, sprang into existence. He attacked in battle Ekalavya the king of the Nishādas, who was invincible by others. He, [like?] Jambha, sleeps, bereft of life by Krishna, who smote him furiously with a rock. Seconded by Baladeva, he also prostrated [Sunāman] the wicked son of Ugrasena standing in the midst, in the assembly, of the Vrishnis and Andhakas, and having slain him, gave the kingdom to Ugrasena. He conquered the self-supporting (*i.e.* flying) [city of] Saubha, and the king of the Sāervas, terrible from his magical powers, and arrested with his arms at the gate of Saubha the weapon *Sataghni*:<sup>167</sup> what mortal can assail him? There was an impregnable, formidable, and unassailable city of the Asuras, called Prāgjyotisha. Thither the powerful Naraka son of the Earth had carried off the beautiful jewelled earrings of Aditi.<sup>168</sup> The

<sup>166</sup> One of the commentators says that Sudarśana was a certain king, and explains *devatānām latām* by *devatānām madhye prasastam* “approved among the gods.” Another commentator says *latām* = *siromanī*, “a head-jewel or ornament.” The Bhāgavata Purāna, x. 34, 8 ff., tells a story of a Vidyādhara also named Sudarśana, who in consequence of a curse had been changed into a serpent, but who renewed his former shape on being touched by Krishna’s foot.

<sup>167</sup> A weapon generally supposed to be a species of firearms, or a rocket, but also described as a stone set round with iron spikes.—Wilson’s Dictionary. See the end of note 162, page 180, above. A double account is given of the destruction of the flying city of Saubha and of its king in the *Vana-parva*. The story is first of all briefly given in vv. 615–635; and afterwards very diffusely in vv. 636–889. Krishna splits the city with his discus Sudarśana (v. 883) and kills the king of the Sāervas himself (v. 885).—See Lassen’s Indian Antiquities, p. 615.

<sup>168</sup> The story of this demon is told in the Vishnu Purāna.—See Wilson’s translation, pp. 581 ff.

assembled gods aided by Indra, fearless of death, could not [overcome] him in battle. But perceiving the valour, the strength, and the irresistible weapons of Keśava, and knowing his nature, they appointed him (Krishṇa) to slay the Dasyu. Vāsudeva, possessing divine power in his magical endowments (*aiśvaryarāṇi siddhishu*), undertook that difficult task. Having in the rescue [or in the city Nirmochana] slain six thousand [Asuras], and having violently cut asunder the nooses sharp as razors,<sup>189</sup> having slain Mura and the Rāxasa Ogha, he proceeded to the rescue. There Vishṇu of surpassing strength had a fight with the powerful foe; who, smitten by Krishṇa, sleeps lifeless, like a *karnikāra*<sup>190</sup> tree overthrown by the wind. Having captured the jewelled earrings and slain Naraka, son of the Earth, and Mura, the wise Krishṇa of incomparable power, returned surrounded by splendour and renown. Then the gods, having seen that terrible work which he had achieved in battle, conferred upon him these boons: ‘Let no fatigue oppress thee when thou art fighting; let thy step traverse the sky and the waters; and let no weapons make any impression on thy body.’ With these boons Krishṇa was satisfied. In Vāsudeva, who is of such a character, immeasurable, and of mighty strength, there is an abundance of virtues. It is this irresistible Vishṇu, of infinite power, whom the son of Dhṛitarashtra hopes to overcome.”

It will be noticed that Krishṇa is here represented as receiving various boons from the gods. It would appear, therefore, as if the author of this passage could not have regarded him as one with the supreme deity.

The following passage from the Vana-parva describes Krishṇa as a great devotee, as a performer of sacrifices, as a destroyer of hostile men and demons (referring to some of the legends already alluded to); and also in some places identifies him with the supreme spirit. Krishṇa, we are told, had gone with some of his clansmen to visit

<sup>189</sup> These nooses are also mentioned in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (see Wilson's translation) and in the *Harivamśa*, v. 6833. See Langlois's note to his French translation, p. 521, in which he refers to the Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. p. 278 ff. In that article an account is given of the Phānsigars or Thugs, who murder their victims by throwing a noose. The writer refers in illustration to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, i. 29, 9 (Schlegel's edition), where three kinds of nooses are mentioned, the *dharma-pāśa*, the *kāla-pāśa*, and the *Vāruna-pāśa*. In the *Vana-parva*, 879, the epithet *xurānta*, sharp as a razor, is applied to Krishṇa's discus.

<sup>190</sup> *Pterospermum acerifolium*.

the Pāṇḍavas in the forest; and as he shewed himself greatly incensed at the conduct of the Kurus, Arjuna, to appease him, related his exploits in former births (vv. 471 ff.): *Arjuna urācha | Daśa-varsha-sahasrāṇi yatra Śreyangriho munih | vyacharas tvam purā Kṛishna panvate Gandhamādane | daśa-varsha-sahasrāṇi daśa-varsha-śatāni cha | pushkaresho avasaḥ Kṛishna tvam apo bhaxayan purā | ūrdhva-bāhur viśālāyām Vadaryam Madhusūdana | atishṭha eka-pādena rāyu-bhaxah śatam samāḥ | arakṛishṇottarāsaṅgah kriṣṇo dhamani-santataḥ | āsiḥ Kṛishna Sarasvatyām satre drādaśa rārshike | Prabhāsum apy athāsadya tīrtham puṇya-janochitam | tathā Kṛishna mahātejā diryām varsha-sahasrikam (sic) | atishṭhas tvam yathaikena pādena niyama-sthitāḥ | loka-prarūtti-helos tvam iti Vāyo mamābravīt | cetrā-jñāḥ sarra-bhūtā-nām ādir antaḥ cha Keśara | nidhānam tapasām Kṛishna yajñas tvām cha sanātanaḥ | nihatya Narakam Bhaumam āhṛitya mani-kundale | prathamotpāditām Kṛishna medhyam aśram arāśrijah | kṛitrā tat karma lokānām rishabhaḥ sarra-loka-jit | abadhīs tvām rāne sarvān samelān daitya-dānavān | tataḥ sarreśvaratraṁ cha sampradāya Sūchī-pateḥ | mānuśeshu mahābāho prādurbhūto 'stī Keśara | sa teām Nārāyaṇo bhūtrā Hariḥ āsiḥ parantapa | Brahmā Somaś cha Sūryaś cha Dharmo Dhātā Yamo 'nulah | Vāyur Vaiśravaṇo Rudraḥ kālah kham prīthirī diśah | ajāś charāchara-guruḥ srashṭā tvam purushottama | parāyanām deram ūrdhram kratubhir Madhusūdana | ayajo bhūri-tejā rai Kṛishna Chaitrarathke rane | śatām śatā-sahasrāṇi sucarnasya Janārdana | ekai-kasmīm tada yajñe parīpūrṇāni bhāgasah | . . . . Sūditā Mauravāḥ pāśā Nisunda-Narakau hatau | kṛituḥ xemāḥ punaḥ panthāḥ puram Prāgjyotisham prati | Jārūthyām Āhvītiḥ Krāthāḥ Siśupalo janaiḥ saha | Jarāsandhaś cha Śaivyaś cha Satadhanvā cha nirjītaḥ | tathā Purjanya-ghoshena ratheṇādilya-rarchasā | avāpsir mahishim bhojyām rāne nirjītya Rukminīnam | Indrayumno hataḥ kopād Yavanaś cha Kaserumān | hataḥ Saubha-patiḥ Sálvas trayā Saubham cha pātitam | Irāvatyām hato Bhojaḥ Kārttavīrya-samo yudhi | Gopatis Tūlaketuś cha trayā rinihatāv ubhau | tām cha Bhogavatīm puṇyam Rishikām tām Janārdana | Drārakām ātmasāt kṛitrā samudraṁ gamayishyasi | na krodho na cha mātsaryaṁ nānṛitam Madhusūdana | tvayi tishṭhati Dāśārha na nrīśāṁsyaṁ kuto 'nrījuḥ | āśinām chaitya-madhye tvām dīpyamānam eva-tejasā | āgamya rishayaḥ sarve 'yāchantābhayam Achyuta |*

Vana-parva, 471 : "Formerly, Kṛishna, thou didst roam for ten

thousand years on the mountain Gandhamādana, where the muni Sāyangṛīha was. Formerly thou didst dwell ten thousand and ten hundred years in ponds, subsisting upon water. Thou didst stand on the spacious Badari a hundred years with thy arms aloft, on one foot, subsisting on air, with thy outer garment thrown off, emaciated, with thy veins swollen. Going also to Prabhāsa, a sacred spot fit for holy men, thou stoodest, glorious Krishṇa, for a thousand years of the gods, on one foot, practising self-restraint, for the benefit of the world,—this Vyāsa declared to me. Thou, Keśava, art the spirit residing in men's bodies, the beginning and the end of all existences, the receptacle of austerities, and the eternal sacrifice. Having slain Nāraka, the son of the Earth, and having carried off the jewelled carrings, thou didst let loose the first-produced sacrificial horse. Having performed that rite, chief of the worlds, and conqueror of all worlds, thou didst slay in battle all the assembled Daityas and Dānavas. And then, having conferred the lordship of the universe on Indra, thou, o great-armed, didst become manifested among mankind. Thou, being Nārāyana, wert Hari, o vexer of thy foes. Thou, o Purushottama (or chief of Spirits, or Males), art Brahmā, Soma, Sūrya, Dharmा, Dhātri, Yama, Anala (Fire), Vāyu, Kuvera, Rudra, Time, Sky, Earth, the Regions, the unborn, the lord of the world, the creator. Thou, Madhusūdana, Krishṇa, of great glory, didst with sacrifices worship the supreme, high, god in the forest of Chaitraratha. A hundred times a hundred thousands of gold were then severally told out in full tale at each sacrifice.” [Here follow the verses quoted above, p. 118, beginning *Aditer api putratram*, and ending *nihatāḥ śatuśo 'surāḥ*.] The nooses of Muru were destroyed; Nisunda and Nāraka were slain; the way to the city Prāgjyotisha was again rendered safe. On the Jāruthī Āhvṛiti, Krātha, Siśupāla with his men, Jarāsandha, Saivya and Satadhauvan<sup>191</sup> were conquered. So, too, having vanquished Rukmin in battle with thy car, resounding like Parjanya, and gleaming like the sun, thou didst obtain thy queen to be the object of thy love. (See above, p. 179.) Indradyumna was slain by thee in thy wrath, and the Yavana Kaserumat, and Sālva, the lord of Saubha, and Saubha was thrown down. Bhoja, equal to Kārttavīrya<sup>192</sup> in battle, was slain by thee on the Irāvati,

<sup>191</sup> See Wilson's Vishṇu Purana, pp. 428 ff.

<sup>192</sup> See the First Part of this work, pp. 151 ff.

as well as both Gopati and Tālaketu. And having subdued to thyself Dvārakā, thou wilt cause the holy Bhogavatī and the Rishikā to flow to the ocean. Neither anger, nor envy, nor falsehood, nor cruelty, abides in thee, Dāśarha (Krishṇa): how then canst thou be deceitful? The rishis came to thee, [Achyuta,] whilst thou wast sitting in the midst of the *chaitya* (sacrificial ground), resplendent with thine own brightness, and begged of thee security. [Then follow some lines which have been quoted above, p. 193, beginning *yugānte sarva-bhūtāni sañcipyā*, etc.]

VI. Though, as we have already seen from various passages of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, Krishṇa is generally identified with Vishṇu, and Vishṇu with Brahma, or the supreme deity, yet in a text quoted above (p. 42) from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, Krishṇa is spoken of as only a partial incarnation of the godhead. The same is the case in another passage in the first section of the same tenth book of the Bhāgavata. The king there says to Suka that he has heard from him the history of the kings of the solar and lunar races, and among them of Yadu. He then asks the sage to relate the achievements of Vishṇu, the creator and soul of all things, who became partially incarnate (*tatrāṁśenāratir-nasya Viṣṇor vīryāni śāṁsa nuḥ | aratīrya Yādor ramīśe bhagavān bhūtabhāvanāḥ | kṛitavān yāni viśvātmā tāni no rada ristarāt |*). Suka in reply goes on to relate that the earth being afflicted by Daityas in the shape of proud princes, had, in the form of a cow, preferred her complaint to Brahmā, who had consequently gone with the other gods to supplicate the help of Vishṇu. Brahmā hears a voice in the sky:

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. i. 21 ff.—*Giraṁ samādhau gagane samīritāṁ niśamya Vedhās tridaśān urācha ha | gām paurushīm me śrinutāmarāḥ punarvidhīyatāṁ uśutathaiva māchiram | puraiva puṁsā (Īśvareṇa, Comm.) 'vadhr̥ito dharā-jvaro bhavaddhīr aṁśair Yadushūpajanyatām | sa yārad uryā bharam (sic) īśrareśrurāḥ | sra-kūla-śaktiā xapayaṁś chared bhuri | Vasudeva-grihe sāxād bhagavān Purushuh paraḥ | janishyate tat-priyārthaṁ sambhavantu sura-striyah | Vasudeva-kalā 'nantaḥ sahasra-vadanaḥ svarāṭ | agrato bhavīta devo Hareḥ priya-chikirshayā | Viṣṇor māyā bhagavatī yayā sammohitaṁ jagat | ādiśṭha prabhunā 'mśena kāryārthe sambhavishyati |*

"Having, while in a state of contemplation, heard a voice uttered in the sky, Vedhas (Brahmā) said to the gods: 'Hear from me, immortals,

the voice of Purusha, and then speedily act so [as it enjoins]. The distress of the earth was already understood by Purusha. Do you, in portions of yourselves, be born among the Yadus, whilst he, the god of gods, walks upon the earth, removing her burthen by his destructive power. The supreme divine Purusha shall be born in his own person (*sāxat*) in the house of Vasudeva. To please him, let the wives of the gods be born. The infinite, thousand-faced, self-resplendent deity shall first become a portion of Vasudeva, in order to gratify Hari. The divine Delusion of Vishṇu, by which the world is deceived, being commanded by the lord, shall be born in a portion of herself to effect the desired objects."

In the Vishṇu Purāṇa, also, the incarnation of Vishṇu is spoken of as that of a part, even a part of a part. At the commencement of the fifth book of that work the following lines occur :

*Nṛipānām kathitāḥ sarvo bhāratā rāṁśa-ristarāḥ | Vaṁśānucharitām  
chaira yathārad anurarnitam | Aṁśāratāro brahmasho yo 'yām Yadu-  
kulodbharaḥ | Vishṇos tūm vistareṇāhaṁ śrotum ichchāmy aśeshataḥ |  
Chakārayāni kurmaṇi bhagavān Purushottamah | Aṁśāṁśenāratiyyorvāyām  
tatra tāni mune rada | Parāśara uvācha | Maitreya śrūyatām etad yat  
priṣṭho 'ham iha trayā | Vishṇor aṁśāṁśa-sambhūti-charitām jagato hitam |*

" You have related to me the complete genealogy of the kings, and also the entire history of the races. I now wish, divine sage, to hear in full detail the particulars of the incarnation of a portion of Vishṇu which took place in the tribe of the Yadus. Tell me, Muni, what acts the divine Purushottama performed when he descended to the earth in a portion [of himself]. Parāśara replies : Hear, Maitreya, that which you have asked me, the history, beneficial to the world, of the birth of a portion of a portion of Vishṇu."

The sage proceeds to relate (see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 493-497) how the earth had complained to Brahmā and the other gods that the Asura Kālanemi had revived in Kansa, and other demons had also been born as princes; and that she could not support the load. Brahmā proposed that they should resort to Vishṇu, " who is the spirit of all, and of whom the universe consists," and " who constantly, for the sake of earth, descends in a " very " small portion of his essence, to establish righteousness below" (*sarvadaiva jagaty-arthe sa sarvātmā jaganmayah | sralpāṁśenāvatīryyorvyām dharmasya kurute sthitim |*). The gods

accordingly went to the milky sea, and lauded Vishnu in a long hymn. Vishnu was gratified by their praises, desired them to state their wishes, and assured them that these should be accomplished. Brahmā renewed his praises; and we are then told what happened when they were concluded:

*Evaṁ saṁstūyamānas tu bhagavān parameśvarah | Ujjahārātmanah  
keśan sita-kṛishṇou mahāmune | Uvācha cha surān etau mat-keśān vasu-  
dhā-tale | Avatīrya bhuvo bhāra-kleśa-hāniḥ karishyataḥ | Surāścha  
sakalāḥ srāṁśair avatīrya mahītale<sup>193</sup> | Kurrantu yuddham unmattaiḥ  
pūrvotpannair mahāsuraiḥ | Tulaḥ rayam aśehas te Daiteyā dharaṇītale |  
Prayāsyanti nu sandeho mad-drik-pāta-richārṇitaiḥ | Vasudeverasya yā  
patnī Devakī devatopamā | Tasyāyam ashṭamo garbho<sup>194</sup> matkeśo bharitā  
surāḥ | Avatīrya cha tatrāyām<sup>195</sup> Kaṁsam ghātayitobhuri | Kālanemiṁ  
samudbhūtam ityuktrā 'ntardadhe Hariḥ | Adriśyāya tatas tasmai pra-  
nipatya mahāmune | Meru-prishṭham surā jagmūr arateruś cha bhūtale |*

"Being thus lauded, the divine Parameśwara plucked out two of his own hairs, a white and a black, and said to the deities, 'These two hairs of mine, descending to the earth, shall remove her burthen and sufferings. And let all the deities, descending in portions of themselves to the earth, fight against those mad Asuras who existed in former births. Then all these sons of Diti (the Asuras) shall no doubt perish, being annihilated by the glances of my eyes. This my hair, gods, shall become the eighth child of Devakī, the wife of Vasudeva, who (Devakī) resembles the gods. And this [hair] descending there, shall destroy Kansa, the Kālanemi who has been born.' Having thus spoken, Hari disappeared. Having then bowed down to him the unseen, the gods went to the top of Meru, and descended on the earth."

The following are the remarks which Ratnagarbha, one of the commentators on the Vishnu Purāṇa, makes on the first of the preceding passages, and which have reference to the second also:

"Chakāra" iti | tatra Kṛishṇāvatāre ati-parichhinna-manushyākāra-  
līla-vigrahenāvirbhārād aṁśānūṣena ity uktam upachārāt | natu śakti-  
hrāseṇa Kṛishṇādy-aratāreshv api viśvā-rūpa-darśana-sarvaiśvaryādy-  
ukteḥ | Nanu aṁśino 'mśoddhāreṇa śakti-ādi-hrāsas tathā 'mśasyāpi tad-

<sup>193</sup> Another MS. reads mahītalam.

<sup>194</sup> Another MS. reads esha garbho 'shṭamas tasyāḥ.

<sup>195</sup> Another MS. reads tatrāham.

*apexya alpa-śaktitvādikām dhānya-rāśy-ādi-vibhāga iva prasajyeta iti ched na | prakāśa-svarūpe tad-abhāvāt | pradīpasya hi tan-mūlaka-dīpāntarasya vā upādhi-bhede 'pi śakty-ādi-sāmya-darśanāt "pūrṇam adaḥ pūrṇam idam pūrṇat pūrṇam udachyate | pūrṇasya pūrṇam ādāya pūrṇam evāvaśishyate" iti śruteḥ | "param Brahma narākṛiti gūḍham param Brahma manushya-līgaṁ Krishnas tu bhagavān slayam" ityādi-vākyebhyaś cha | yas tu "mat-keśau rasudhā-tali" ity-ādār "ayonī Kāṁsaṁ ghātuyitā" ity atra keśa-iyapadeśaḥ sa Brahmayāḥ pari-pūrṇasya ·bhū-bhāra-haraṇa-rūpām kāryyam aśy-alpa-yantra-sādhyaṁ iti khyāpayitum na tu keśayoḥ Rāma-Krishnatām raktum | jaḍayoḥ keśayos tad-deha-setrajanatrābhārena tat-kāryām karttum aśaktatiāt | kṛśatmaka-māyayod-bhāra-Rāma-Krishna-dhāv ādiśya [āriśya?] bhagavān era tat tat karishyati iti ched om iti brūmaḥ phalato 'riseshāt "krishnāśṭamyām aham niśi" iti slayam eroktatvāch cha ity alām ristareṇa |*

"Purushottama is here figuratively said to have become incarnate with a portion of a portion of himself, because in the Krishna incarnation he was manifested in a merely sportive body in the very circumscribed form of a man, and not because of any diminution of his power, since even in the Krishna and other incarnations he is said to have shewn himself in every possible form, and to have possessed all divine power, and so forth. But is it not the case that if a portion is taken from a whole composed of parts, there is a decrease of power, etc. [in that whole], and that thus an inferiority of power will attach to the portion relatively to the whole, just as when a heap of grain, or any other such whole, is divided? I answer, No; since such a diminution does not occur in him whose nature is light; for though there is a difference in the individuality of one lamp, and of another lamp derived from it, yet an equality of power is perceived in each; agreeably to the text from the Veda (the Satapatha Brahmayā, xiv. 8, 1, p. 1094), 'That is full, and 'this is full; a full arises out of a full: if a full be taken from a full, a full remains;' and also agreeably to such texts as this, 'The supreme Brahma with the form, and with the characteristics, of a man, is a great mystery; but Krishna is the lord himself.' And the employment of the term 'hairs' in the words, 'My hairs shall descend to the earth,' and 'This hair shall slay Kansa,' etc., is intended to signify that the task of removing the earth's burthen was such as Brahma in all his plenitude could effect by a very slight instru-

mentality, and not to assert that the two hairs were identical with [Bala]rāma and Krishṇa : for two insensible hairs, not being conscious spirits animating the bodies of those two persons, could not fulfil their task. If it be said that the lord possessing the bodies of Balarāma and Krishṇa, which were produced by the magical operation of the hairs, will do so and so, we reply, ‘Yes, for there is no difference in the result, and because he himself said, ‘I shall [be born] on the eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon.’ But there is no occasion for further prolixity.”<sup>196</sup>

The passage which follows is from another commentary on the same text :<sup>197</sup>

*Ujjahāra | utpātitavān | ayam bhārah | mama duskharañ ched yushmābhūḥ sāhāyyañ kāryañ syāt | na tr etad asti bhā-bhārāpaharāñādau mahaty api kārye mat-keśa-mātrasya rūpa sumartha trād iti na tu keśa-mātrāratāra iti mantvayam | “mad-drik-pāta-ichūrṇitāḥ” “krishṇāshṭamya māham utpatsyāmī” ityādi hu sāxāt nāratāratrōkteleḥ | sīla-kṛishṇa-keśoddhārañām cha śobhārtham eva | “Ujjahāra means that he ‘plucked out’ the hairs. The sense is as follows: ‘It would be a difficult matter if aid had to be rendered to me by you: but the same is not the case in regard to the task, though a great one, of removing the load of the earth, etc., since my hairs alone are equal to it.’ But it is not to be supposed that there was nothing beyond an incarnation of the mere hairs; for his own incarnation is distinctly asserted in the words ‘annihilated by the glance of my eye,’ ‘I shall be born on the eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon,’ etc. etc. The mention of his plucking out white and black hairs is for the purpose of ornament.”*<sup>198</sup>

The same story about the production of Balarāma and Krishṇa from two hairs is also told in the Mahābhārata, Ādi-parva, 7306 ff. :

*Tair eva sārdhām tu tataḥ sa dero jugāma Nārāyaṇam aprameyam | anantam avyaktam ujam purānañ sunālanañ viśvām ananta-rūpam | sa chāpi tad vyadadhāt sarram eva tataḥ sarve sambabhāvur dharanyām | sa chāpi keśau Hārir udvātarha śūllaṁ ekam aparañ chāpi kṛishṇam |*

<sup>196</sup> The preceding copy of the text, and commentary on the text, from the Vishnu Purāṇa, have been kindly copied, and carefully collated, for me by Professor Monier Williams.

<sup>197</sup> I am indebted to Professor Goldstucker for copying this passage for me

<sup>198</sup> See Professor Wilson’s notes on these passages of the Vishnu Purāṇa, viz., note 3 in p. 492, and note 23 in p. 497

*tau chāpi keśau nivisetām Yadūnām kule striyau Devakīm Rohinīm cha | taylor eko Baladevo babbhūra yo 'sau śretas tasya devasya kośah | Kṛishṇo dvitīyah Keśavah sambabbhūva keśo yo 'sau varṇatuh kṛishṇa uktah |*

"Along with them (viz., four preceding Indras, and a fifth deity sprung from Indra) the god (Indra) went to Nārāyaṇa, immeasurable, infinite, undiscernible, unborn, primeval, everlasting, universal, endless in his forms; and he fulfilled all [that they desired]. Then they were all born on earth. Hari also plucked out two hairs, one white and the other black. These two hairs entered into two women of the tribe of the Yadus, Devakī and Rohinī. One of them, the white hair of the god, became Baladeva; while the second hair (*keśa*), which was called black (*kṛishṇa*) in colour, became Kṛishṇa, Keśava."

The following remarks are made on this passage by Nīlakanṭha, one of the commentators on the *Mahābhārata*:

*Atra keśār eva reto-rūpau Pāñdarānām iva Rāma-Kṛishṇayor api prakarana-saṅgaty-arthaṁ sāxād deru-retasu utpatter araktaryatvāt<sup>199</sup> | uta era Derakyām Rohinīnācha sāxāt kośa-praeśa uchyate na tu Vasudere | tathā suti tu "derānām reto varshān varshasya reta oshadhlīyah" ityādi-śrauta-pranādyā 'smad-ādi-rat taylor api ryaradhanena dera-prabhu-ratram syāt | tathā cha "etan nānā-ratārāṇām nīdhānam vijam acyayam" iti bhagavataḥ sāxād matsyādy-arulāra-vijatram uchyamānām virudhyeta | apieha keśa-retasor deha-jatre samāne 'pi retah-prabharatē 'rvāksrotastrena manushyatram putratram cha syāt | tathā cha "Kṛishṇas tu bhagavān svayam" iti śrīmad-bhāgavatoktiḥ saṅgachhatuḥ | na cha keśoddhāraṇāt Kṛishṇasyāpy aṁśatram pratīyate iti rāchyam | keśasya dehārayavatrabhāvāt | tasmād Namuchi-badhe kartaryo yathā upām phene rajrasya prareṣuḥ evān Devakī-Rohinyor jaṭhare prareṣe kartariye keśa-dvayena dvāra-bhūtena bhagavataḥ kārlsnyena era ārirbhāva eshtaryah iti yuktam |*

"Here the two hairs are of the nature of seed productive of Balārāma and Kṛishṇa, just as in the case of the Pāṇavas, [and this expression is employed] for the sake of conformity to what had preceded, since it is manifest that one cannot speak of production from the seed of a god. For this reason it is distinctly said that the hairs entered into Devakī and Rohinī [the mothers], and not into Vasudeva [the father]. But such being the case, according to the Vedic phrase-

<sup>199</sup> The MS. in the E. I. Office library reads *avasya-vaktavyaṭvāt* |

ology, that 'rain is the seed of the gods and plants are the seed of rain,' etc., these two persons also (Balarāma and Kṛishṇa) will be mediately the offspring of the deity, just as is the case with ourselves and other beings. And thus—since 'this substance of the different incarnations is an undecaying seed,'<sup>200</sup>—it would be opposed to that declaration to predicate of the deity that he is literally the seed of the fish, and other incarnations. Further, although hairs and seed spring equally from the body, yet in the case of production from seed, humanity and sonship will arise after the manner of the inferior animals. And thus the saying of the Bhāgavata, that 'Kṛishṇa is the Lord himself,' is not contradicted. And it must not be said that from a hair being plucked out, Kṛishṇa also is shewn to be only a portion [of the deity]; for a hair is not a *part* of the body. Wherefore, just as, when [the demon] Namuchi was to be slain, the thunderbolt entered into the foam of the waters,<sup>201</sup> so when an entrance was to be made into the wombs of Devakī and Rohinī, the manifestation of the deity in all his plenitude is to be understood as effected through the medium of the two hairs."

VII.—In several of the passages which have been already cited in the preceding pages, Vishṇu has been identified with the supreme spirit (see above, pp. 33, 43, 150). I shall now proceed to adduce some others of the same kind from the Mahābhārata. In the Śāntiparva, vv. 1500 ff. Yudhishthira says to Kṛishṇa :

<sup>200</sup> I put these words between inverted commas, as they appear to be a quotation, though I am not aware whence it is derived.

<sup>201</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me the legend to which reference is here made, viz., that mentioned in R. V. viii. 11, 13 *Aपाम् phenena Namuchेः śira Indodavarttayaḥ | वृरुद् yad ajayaḥ spridhaḥ |* "Thou, Indra, didst strike off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters, when thou didst vanquish all opponents." On this Sāyaṇa tells the following story *Purā kila Indro 'surān jivā Namuchim usurām̄ grahitūm̄ na sāśāka | sa cha yudhyamūnas tenāsurena ja-* grike *| sa cha grihītām Indram evam avochat "त्वाम् विरिजामि रूत्राव अहं चा कुश-केरार्द्रेण चायुधाना यदि मम् ना हीन्सीर्" iti | sa Indras tūna visriṣṭhaḥ sann aho-रूत्रयोः sandhau śushkārdra-vilaxṣṇa phenena tasya śiras chichheda | ayam artho 'स्यम् pratipādyate | He Indra apām phenena vajribhūterna Numucher Asurasya śira udavarttayaḥ |* "Formerly Indra having conquered the Asuras, was unable to seize the Asura Namuchi; and fighting, was seized by the Asura. The latter said to Indra, whom he had seized: 'I release thee if thou wilt not smite me by night, or by day, with a dry or a wet weapon.' Indra, being released by him, cut off his head at the junction of day and night with foam which has the character of being both dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse." The story is also told in the Indra-vijaya (published by Holtzmann), vv. 185 ff.; Mahābhārata, Udyoga-parva, vv. 320 ff.

*Tava Kṛishṇa prasādena nayena cha balena cha | buddhyā cha Yaduśārdūla tathā vikramanena oha | punah prāptam idum rājyam pitri-paitāmaham mayā | namas te Pundarīkāxa punah punar arindama | tvām ekum āhuḥ Purushāñ trām āhuḥ Sāttvatāñ gatim | nāmabhis tvām bahuvidhaiḥ sturanti prayatā drijāḥ | viṣrakarman namas te 'stu viśvātman viśra-sambhara | Viśhṇo jīshṇo Hare Kṛishṇa Vaikuṇṭha Purushottama | Adityāḥ saptadhā trañ tu purāne garbhatañ galāḥ | Priśni-garbhas trañ oraikus triyagañ trañ radanty api | Suchisravā Hṛishikeśo ghritāchir haṁsa uchyase | tricharuḥ Sambhur ekas trañ vibhur Dāmodaro 'pi chu | Varāho 'gnir vṛihadbhānur vṛishabhas Tārxyalaxanāḥ | . . . . 1514: Yonis trañ asya pralayaścha Kṛishṇa trañ evedañ srījasi viśram agre | viśrañchedaū trad-vaśe viśrayone namo 'stu te śārṅga-chakrāsi-pāye |*

“ By thy favour, Krishṇa, chief of the Yadus, and power, and understanding, and valour, I have recovered this kingdom of my father’s and grandfather’s. Adoration be to thee, lotus-eyed, subduer of thy foes, again and again. Thee alone men call Purusha : thee alone they call the refuge of the Sāttvats. Devout twice-born men laud thee by names of various kinds. Glory be to thee, thou maker of all, thou soul of all, thou source of all, Viśhṇu, conqueror, Hari, Krishṇa, Vaikuṇṭha, chief of spirits (or males). Of old thou didst become the sevenfold offspring of Aditi.<sup>202</sup> Thou alone art Priśnigarbha ; they also call thee [ him who exists in] the three ages (*yugas*). Thou art called Suchisravas, Hṛishikeśa, Ghritāchi, and Hansa. Thou alone art the three-eyed Sambhu (Mahādeva) and Dāmodara, the pervading, the Boar, Agni, Vṛihadbhānu,<sup>203</sup> the Bull, he whose sign is Tārxya (Garuda).” A long list of other titles then follows, concluding with these words : “ Thou art the source and the destruction of this universe, Krishṇa : it is thou who createst it in the beginning, and it is all in thy power, thou universal source : glory be to thee who wieldest the bow, the discus, and the sword.”

A little further on, at vv. 1604 ff., a long hymn of Bhīshma to Krishṇa is given, in which the following lines occur :

*“ Yasmin viśrāñi bhūtāni tshṭhanti cha viśanti cha | guya-bhūtāni bhūtēśe sūtre mayi-ganā ita | yasmin nitye tate tantau dṛiḍhe srāg ita*

<sup>202</sup> This, I suppose, refers to the Ādityas being in the Veda spoken of as only seven in number. See above, p. 101.

<sup>203</sup> A name of Agni.

*tishṭhati | sad-asad grathitam viśvām̄ viśvāṅge viśva-karmanī | Hariṁ suhasra-śirasām̄ sahasra-charanexanam̄ | . . . . prāhur Nārāyaṇam̄ devam̄ yaṁ viśvasya parāyanam̄ | anīyasām̄ anīyāṁsaṁ sthavishṭhaṁ cha sthavīyasām̄ | garīyasām̄ garishṭham̄ cha śreshṭham̄ cha śreyasām̄ api | yaṁ vukeshu anuvākeshu nishatsūpanishatsu cha | grinanti satya-kar-māṇam̄ satyam̄ satyeshu sāmasu | ityādi | . . . . 1616 : Sarrātmā sarra-vil surrah surrajñāḥ sarva-bhāranaḥ | yaṁ devam̄ Devakī devī Vasudevād ajījanat | Bhaumasya Brahmāṇḍ guptyai diptam̄ Agnim̄ ivārunih | . . . 1622 : Yasmin lokāḥ sphurantimē jale śakunayo yathā |*

"In whom, the lord of beings, all beings, existing as his qualities, abide and enter, like gems [strung] upon a thread: upon whom, the universal-membered artificer of all things, extended as a strong and eternal thread, the universe abides, arranged, like a chaplet; Hari, the thousand-headed, thousand-footed, thousand-eyed, . . . whom they call Nārāyaṇa, the god who transcends all, the minutest of the minute, the vastest of the vast, the greatest of the great, the most eminent of the eminent, whom, true, and true in act, they celebrate in *rākas*, *anuvākas*, in *nishads*<sup>24</sup> and in *upanishads*, and in true *sāma*-hymns, . . . the soul of all, the omniscient, the all, the all-knowing, the producer of all, the god whom the goddess Devakā bore to Vasudeva, for the preservation of the terrestrial deity (*i.e.* the Vedas, Brahmans and sacrifices, comm.) as Araṇī (the wood used for kindling fire), produced the flaming Agni. . . In whom these worlds flutter, like birds in water," etc.

In the following passage, also from the Santiparva, Krishṇa identifies himself with the supreme Spirit, and represents Brahmā and Mahādeva as having proceeded from him. In it the writer likewise endeavours to explain away the effect of certain texts in other parts of the poem (see

<sup>24</sup> This is the only place in which I have ever met with this word. I am unable to say whether Indian literature contains any such writings as *nishads*, or whether the term is a purely fictitious one, invented by the author of this passage to denote a principal and original set of writings to which the *Upanishads* may have formed, in his idea, a secondary and supplemental class, as the *Upapuranas* do to the *Puranas*. Nilakantha, one of the commentators (whether conjecturally, or on good grounds, I cannot say), explains *nishatsu* as meaning *karmāṅgūḍy-avabaddha-devatādi-jñāna-vākyeshu*, "works treating of the knowledge of the deities, etc., connected with the ceremonial part of the Veda, etc." The *Upanishads* "reveal the knowledge of soul alone" (*kevalātma-jñāpaka-vākyeshu*). *Vākas*, according to the same authority, "make known ceremonies generally" (*sāmānyataḥ karma-prakāśakeshu*), while *anuvākas* are "texts of the Brāhmaṇas, explanatory of the sense of the mantras, or Vedic hymns" (*mantrārtha-vivaraṇa-bhūteshu brāhmaṇa-vākyeshu*).

above, pp. 155–170) in which Krishṇa is related to have worshipped Mahādeva, and which were no doubt felt to be inconsistent with the supreme deity of the former. The difficulty is attempted to be overcome by the explanation that in worshipping Rudra, he was only worshipping himself. In verses 13133 ff. Arjuna asks Krishṇa to interpret the different appellations which had been applied to him in the Vedas and Purāṇas; and this Krishṇa accordingly proceeds to do, remarking by the way that Arjuna had been of old declared to be his own half<sup>205</sup> (*trañ hi me 'rddhaṁ smṛitaḥ purā*). Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Vishṇu), he says, was the source of all things, and from him Brahmā and Śiva were produced; the one from his good pleasure, the other from his anger (13140 : *Yasya prasādajō Brahmanā Rudraścha krodha-sambhavaḥ |*). He then goes on (13144): *Brāhmaṇe rātri-xaye prāpte tasya hy amita-tejasah | prasādāt prādurabharat padmam padma-nibheraṇa | tato Brahmā sama-bhavat sa tasyaura prasādajah | ahnaḥ xaye lalātāchcha suto devasya vai tathā | krodhāvishṭasya sañjajñe Rudraḥ sañhāra-kārakah | etau dva vibudha-śreshṭhau prasāda-krodha-jār ubhau | tad-ādeśita-panthānau śrīshṭi-sañhāra-kārakau | nimitta-mātrem tār atra sarva-prāṇi-vara-pra-dau | kapardī jaṭilo munḍah śmaśāna-griha-serakah | ugra-vrata-dharo Rudro yogi parama-dāruṇah | Daxa-kratu-haraśchāścā Bhaga-netra-haras tathā | Nārāyanātmako jñeyah Pāṇḍaveya yuge yuge | tasmin hi pūjyamāne vai dera-dere Maheśvare | sampūjilo bharet Pārtha devo Nārāyaṇah prabhuh | aham ātmā hi lokānām viśveshām Pāṇḍu-nandana | tasmat ātmānām evāgre Rudrām sampūjayāmy aham | yady aham nārachayeyam vai Iśanām varadaṁ Sivam | ātmānām nārachayet kaścid iti me bhāvit-ātmānah | mayā pramāṇānām hi kṛitām lokāḥ samanuvarttate | pramāṇāni hi pūjyāni tatas tam pūjyāmy aham | yas tañ vetti sa mānā vetti yo 'nu tañ sa hi mānānū | Rudro Nārāyaṇaś chaiva satram ekañ dvividhākṛitañ | loke charati Kaunteya vyakti-sthañ sarva-karmasu | na hi me kenuchid deyo varah Pāṇḍava-nāndana | iti sañchintya manasā purāṇam Rudram iśvaram | putrārtham ārādhitarvān aham ātmānām ātmānā | na hi Vishṇuḥ pranamati kasmaicchit vibudhāya cha | rīta ātmānām eveti tato Rudram bhajāny aham | sabrahmākāḥ sarudrāścha sendrā devūḥ saharshibhiḥ | archayanti sura-śreshṭhānām devānām Nārāyaṇānām Harin | bhavishyatām varttatānāha bhūtānānōhaiva Bhārata | sarveshām agranīr Vishṇuḥ sevyāḥ pūjyāścha nityaśah ityādi |*

<sup>205</sup> See the other passages about their identity, or intimate union, above, pp. 194, 198, 199.

"When the end of Brahmā's night had arrived, there sprang from the good pleasure of that being of boundless power a lotus, o thou whose eyes are like a lotus. From it was produced Brahmā, who was the offspring of his (Vishnu's) good pleasure; and at the end of the day Rudra the destroyer was born from the forehead of the god when he was possessed with anger. These two eminent gods, produced [the one] from his good pleasure, [the other] from his anger, have their courses prescribed by him, [and are] the accomplishers [respectively] of creation and destruction. In this, these bestowers of boons on all creatures are merely instrumental causes. Rudra, with braided hair and matted locks, shaven, the frequenter of cemeteries, the performer of awful rites, the devotee, the very terrible, he who swept away Daxa's sacrifice, and put out Bhaga's eyes, is to be understood by thee to possess in every age the nature of Nārāyaṇa. For when that god of gods Maheśvara is worshipped, then, son of Pṛithā, the god Nārāyaṇa, the lord, will also be worshipped. I am the soul of all the worlds. It was therefore myself whom I formerly worshipped as Rudra. If I were not to worship Isāna, the boon-bestowing Siva, no one would worship myself,—this is [the reflection?] made by me who am contemplative in spirit. An authoritative example is set by me [which] the world follows.<sup>206</sup> Authoritative examples are to be reverenced: hence I reverence him (Siva). He who knows him knows me; he who loves him loves me.<sup>207</sup> Rudra and Nārāyaṇa, one essence, divided into two, operate in the world, in a manifested form, in all acts. Reflecting in my mind that no boon could be conferred upon me by any one, I [yet] adored the ancient Rudra, the lord, [that is] I, with myself adored myself, to obtain a son (see p. 163). For Vishnu does not do homage to any god, excepting himself: hence I [in this sense] worship Rudra. The gods, including Brahmā, Rudra, and Indra, together with the rishis, worship the god Nārāyaṇa, Hari, the most eminent of the deities. Vishnu the chief of all who shall be, are, or have been, is to be served and worshipped continually."

In the following passage (*Anuśāṣṇa-parva*, vv. 6295 ff.), some parts of which may be later interpolations, Krishṇa is described as performing a ceremony to obtain a son, at the same time that he is

<sup>206</sup> See above, p. 46, the quotation from the *Bhagavad-gita*, iii. 21 ff.

<sup>207</sup> Compare the same phrase in p. 204.

represented as the supreme deity. Bhîshma, at the request of Yudhishthira, tells him a story illustrative of the glory of Krishnâ. He states that Krishnâ had performed a ceremonial (*rrata*) of twelve years' duration (6397), which many rishis came to witness. In presence of these rishis fire issued from the mouth of Krishnâ, which set on fire the mountain where he was, and burnt up everything on it; and having done so, came back, and submissively touched his feet. The mountain was afterwards restored to its natural condition. Seeing the rishis astonished at this display, Krishnâ asks the cause of their surprise. They request that he who is the creator and destroyer of all things will explain to them the phenomenon which they have just witnessed. He replies that this was the power (*tejas*) of Vishnu which had issued from his mouth. He had come, he informs them, to this mountain to perform a ceremony with the view of obtaining a son like himself (6320); and the soul residing in his body had become fire, and blazed forth, and had gone to see the parent of the world, when Mahâdeva had declared that a son should be created for him out of the half of this power (*tejas*). Krishnâ next calls on the rishis to tell him any wonders they had seen or heard of in heaven or on earth. The rishis then, after celebrating Krishnâ's praises, appoint Nârada to describe the wonders which had been witnessed by the rishis on the Himâlaya mountain, when they had gone thither on a pilgrimage to the holy places. Nârada accordingly proceeds to give an account of a long conversation which had taken place between Mahâdeva and his wife Umâ or Pârvatî, the daughter of the Himâlaya. Mahâdeva, it appears, had been performing austerity (*tapas*, vv. 6340, 6348) on that mountain, where he was surrounded by his attendant demons (*Bhûtas*) and by the nymphs (*Apsarases*), etc. etc. While he was sitting in that delightful region, clothed in tigers' and lions' skins, with a serpent for his sacrificial cord (6355 f.), his wife Umâ comes up, clothed in the same style as her husband, with her attendant demonesses (*Bhûta-strî-gana*), and playfully puts her hands over his eyes. The effects of this act are tremendous. Suddenly the world becomes darkened, lifeless, and destitute of oblations and *vashatkâras*, etc. This gloom, however, is as suddenly dispelled by a great flame which bursts from Mahâdeva's forehead, in which a third eye, luminous as the sun, was formed (6367). By the fire of this eye the mountain was scorched and everything upon it con-

sumed. Uma hereupon stands in a submissive attitude before her lord, when in a moment her parent, the Himālaya, is restored to his former condition. A long conversation then ensues between Mahādeva and Umā. The latter enquires why Mahādeva's third eye had been formed (6379), and puts a number of questions about himself, and the various duties of men (6412 ff.), all of which he answers. Mahādeva next, in his turn, asks Umā to describe the duties of women. She says she will consult the rivers in regard to the question. The Gangā replies on their behalf that Umā herself should furnish the answer, which she accordingly does (6780 ff.). Bhīshma then informs us that, at the close of Umā's discourse, Mahādeva dismissed his attendant demons, with the rivers, nymphs, and celestial choristers (*Gandharvas*). We should have expected here that Nārada (who had hitherto been the narrator of what was done and said on the Himālaya) would have finished his account of all that occurred there, without the introduction of the other interlocutor: but at this point he is interrupted by Bhīshma, and afterwards introduced again at v. 6870. Whatever may be the reason, we are first told by Bhīshma (v. 6804) that the rishis now requested Mahādeva to describe to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Krishṇa). At the close of Mahādeva's discourse, Nārada is again abruptly introduced (6870), and relates that a great sound of thunder accompanied with lightning was then heard, and the sky became covered with thick clouds, and veiled in darkness. Mahādeva and his attendant demons were now no longer visible to the munis. (The departure of the demons and the other classes of beings had, however, been previously told in v. 6804.) The darkness then suddenly clears away. Nārada next observes to Krishṇa (6875) that he was the eternal being, one with Brahma, about whom they had been instructed on the mountain. At the close of Nārada's discourse, the rishis express their devotion to Krishṇa (6879 ff.), and say that as he knew all things, he had no occasion to ask them for any information such as had been given at his request. They end by giving him what, after this avowal of his omniscience, was (one would have thought) a needless assurance, that he should have a son like himself. Bhīshma then relates that, after completing the rite on which he had been engaged, Krishṇa returned to Dvārakā, where a son was born to him (6889), and goes on to expatiate yet further on his divine

character. Yudishthira, however, is still unsatisfied, and enquires as follows (6937 ff.):

*Kim ekam daivataṁ loke kiṁ vā py ekam parāyaṇam | kaṁ sturantah  
kam archantaḥ prāpnuyur mānavāḥ śubham | ko dharmah sarva-dharmā-  
nam bhavataḥ paramo mataḥ | kiṁ japan muchyate jantur janma-saṁsāra-  
bandhanat | Bhīshma uvācha | Jagat-prabhūm dera-devam anantam  
purushottamam | sturan nāma-sahasreṇa purushah satatottithaḥ | tam eva  
chārchanay nityam bhaktya' purusham aryayam | dhyāyan sturan nama-  
syāṁścha yajamānas tam era eha | an-ādi-nidhanaṁ Vishṇuṁ sarvva-loka-  
maheśvaram | lokādhyaxaṇaṁ sturan nityaṁ sarva-duṣkhātigo bhavet |  
brahmaṇyāṁ sarva-dharma-jñānāṁ lokānānāṁ kirtti-varddhanan | loka-  
nātham mahad bhūtaṁ sarva-bhūta-bhavodbharam | esha me sarra-dhar-  
mānām dharmo 'dhikatamo mataḥ | . . . . 6946 : Yataḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni  
bhavanty ādi-yugāgame | yasmiṁścha pralayaṁ yānti punar eva yuga-  
xaye | tasya loka-pradhānasya jagannāthasya bhūpate | Vishṇor nāma-  
saḥasram me śrinu pāpa-bhayāpaham |*

"What is the one deity in the world, or what is the one highest object? By lauding and worshipping whom can men attain to felicity? What duty is regarded by you as the highest of all duties? By muttering what, is a creature freed from the bonds of birth and of the world? Bhīshma answers: A man, rising continually, and lauding with his thousand names the supreme infinite Purusha, the lord of the world, the god of gods, worshipping perpetually with devotion this undecaying Purusha, contemplating, praising, reverencing, and adoring him, Vishṇu, without beginning or end, the great lord of all the worlds, lauding continually the ruler of the worlds, who (the ruler) is devout, skilled in all duty, the augmenter of the renown of the worlds, the lord of the world, the great being, the source of the existence of all beings, [doing all this, a man] will overpass all grief. This is regarded by me as the greatest of all duties. . . . . v. 6946 : Hear, king, from me the sin-and-fear-removing thousand names of this Vishṇu, chief of the world, lord of the world, from whom all creatures spring on the arrival of the commencing *yuga*, and in whom again they are absorbed at the end of the *yuga*."

These thousand names of Vishṇu are then detailed, among which the following occur, all of them ordinarily appellations of Mahādeva, viz., Sarva, Sarva, Siva, Sthānu (v. 6953), Isāna (v. 6957), Rudra (v. 6962).

Again, we are informed in the Anuśāsana-parva, that the rishis requested Mahādeva to expound to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Krishṇa), which he accordingly does in vv. 6806 ff.:

*Pitāmahād api varah śāśvataḥ Purusho Hariḥ | Krishno jāmbūnādābhāśo vyabhre sūrya ivoditah | daśa-bāhur mahātējā deratāri-nisūdanah | śrīvatsāṅko Hṛishikēśaḥ sarva-dairata-pūjitaḥ | Brahmā tasyodara-bhavaś tathā chāham śiro-bhavaḥ | śiroruhebhyo jyotiṁshi romabhyascha surā-surāḥ | rishayo deha-sambhūtāś tathā lokāś cha śāśvatāḥ | Pitāmaha-gṛihām sāxāt sarva-deva-gṛihām cha saḥ | so, syāḥ prīthivyaḥ kṛitsnāyāḥ eśraṣṭā tribhuvaneśvaraḥ | saṁharttā chaiva bhūtānāṁ sthāvarasya charasya cha | sa hi deva-varaḥ sāxād dera-nāthāḥ parantapaḥ | sarvajñāḥ sa hi saṁśliṣṭaḥ sarvagaḥ sarvato-mukhaḥ | paramātmā hṛishikēśaḥ saravayāpi māheśvaraḥ | na tasmāt paramam bhūtaṁ trishu lokeshu kiñchana | sanātano vai Madhuḥā Govinda iti riśutāḥ | sa sarrān pārthivān san-khye ghātayishyati mānadaḥ | sura-kāryyārtham utpanno mānushaṁ vapur āsthitaḥ | na hi dera-gaṇāḥ śaktāś Trivikrama-vinākṛitāḥ | bhuvane deva-kāryyāṇi kartuṁ nāyaka-varjjitāḥ | nāyakaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ sarva-bhūta-namaskritāḥ | etasya deva-nāthasya dera-kāryya-ratasya cha | brahma-bhūtasya satataṁ devarshi-śaraṇasya cha | Brahmā vasati garbha-sthaḥ śārire mukha-saṁsthitaḥ | sarvāḥ sukhām saṁśritāś cha śārire tasya devatāḥ | sa devaḥ puṇḍarīkāxaḥ śrīgarbhaḥ śrī-sahositaḥ | ityādi | . . . bhavārtham iha devānām buddhyā paramayā yutaḥ | prājyāpatye śubhe mārge Mānave dharma-saṁhite | samutpatsyati Govindo Manor vaṁśe mahātmanāḥ | . . . v. 6836: Sa Śāraḥ xatriya-śreshṭho mahāviryo mahāyaśāḥ | sva-vāṁśa-ristara-karam janayishyati mānadaḥ | Vasudeva iti khyātam putram Ānakadundubhim | tasya putraś chaturbāhur Vāsudevo bhavishyati | dātā brāhmaṇa-satkarttā brahmabhūto dvija-priyah | . . . 6842: Tam bhavantaḥ samāśādyā vāñ-mālyair arhaṇair varaiḥ | archayantu yathānyāyam Brahmāṇam iva śāśvatam | yo hi mām drash-ṭum iohhetā Brahmāṇaḥ pitāmaham | drashṭaryas tena bhagavān Vāsudevaḥ pratāpavān | drishṭe tasminn ahaṁ drishṭo na me 'trāsti vichāraṇāḥ | pitāmaho vā deveśa iti vitta tapodhanāḥ |*

“ Superior even to Pitāmaha (Brahmā) is Hari, the eternal Purusha, Krishṇa, brilliant as gold, like the sun risen in a cloudless sky, ten-armed, of mighty force, slayer of the foes of the gods, marked with the śrīvatsa, Hṛishikēśa, adored by all the gods. Brahmā is sprung from his belly and I (Mahādeva) from his head, the luminaries from the hair

of his head, the gods and Asuras from his hairs, and the rishis, as well as the everlasting worlds, have been produced from his body. He is the manifest abode of Pitāmaha, and of all the deities. He is the creator of this entire earth, the lord of the three worlds, and the destroyer of creatures, of the stationary and the moveable. He is manifestly the most eminent of the gods, the lord of the deities, the vexer of his foes. He is omniscient, intimately united [with all things], omnipresent, facing in every direction, the supreme Spirit, Hṛishikeśa, all-pervading, the mighty lord. There is no being superior to him in the three worlds. The slayer of Madhu is eternal, renowned as Govinda. He the conferrer of honour, born to fulfil the purposes of the gods, and assuming a human body, will slay all the kings in battle. For all the hosts of the gods, destitute of Trivikrama (the god who strode thrice) are unable to effect the purposes of the gods, devoid of a leader. He is the leader of all creatures, and worshipped by all creatures. Of this lord of the gods, devoted to the purposes of the gods, who is Brahma, and is the constant refuge of gods and rishis, Brahmā dwells within the body, abiding in his face, and all the gods are easily sheltered in his body. This god is the lotus-eyed, the producer of Śrī, dwelling together with Śrī. . . . For the welfare of the gods, Govinda shall arise in the family of the great Manu, possessed of eminent intelligence, and [walking] in the excellent path of the Prajāpati, of Manu, abounding in righteousness. . . . 6836 : This Nūra, the most eminent of Kshattriyas, heroic, renowned, conferring honour, shall beget a son Ānakadundubhi,<sup>208</sup> the prolonger of his race, known as Vasudeva. To him shall be born a four-armed son, Vāsudeva, liberal, a benefactor of Brāhmans, one with Brahma, a lover of Brāhmans. . . . 6842 : You (the gods) should, as is fit, worship this deity, like the eternal Brahmā, approaching him with reverential and excellent garlands of praise. For the divine and glorious Vāsudeva should be beheld by him who desires to see me and Brahmā the Parent. In regard to this I have no hesitation, that when he is seen I am seen, or the Parent (Brahmā), the lord of the gods : know this ye whose wealth is austerity."

Further on in the same Anuśāsana-parva (7356 ff.), it is related that Bhishma, when called on by Yudhishthira to inform him what are the benefits resulting from reverence rendered to Brāhmans, refers him

<sup>208</sup> See Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, p. 436.

to Krishṇa, whose divine greatness he then proceeds to set forth as follows (vv. 7360 ff.):

*Krishṇah prīthrim asrijat kham divāncha Krishṇasya dehād medinī sambabhūva | varāho'yam bhīma-balāḥ purāṇāḥ sa parvatān vyasṛijat eva diśāsaha | asya chādho'thāntarīxām divāncha diśāś chatasro vidiśāś chatasraḥ | sriṣṭis tathaiteyam anuprasūtā sa nirmame viśram idam purāṇam | asya nābhyaṁ pushkaraṁ samprasūtaṁ yatropannaḥ svayam evāmitaujaḥ | yena chhinnām yat tamāḥ Pārtha ghorām yat tat tishṭhaty arṇavām tarjyayānam | . . . . 7388 : Vāyur bhūtvā vixipate sa viśram agnir bhūtvā dahate viśra-rūpāḥ | āpo bhūtvā majjayate sa sarvam Brahmā bhūtvā sriyate sarra-saṅghān | redyañcha yad redayate cha vedyām vidhiścha yaś chāśrayate ridheyam | dharme cha rede bale cha sarvām charācharam Keśavaṁ tam pratīhi | jyotir-bhūtaḥ paramo 'sau . purastāt prakūśate yat prabhayā viśra-rūpāḥ | apaḥ sriṣṭvā sarva-bhūtātma-yoniḥ purā 'karot sarvam erātha viśram ityādi |*

"Krishṇa created the earth, the air, and the sky; from Krishṇa's body the earth was produced. He is the ancient boar of fearful strength; he created the mountains and the regions. Beneath him are the atmosphere and the heaven, the four regions, and the four intermediate regions: and [from him] this creation sprang forth: he formed this ancient universe. In his navel a lotus grew up, where he himself [in the form of Brahmā] was born of boundless power. By him the dreadful darkness was pierced, that threatening ocean which abides. . . . 7388: Becoming Vāyu, he dissipates this universe; becoming Fire, he burns it, universal in his forms; becoming Water, he drowns all things; becoming Brahmā, he creates all the hosts [of beings]. He is whatever is to be known, and he makes known whatever is to be known: he is the rule for performance, and he who exists in that which is to be performed. Believe that Keśava [abides] in righteousness, in the Veda, in strength, and that he is the whole world, moveable and immovable. Since he, the supreme, being by nature luminous, shines from the beginning, in every form of splendour, this soul and source of all beings, having created the waters, formed of old this entire universe." Krishṇa then (vv. 7402 ff.) proceeds to set forth the benefits of reverence to Brahmans, who he says (7412 f.) could reduce this world to ashes, and create new ones, and illustrates his opinion of their importance by the results of his own experience (see above, p. 165).

He afterwards goes on in the passage which I have already cited in pp. 165–170, to return the compliment paid to him by Mahādeva, by celebrating the greatness of that deity, though he does not there commit himself to any such explicit avowal of the supreme divinity of his rival, as the latter has made in regard to him in the text (*Anuśāsanaparva*, 6806 ff.) which has just been adduced in p. 230 f.

In the Āśvamedhika-parva it is related, vv. 1536 ff., that when Krishṇa had left the city of the Pandus, and was journeying to Dvārakā, he fell in with the muni Uttānga, who asked him whether he had reconciled the Kurus and Pandus with one another. Krishṇa replied (1559) that he had made the attempt to do so, but without success, and that the Kurus had perished in consequence. On hearing this Uttānga becomes greatly incensed, and threatens to curse Krishṇa because he had not rescued the Kurus, although he was perfectly able to do so. To pacify the muni's wrath, Krishṇa offers to explain the circumstances, and to unfold the mystery of his own nature; which he accordingly does in vv. 1564 ff. :

Vāsudera uvācha | tamo rajaś cha sattīam̄ cha riddhi bhāvān mad-āśrayān | tathā Rudrān Vasūn rā 'pi riddhi mat-prabhāvān drijā | mayi sarvāṇi bhūtāni sarra-bhuteshu chāpy aham | sthitāḥ ityādi | . . . .  
 1567: Sad asachchāra yat prāhur avyaktam vyaktam era cha | axaraā-cha xarañchārau sarvam etad mad-ātmakam | ye chāśrameshu rai dharmāś chaturdāhā ridditā mune | ravidikani cha sarvāṇi riddhi sarvam mad-ātmakam | asachchāha sad-asachchāraiva yad viśvām̄ sad-asat-param | mattāḥ paratarām nāsti dēva-devāt sanātanāt | oṁkāra-pramukhān redān riddhi mām̄ tvam Bhṛigūdraha | yūpām̄ somām̄ charum̄ homām̄ tridaśāpyāyanam makhe | hotāram api haryañcha riddhi mām̄ Bhṛigu-nandana | adhvary-yuh kalpakasyāpi haviḥ parama-saṁskritam | udgātā chāpi mām̄ stuti gīta-ghoshair mahādhraho | prāyaśchitteshu mām̄ brahmañ śānti-māngala-vāchakāḥ | sturantī viśrakarmānām satatañ drijā-sattama | mama riddhi sutām dharmam agrajām drijā-sattama | mānasām dayitañ vipra sarva-bhūta-dayātmakam | tatrāhañ varttamānāisohā nirvrittaiśchaiva māna-vaiḥ | bahriḥ saṁsaramāno raiyonir varttāmi sattama | dharma-saṁrāpanārthāya dharma-saṁsthāpanāya cha | tais tair veśāiḥ cha rūpāiḥ oha trishu lokeshu Bhārgava | ahañ Viṣṇur aham Brahmā Sakro 'tha prabhavāvyayaḥ (āpyayaḥ ?)<sup>209</sup> | bhūta-grāmasya sarvasya srashṭā saṁhāra eva cha |

<sup>209</sup> See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under *āpyaya*; and Udyoga-parva, v. 2569.

*adharmae varttamānānāṁ sarveshām aham achyutah | dharmasya setum  
badhnāmi chalite chalite yuge | tās tā yonīḥ pravīśyāham prajānām hita-  
kāmyayā | yadā tr ahaṁ deva-yonau varttāmi Bhrigu-nandana | tada  
'haṁ deva-vat sarram ācharāmi na saṁśayaḥ| . . . 1582: Mānushye rartta-  
māne tu kripaṇām yāchitā mayā | na cha tr jāla-sammohā vacho 'grihnanta  
mohitāḥ | bhayañcha mahad uddīṣya trāsitāḥ Kuraro mayā | kruddhena  
bhūtvō cha punar yathārad anudarsitāḥ | te 'dharmeneha saṁyuktāḥ  
paritāḥ kāla-dharmaṇā | dharmena nihata yuddhe gatāḥ svargān na  
saṁśayaḥ | . . . Uttaṅga uñcha | abhijānāmi jagataḥ karttāram trām  
Janārdana |*

"Know that the qualities of darkness (*tamas*), passion (*rajas*), and goodness (*sattra*) have their abode in me. Know also that both the Rudras and Vasus are sprung from me. All beings reside in me, and I in all beings, etc. . . . . 1567 ff. : That which men call entity and nonentity, the unmanifested and the manifested, the undecaying and the decaying,—all this consists of my essence. And know, o muni, that the fourfold duties which are recognized as belonging to the [four] conditions of life, as well as all the Vedic [ordinances], are part of my nature. As regards nonentity, and that which is both entity and nonentity, and that which transcends both entity and nonentity,—know that [of all this] there is nothing which transcends me, the eternal god of gods. Know, descendant of Bhrigu, that I am the Vedas which are introduced by *oṁlāra*, the sacrificial post, the *soma*, the *charu*, the *homa*, the *tridaśāpyāyana* (that which satiates the immortals) in the sacrifice. Know that I am both the *hotri* (priest), and the *havya* (oblation). [I am] also the *adhvaryu* of the ceremony, and the highly purified butter. The *udgātri* celebrates me with sounds of hymns at the great sacrifice. And at the rites of atonement, the priests who utter propitiatory and auspicious texts continually, o excellent Brahman, praise me, the architect of all. Know that Dharma (Righteousness) is my beloved first-born mental son, whose nature is to have compassion on all creatures. In his character I exist among men, both present and past, passing through many varieties of mundane existence, in different disguises and forms, in the three worlds, for the preservation and establishment of righteousness. I am Vishnu, Brahmā, Indra, and the source as well as destruction [of things], the creator and the annihilator of the whole aggregate of existences. While all men live in un-

righteousness, I, the unfalling, build up the bulwark of righteousness, as the ages pass away. While entering into various wombs, from a desire to promote the good of creatures, whenever I assume a divine birth, I act in every respect agreeably to my divine character." . . . (He adds that he acts agreeably to all the other natures which he assumes.) 1582 : "But during the existence of my mortal condition, though they (the Kurus) were humbly entreated by me, they, through delusion, were not touched, and did not listen to my words. Though terrified by me, when I was incensed; with great alarms, and again fittingly admonished, they, influenced by unrighteousness, and overcome by fate, have been righteously slain in battle, and have undoubtedly gone to heaven."<sup>210</sup> On hearing this reply of Krishṇa, the sage Uttanga breaks out : "I recognize thee, Janārdana, as the creator of the world," etc. Krishṇa then shews him his divine form.

VII. In the preceding pages, various passages have been adduced in which the supremacy of Mahādeva and his identity with the soul of the universe have been asserted (pp. 155 f., 162, 164), and other texts have been quoted in which the same rank and character are assigned to Vishṇu (pp. 222–234). The reader will likewise have noticed that in some places also (pp. 195, 204, 226, 231), an attempt is made, by alleging the essential

<sup>210</sup> See Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva, v. 3655 ff., where Indra says. *Āhare tu hatañ śūrañ na socheta kathañchana | asochyo hi hataḥ śūraḥ sranya-loke mahiyate | na hy annām nodakām tasya na snōnām nāpy asauchakam | hatasya karttum ichhanti tasya lokān śrinushra me | rāvapsarāh-sahasrām śūram āyodhane hatam | tvaramānā 'bhidhāvanti "mama bharttā bharat" iti |* "Let no one ever lament a hero slain in battle. A hero slain, is not to be lamented, for he is exalted in heaven. Men do not desire to offer to him food or water, or perform ablutions, or [contract ?] impurity [on his account]. Hear from me the worlds to which he goes. Thousands of beautiful nymphs (*apsarasas*) run quickly up to the hero who has been slain in combat, saying to him, 'be my husband.'" Professor Weber refers to this passage, Indische Studien, i. 398, note, and notices the parallel it forms to similar representations about Hūris in the Coran. In the same way Krishṇa says to Jarāsandha (Sabha-parva, v. 869) : *Ko hi jīvanum abhijanum ātmavān xatriya nyipaḥ | nāriśat svargam atulām rāpanānturam aryayam | srāgañ hy era samāsthāya rāṇa-yajñeshu dīxitāḥ | jayanti xatriyā lokān tad riddhi manujarshabha | srāga-yonir mahad brahma srāga-yonir mahad yaśaḥ | srāga-yonis tapo yuddhe mrityuḥ sa 'ryabhikkā-ravān |* "For what Kshattriya king, who had a soul, and recognised his own kindred, has not, after the battle, entered into an incomparable and undecaying paradise? Know, chief of men, that Kshattriyas, consecrated in the sacrifice of battle, attain to paradise and conquer the worlds. Great scriptural knowledge is the source of paradise, and so is great renown ; austerity (*tapas*) in fight, too, is the source of paradise such a death never fails of its reward."

oneness of the two deities, to reconcile their conflicting claims. Another passage of this description occurs in the *Harivamśa*, vv. 10660 ff. It had been related in the preceding section that Siva had come to the assistance of Bāṇa and the Dānavas in their conflict with Krishṇa (v. 10587 f.), when a terrible combat ensues between the latter and Siva, which causes the earth to tremble, and throws the whole universe into disorder (v. 10601 f.). Siva is at length paralyzed by a weapon of his adversary called *jrimbhana*, which causes him to yawn incessantly (v. 10632 f.). The earth is distressed (vv. 10641 ff.) and appeals to Brahmā for assistance. Brahmā (v. 10647) remonstrates with Siva against his conflict with Krishṇa, who, he says, is in reality one with himself. Siva perceiving by *yoga* (mental union with the object contemplated) the truth of what Brahmā had stated, says to Brahmā that he will no longer fight against Krishṇa, and the two combatants embrace (v. 10648 ff.). Brahmā then says to the sage Mārkandeya (v. 10656 ff.) that he had formerly, in a dream, seen the two deities on the northern side of the mountain Mandara, each invested with the emblems of the other, Hara (Siva) in the form of Hari (Vishṇu) with the shell, discus, and club, clothed in yellow vestments and mounted on Garuḍa, and Hari in the form of Hara, bearing the trident and axe, clad in a tiger's skin, and mounted on a bull; and he asks the sage Mārkandeya to explain this phenomenon which had occasioned him great astonishment. Mārkandeya replies (vv. 10660 ff.):

Mārkandeya urācha | Sirāya Vishṇu-rūpāya Vishṇare Sīra-rūpine |  
 athānturaṁ na paśyāmi tena te dīśataḥ<sup>211</sup> śivam | an-ādi-madhyā-nidhanam  
 etad axaram avyayam | tad eva te pravaryāmi rūpam Hari-Harātmakam |  
 yo vai Vishṇuh sa vai Rudro yo Rudrah sa Pitāmahah | ekā mūrttis trayo  
 devā Rudra-Vishṇu-Pitāmahah | varadū loka-karttāro loka-nāthah svā-  
 yambhuvaḥ | ardha-nārīśvarāḥ te tu vratāṁ tīrrāṁ samāśritāḥ | yathā  
 jale jalāṁ xiplāṁ jalam era tu tad bharet | Rudram Vishṇuh pravishṭas  
 tu tathā Rudramayo bhavet | agnim agnih pravishṭas tu agnir eva yathā  
 bhavet | tathā Vishṇum pravishṭas tu Rudro Vishṇumayo bhavet |  
 Rudram agnimayaṁ vidyād Vishṇuh smṛitakah smṛitah | agnīsho-  
 mātmakaṁ chaiva jagat sthāvara-jangamam | karttārau chāpaharttārau  
 sthāvarasya charasya oha | jagataḥ śubha-karttārau prabhu Vishṇu-  
 Maheśvarau | karttri-kāraṇa-karttārau karttri-kāraṇa-kārakau | bhūta-

<sup>211</sup> The MS. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society reads *darsitah*.

*bhavya-bhavau derau Nārāyana-Maheśvaraū | etau tau cha pravak-tārāv etau tau cha prabhāmayau | jagataḥ pālakāv etāv etau śriśti-karau smritau | ete chaiva pravarshanti bhānti vānti śrijanti cha | etat parataraūm guhyaṁ kathitaṁ te Pitāmaha | yaś chainam paṭhate nityaṁ yaś chainām śrinuyād narah | prāpnoti paramām sthānaṁ Rudra-Viṣṇu-prasāda jam | derau Hari-Harau stoshye Brahmanā saha saṅgatau | etau cha paramāu derau jagataḥ prabhārāpyayau | Rudrasya paramo Viṣṇur Viṣṇoścha paramaḥ Śiraḥ | eka eva dvividhā-bhūto loke charati nityasah | na vinā Saṅkaraū Viṣṇur na vinā Keśavaū Śivāḥ | tasmād ekatram āyatā Rudropendrā tu tau purā | ityādi*

"When thou shewest me this auspicious [vision], I perceive thereby no difference between Siva who exists in the form of Viṣṇu, and Viṣṇu who exists in the form of Siva. I shall declare to thee that form composed of Hari and Hara (Viṣṇu and Mahādeva) combined, which is without beginning, or middle, or end, imperishable, undecaying. He who is Viṣṇu is Rudra; he who is Rudra is Pitāmaha (Brahmā): the substance (*mārtti*) is one, the gods are three, Rudra, Viṣṇu, and Pitāmaha. Bestowers of boons, creators of the world, sovereigns of the world, self-existent, they are the half-female lords, and have performed austere rites. Just as water thrown into water can be nothing else than water, so Viṣṇu entering into Rudra must possess the nature of Rudra. And just as fire entering into fire can be nothing else but fire, so Rudra entering into Viṣṇu must possess the nature of Viṣṇu. Rudra should be understood to possess the nature of fire; Viṣṇu is declared to possess the nature of Soma (the Moon); and the world moveable and immoveable possesses the nature of Agni and Soma. The lords, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, are the makers and destroyers of things moveable and immoveable, and the benefactors of the world. The gods Nārāyaṇa and Maheśvara are the makers, causes, and makers, the makers, causes and causers, existing in the past, future, and present. And these two are the revealers, they possess a luminous essence, they are declared to be the preservers of the world, and the creators. They rain, they shine, they blow, and they create. This which I have told thee, Pitāmaha, is the highest mystery. The man who continually repeats it, and hears it, obtains the highest abode granted by the grace of Rudra and Viṣṇu. I shall laud the gods Hari and Hara, associated with Brahmā; and

these two are the supreme deities, the originators and destroyers of the world. Vishnu, the highest [manifestation] of Rudra, and Siva, the highest [manifestation] of Vishnu,—this [god] one only, though divided into twain, moves continually in the world. Vishnu does not [exist] without Sankara, nor Siva without Keśava: hence these two, Rudra and Upendra (Vishnu), have formerly attained to oneness," etc.

Then follows a hymn to the double deity. .

The various representations of Krishna given in the different sets of passages above cited possess a certain interest in themselves, even independently of the light which they may be considered to throw on the process by which his deification was effected. Among the texts adduced from the Mahābhārata there are some (see pp. 153 ff.) in which he is distinctly subordinated to Mahādeva, of whom he is exhibited as a worshipper, and from whom, as well as from his wife Umā, he is stated to have received a variety of boons. Even in these passages, however, a superhuman character is ascribed to Krishna.

A second class of texts has been brought forward in pp. 170 ff., in which his superiority is represented to have been denied by Śiśupāla, Duryodhana, Karna, and Salya. Of course we are not to imagine that any claim to a superhuman character was ever advanced on behalf of the Yādava hero in his lifetime, either by himself or his friends. These narrative passages, therefore, in which his divine dignity is denied by his enemies, and asserted by his partisans, as well as vindicated by the miraculous exploits which are attributed to him, are nothing more than poetical fictions (possibly of a polemical import) put forward at a period when his godhead had come to be recognised by the Vaishnavas, though perhaps doubted or disputed by other sects. Such a resistance to the pretensions set up on Krishna's behalf may be indicated in the verses I have quoted in p. 200 f., where all who regard him as a mere man are stigmatized as being under the dominion of the quality of darkness.

In the third class of passages, quoted in pp. 206–216, where the achievements of Krishna are described with a supernatural colouring, it seems not unreasonable to recognise as basis of simpler legend (if not of actual history)<sup>212</sup> underlying the miraculous narrative, and to trace a reference to a variety of warlike adventures in which the Yādava chief contended as a mere man with the warriors of other tribes. The

<sup>212</sup> See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, p. 615.

supernatural powers which are here ascribed to him are not in their character essentially different from those which are attributed to his enemies, who, it will be observed, are in like manner represented as endowed with superhuman faculties; while Krishna himself is in various places described as being indebted to the gods for his weapons, or for other advantages (see the Drona-parva, v. 402, and the Adi-parva, v. 8196, quoted in p. 209, and the Udyoga-parva, quoted in p. 213).

The identification of Arjuna and Krishna with the saints Nara and Nārāyaṇa (pp. 192–206)<sup>213</sup> is curious; but I am unable to conjecture whether it may have originated in a previously existing legend respecting two rishis of that name (the one of whom as bearing the same name which was ultimately applied to Vishnu and Krishna, was, in the fanciful spirit of Indian mythology, and in consonance with the tenet of metempsychosis, declared to have been an earlier manifestation of Krishna,—when Arjuna the bosom friend of the latter would naturally be regarded as the same with Nara, the inseparable companion of Nārāyaṇa); or whether the whole legend was originally invented for the glorification of Krishna and Arjuna.

In the passages above adverted to, where Krishna is subordinated to Mahadeva, the latter is identified with the supreme Deity (see pp. 154, 156, 162). In another set of texts, however (pp. 222 ff.), Krishna, as Vishnu, is asserted to be one with the supreme God,<sup>214</sup> while Mahadeva is represented as springing from, and dependent on, Vishnu. But here and elsewhere, as we have already seen, an attempt is made to reconcile the claims of the two rival deities by affirming their identity (pp. 195, 204 f., 226, 231, 237). How are we to explain this circumstance, that in one place Mahadeva is extolled at the expense of Krishna, and that in another place Krishna is exalted above Mahadeva? Must we assume the one set of passages to be older

<sup>213</sup> In Bochtingk and Roth's Dictionary the word *Nārāyaṇa* is explained as the "son of man," and as a patronymic of the personified Purusha, the rishi of the Purusha-sūkta (R. V., x. 90). *Nara* is in the same work interpreted as the "primeval man."

<sup>214</sup> Even in the parts of the Vishnu Purāṇa and Mahābhārata (see pp. 42 and 216 ff.) where Krishna is represented as a *partial* incarnation of the godhead, there does not appear to be any intention to question the plenitude of his divine nature. Compare the 27th with the 34th and following verses of the 33rd section of the 10th Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, quoted in p. 42.

than the other, or are we to suppose them to be contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous, and to have been inserted in the Mahābhārata by different classes of sectaries in order to give a sort of catholicity to the great epic, by making it a storehouse in which the votaries of all the different deities might find something to satisfy their various tendencies?

It does not, I think, result from a comparison of the principal passages which I have quoted relative to Mahādeva, with those which have reference to Kṛishṇa, that the one class bears in its general complexion the impress of any greater antiquity than the other. Both appear to belong to the same age, as we find in both the same tendency to identify the god who is the object of adoration with the supreme Soul. The passages relating to both gods, as they now stand, would therefore seem to be the products of a sectarian spirit, and to have been introduced into the poem by the Śaivas and Vaishnavas for the purpose of upholding the honour of their respective deities. But on the other hand the mere fact that a poem in which Kṛishṇa plays throughout so prominent a part, and which in its existing form is so largely devoted to his glorification, should at the same time contain so many passages which formally extol the greatness, and still more, which incidentally refer to a frequent adoration, of the rival deity, by the different personages, whether contemporary or of earlier date, who are introduced,—this fact is, I think, a proof that the worship of the latter (Mahādeva) was widely diffused, if indeed it was not the predominant worship in India, at the period to which the action of the poem is referred. Various references to such a worship of Mahādeva as I have alluded to will be found in the preceding pages, 154–170, 194 f., and 227 (where the abode of this deity is described as being in the Himālaya, p. 194 and 227). I shall quote some further illustrations of its prevalence.<sup>215</sup>

Lassen remarks (i. 780), that in the epic poems the worship of Vishṇu is but seldom<sup>216</sup> mentioned—a fact which he regards as proving that at the period when they were composed no special worship of

<sup>215</sup> See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. i. pp. 562, 571, 610, 682, 711, 716, 741, and 781.

<sup>216</sup> Lassen (i. 679) refers to a passage of the Vana-parva (15283 ff.) where Dur-yodhana, being prevented from offering a rājasūya sacrifice, is advised by his priest to offer a sacrifice to Vishṇu. This story will be quoted further on.

that deity had been extensively spread, at least among the Brahmins and princes, to the description of whose manners and customs those works almost exclusively confine themselves. On the other hand he quotes the following passages to prove the wide extension of the worship of Mahādeva in different parts of India. In the Tīrthayātrā, or section on visiting places of pilgrimage, in the Vana-parva, 6054 ff., it is said of the Vaitaranī river, in the country of the Kalingas :

*Tatas Tripishtapañ gachhet trishu lokeshu riśrutam | tatra Vaitaranī puṇyā nadī pāpa-praṇāśinī | tatra snātvā 'rchayitrā cha Sūlapāṇīnī Vṛishadvajam | sarva-pāpa-viśuddhātmā gachheta paramāñ gatim |*  
 "Let him then go to Tripishtapa, renowned in the three worlds. There is the holy river Vaitaranī, which destroys sin. Having bathed there and worshipped the god who wields the trident and whoso ensign is the bull (Mahādeva), he shall be purified from all sin, and attain the highest felicity."

At vv. 11001 of the same book it is said of the north bank of the same river :

*Atraiva Rudro rājendra paśum ādattarān malhe | paśum ādāya rājendra bhāgo 'yam iti chābravīt | hrīte paśau tadā devās tam učhur Bharatarshabha | mā para-svam abhidrogdhā mā dharmān sakalān vaśī | tataḥ kalyāna-rāpābhīr vāgbhis te Rudram astuvan | iṣṭyā chaīnān tarpayitvā mānayānchakrire tadā | tataḥ sa paśum utsriyya dera-yānenā jagmivān | tatrānuwañso Rudrasya tan nibodha Yudhishthīra | ayātayāmañ sarvebhyo bhāgebhyo bhāgam uttamam | devāḥ saṅkalpayāmāsur bhayād Rudrasya śāśratam | imāñ gāthām atra gāyann apāḥ spriśati yo naraḥ | deva-yāno 'śya panthās cha chaxushā 'bhiprakāśate |*

"In this very place, o king, Rudra seized a victim at a sacrifice, and having done so, said, 'This is [my] portion.' When he had seized the victim, the gods said to him, 'Do not attack the property of others; do not covet all the offerings.' They then lauded Rudra with words of auspicious import; and having satiated him with an oblation, they paid him honour. He then relinquished the victim, and departed by the path of the gods. Referring to this is the following traditional verse of Rudra, which learn from me, Yudhishthīra : 'Through dread of Rudra, the gods allotted to him for ever the most excellent of all portions, the *ayātayāmu* (or fresh portion). The man

who, here reciting this verse, touches the waters obtains a distinct vision of the path leading to the gods."

In the same Vana-parva, v. 8166, it is said that Mahādeva was worshipped at Gokarṇa, on the west coast of the Dekhan :

*Atha Gokarnam āśādyu trishu lokeshu riśrutam | samudra-madhye rājendra sarva-loka-namashritam | yatra Brahmādayo devā rishayaś cha tapodhanāḥ | . . . . . 8169 : Saritāḥ sāgarāḥ sailā upāsanta Umāpatim | ityādi |* "Then having reached Gokarna, renowned in the three worlds, standing in the sea, adored by all worlds, where Brahmā and the other gods and rishis rich in austerity," [various other kinds of beings are here enumerated, *Bhūtas*, *Yaxas*, etc. etc.], "rivers, oceans, and mountains worshipped the lord of Umā (Mahādeva)."

The same place is also mentioned in the Vana-parva, v. 15999 f.:

*Trikūṭān sumati kramya Kālaparratam eva cha | dadarśa makarāvāsaṁ gambhīrodam mahodadhim | tum atītyātha Gokarṇam abhyagachhat Daśānanāḥ | dayitaṁ sthānam avyagraṁ Sūlapāner mahātmānaḥ |* "Having passed Trikūta, and the Black Mountain, he (Rāvanya) saw the deep ocean, the abode of marine monsters. Having crossed it, he then approached Gokarṇa, the beloved undisturbed abode of the mighty wielder of the trident."

[The same Tīrtha-yātrā, however, contains the following passage celebrating Krishṇa :

Vana-parva, v. 8349 f.—*Punyā Dvāraratī tatra yatrāsau Madhusūdanāḥ | sāxād devāḥ purāṇo 'sau sa hi dharmāḥ sanātanaḥ | ye cha veda-vido viprā ye chādhyātma-vido janāḥ | te vadanti mahātmānaṁ Krishnāṁ dharmamūḍha sanātanaṁ | pavitrāṇāṁ hi Govindāḥ paritram param uchyate | punyāṇām api punyo 'sau-mangalāṇāṁ cha mangulam | trailokyे Punḍarīkāxo deva-devāḥ sanātanaḥ | avyayātma vyayātma cha xetrajñāḥ paramesvaraḥ | āste Hūrir achintyātma tatraiva Madhusūdanaḥ |* "There is the holy Dvāravatī where that Madhusūdana [abides], that manifest, ancient god; for he is the eternal righteousness. Brahmans who know the Veda, and who know the supreme spirit, call the mighty Krishṇa the eternal righteousness. Govinda is called the supremely pure among the pure, the holy among the holy, the blessed among the blessed. In the three worlds the lotus-eyed is the eternal god of gods, the undecaying in essence, and the decaying, the conscious occupant of

the body, the supreme lord. There the inconceivable Hari, Madhusūdana, abides.”]

The following passages supply some further instances of the worship of Mahādeva by personages introduced in the poem :

Ādi-parva, v. 7049.—*Erañ teshām rilapatām riprānām riridhā girah | Arjuno dhanusho 'bhyāse tasthau girir irāchalaḥ | sa tad dhanuh parikramya pradaxinam athākarot | prāṇamya śirasā deram Iśānām varadam prabhūm | Krishnām cha manasā kritrā jagrihe chārjuno dhanuḥ | yat pārthiraiḥ Rukmi-Sunītha-Vaktraīḥ Rādheyā-Duryodhana-Salya-Sālvaiḥ | tadā dhanur-reda-parair nṛiśīnhaiḥ kṛitaṁ na sajyam mahato 'pi yatnāt | tad Arjunaḥ ityādi |* “While the Brahmans thus uttered various speeches, Arjuna stood firm as a mountain, trying the bow. He then made a circuit round it, bowing down in reverence to the boon-bestowing lord Iśāna (Mahādeva); and having meditated on Krishṇa,<sup>217</sup> Arjuna seized the bow. And that bow which the lion-like kings Rukmin, Sunītha (Śiśupāla), Vaktra, Rādheyā, Duryodhana, Salya, and Sālva, skilled in archery, could not with great effort bend [so as to fix the bowstring], Arjuna bent, and hit the mark,” etc. etc.

In the Vana-parvā, vv. 15777, it is related that Jayadratha, after being captured by Bhishma and released at the request of Yudhishthira, went to worship Mahādeva (v. 15801) :

*Jagāma rājan duḥkhārtto Gangādvārāya Bhārata | sa devaṁ śaranaṁ galvā virūpākam Umaputim | tapaś chachāra vipulaṁ tasya pṛito Vṛishādhvajah | baliṁ svayam pratyagrihnāt priyamānas Trilocanāḥ | raraṁ chāsmai dadau devah sa jagrāha oha tach chhṛīṇu | Samastān sarathān pañcha jayeyām yudhi Pāndavān” | iti rājā ‘brurid decaṁ neti decas tam abravīt | ajayyāṁś chapy abadhyāṁś cha vārayishyasi tān yudhi | rite ‘rjunam mahābhūm Naraṁ nāma sureśvaram | Vadaryyām tapta-tapa-saṁ Nārāyaṇa-sahāyakam | ajitaṁ sarva-lokānām derair api durāsadum | mayā dattam pāśupataṁ divyam apratimāṁ śaram | arāpa lokapālebhyo vajrādin sa mahāśardūn | dera-dero hy anantātmā Vishnuḥ sura-guruḥ prabhuh | pradhāna-purusho 'ryaktaḥ viśrātmā viśra-mārttimān | yugāntakāle samprāpte kālagnir dahate jagat | sa-parvatārnava-dvīpaṁ sa-śailavāna-kānanam |*

“He went, o king, distressed with grief, to Gangādvāra (Haridvāra).

<sup>217</sup> Lassen (Indian Antiquities, vol. i. 646) regards this reference to Krishṇa as a later interpolation in the older story.

There, resorting to the distorted-eyed lord of Umā as his refuge, he practised long austerities. Gratified with this, the three-eyed god, whose ensign is a bull, himself received his oblation, and offered him a boon, which he accepted. Hear how [he did so]. The king (Jayadratha) said to the god, 'May I vanquish all the five Pāndavas with their chariots in battle.' The god said, 'No; thou shalt withstand them all, though they are unconquerable and not to be slain, excepting only the great-armed Arjuna, who is called Nara, the lord of the gods, who performed austerity at Badari, attended by Nārāyaṇa, who is invincible by all the worlds, and irresistible even by the gods. He obtained the Pāśupata, a divine, incomparable missile, given by me, and thunderbolts and other weapons from the guardians of the worlds. For the infinite Vishṇu, the god of gods, the chief of the deities, the chief spirit (Purusha), the undiscernible, the soul of all things, the universal-formed, at the end of the yuga burns up the world, with its mountains, oceans, continents, rocks and forests.' Mahādeva then goes on to relate how the destruction and the restoration of the world is effected by Vishṇu, and describes his various incarnations. He concludes by saying that Arjuna who was aided by him could not be conquered even by the gods. In this legend it will be observed that the warrior goes to worship Mahādeva, and not Vishṇu, though the latter is represented as being magnified by the rival deity. But this part of the story may be interpolated.

In the Santi-parva also (vv. 1748 f.), it is related how Paraśurāma worshipped Mahādeva on the mountain Gandhamādana, and obtained his celebrated axe, by which he became renowned in the world (*toshayitvā Mahādevam parrate Gandhamādane | astrāni varayāmūsa paraśūn chāti-tejasam | sa tenākunṭha-dhārena jvalitānala-varcasā | kuthārenā-prameyena lokeshv apratimo 'bhavat |*). Then follows the story of Kārttavīrya.

In the following passage, Jarāsandha is introduced as a zealous votary of Mahādeva. Yudhisthira had been purposing to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice, which presupposed that he was the most powerful of contemporary monarchs; but Krishṇa in the following words tells him that he cannot do so while Jarāsandha lives:

Sabhā-parva, v. 626.—*Na tu śakyaṁ Jarāsandhe jīvamāne mahābale | rājasūyam tvayā 'vāptum eshā rājan matir mama | tena ruddhā hi rājā-*

*nah sarve jītvā Girirraje | kandare parvatendrasya siṁheneva mahā-dvipāḥ | sa hi rājā Jarāsandho yiyaxur vasudhādhipaiḥ | Mahādevam mahātmānam Umāpatim arindama | ārādhyā tapasogrena nirjītās tēna pārthivāḥ | pratijñāyāś cha pāraṁ sa gataḥ pārthiva-sattamāḥ | sa hi nirjītya nirjītya pārthivān pritanāgatān | puram āñya baddhvā oħu chakāra purusha-vrajam | vayaṁ chaiva mahārāja Jarāsandha-bhayāt tada | Mathurāṁ samparityajya gatā Dvāravatīm purīm |*

"But whilst the powerful Jarāsandha lives, a Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be attained by thee; such, king, is my opinion. For all the kings have been conquered, and are imprisoned by him in Girivraja, as elephants by a lion in a cave of a great mountain. For this monarch Jarāsandha desired to sacrifice to the glorious Mahādeva, the lord of Umā, with these kings as victims, and they were conquered by him after he had worshipped the god with dreadful austerities. And this eminent prince has attained to the accomplishment of his design. For after repeatedly conquering the princes who had come against him in battle, he has brought them to his capital, confined them, and made them a human herd. And we too," (confesses Krishṇa) "from dread of Jarāsandha, deserted Mathurā, and went to the city of Dvāravatī."

Krishṇa returns, a little farther on, to Jarāsandha's cruelty to the kings.

Sabhā-parva, v. 653.—*Ratna-bhājo hi rājāno Jarāsandham upāsate | na cha tushyati tenāpi bālyād anayam āsthitaḥ | mūrdhābhishiktaṁ uṛipatim pradhāna-purusho balāt | ādatte na cha no dṛishṭo 'bhāgaḥ purushataḥ krachit | evaṁ sarvān raśe chakre Jarāsandhaḥ śatāvarān | taṁ durbala-paro rājā katham Pārtha upaishyati | proxitānām pramrishi-tānām<sup>218</sup> rājānām Paśupater grihe | paśūnām ivā kā prītiḥ jīvite Bharat-arshabha |* "For jewelled kings wait upon Jarāsandha; and yet he is not contented even with that, having through folly become imprudent. A prince seizes by force a consecrated king, and no mortal that we see is more wretched than such a man. In this manner Jarāsandha has reduced to subjection in all at least a hundred persons; how, then, can a feeble prince approach him? What pleasure can those princes have in existence, when they have been devoted to slaughter and designated as victims like beasts in the temple of Paśupati (Mahādeva)?"

<sup>218</sup> The commentator's remark on this is as follows. *Pramrishi-tānām | Rudra-dām-alyo 'yam iti prātyekam abhūmṛishi-tānām |*

Krishṇa afterwards proceeds to Jarāsandha's capital with Bhīma and Arjuna, with the view of slaying their enemy. They are admitted to his palace in the disguise of Brahmans, and after some conversation, Krishṇa says to Jarāsandha :

Sabhā-parva, vv. 861 ff. — *Trayā chopahrītā rājan xatriyā loka-vāsīnāḥ | tad āgāḥ krūram utpādyā manyase kim anāgasam | rājā rājñāḥ kathaṁ sādhūn hiṁsyān nrīpati-sattama | yad rājñāḥ sannigrīhya tvām Rudrāyopajīhvṛshasi | asmāṁs tad enopagachchhet kṛitaṁ Vārhadratha trayā | rayām hi śaktā dharmasya raxaye dharma-chārīnāḥ | manushyā-nām samālambho na cha dṛishṭāḥ kadačahana | sa katham mānushair devām yashṭum ichhasi Sāṅkaram | savarṇo hi savarṇānām<sup>219</sup> paśu-sañjñānām karishyasi | ko 'nya evām yathā hi tvām Jarāsandha vrithā-matiḥ | yas-yām yasyām arasthāyām yat yat karma karoti yaḥ | tasyām tasyām arasthāyām tat-phalum samarāpnuyāt | te trām jñāti-xaya-karaṁ vayam ārttānusāriṇāḥ | jñāti-rriddhi-nimittārthām vinihantum ihāgatāḥ | . . . . Jarāsandha uvācha . . . . 882 : *Deratārtham upāhṛitya rājñāḥ Kṛishṇa katham bhayāt | aham adya vimuchyeyām xātrām vratam anusmaran |**

"Thou, king, hast devoted [to Mahādeva] Kshattriyas dwellers in this world. Having devised this cruel iniquity, dost thou regard thyself as guiltless? How should a king injure virtuous kings? Inasmuch as thou hast confined kings, and seest to offer them up to Rudra, the guilt committed by thee, son of Vṛihadratha, will attach to us. For we who practise righteousness are able to protect righteousness. And [such a thing as] the immolation of men has never been seen. How [then] dost thou seek to sacrifice to the god Sankara with human victims? For thou, belonging to the same tribe [as those princes], wilt designate as victims men of thine own tribe. What other person, Jarāsandha, is so foolish as thou? Whosoever, in any condition, perpetrates any particular act will reap the fruit of it in that particular condition. We, the avengers of the afflicted, seeking the welfare of our kindred, have come hither to slay thee, the destroyer of thy kindred." Krishṇa, then, after some further arguments, calls upon Jarāsandha either to

<sup>219</sup> On this the commentator remarks *Nanu "Brahmane brāhmaṇyam īlabheta" ityādīna sarva-jātiyānām sarva-karmaṇām manushyānām īlambho devatārtham bādhāḥ śrūyate ity īśāukya īha savarṇo hi iti |* "But is not the immolation,—the slaughter as an offering to a god,—of men of all classes, and all occupations, enjoined in such Vedic texts as this, 'let him immolate a Brāhmaṇa to Brāhmaṇa,' etc.? Having raised this doubt, he says, 'For thou, belonging to the same tribe,' etc.

liberate the kings, or to submit to be destroyed in combat. Jarāsandha (v. 880) says he has conquered the kings, and has a right to act as he is doing. He adds (v. 882): "How, Krishṇa, can I, who have devoted the kings to the god, remembering my duty as a Kshattriya, to-day release them from fear?" He then accepts the challenge, and is killed by Bhīmasena.

The birth of Jarāsandha is thus related in the Sabhā-parva; and the narrative contains at the close a reference to his being a worshipper of Mahādeva. His father, Vṛihadratha, had two wives, who after having been long barren, at length bore him two halves of a boy (v. 711), which being regarded with horror, were thrown out (v. 714). A female demon (Rāxasī) named Jarā, an eater of flesh, takes them up (v. 715) and puts them together in order that they may be more easily carried away. A boy is thus formed, who cries; and people in consequence come out of the inner apartments of the palace, and among them the two queens and the king. The Rāxasī assumes a human shape, and gives the child to the king, who then asks who she is. She replies (vv. 729 ff.):

Jarā-nāmā 'smi bhudraṁ te Rāxasī kāma-rūpiṇī | tuva veśmani rājendra pūjita nyavasaṁ sukham | grihe grihe manushyānāṁ nityān tishṭhamī rāxasī | griha-deciti nāmnā rai purā srishṭā Svayambhuvā | dānavānāṁ vināśāya sthāpitā divya-rūpiṇī | yo mām bhaktvā likhet kundye sapultrāṁ yauvanānvitām | grihe tasya bhaved ṛiddhir anyathā xayam āpnuyāt | tvad-grihe tishṭhamānā tu pūjītā 'ham sadā vibho | likhitā chuiva kundye 'ham putrair bahubhir ārītā | gandha-pushpais tathā dhūpair bhaxyair bhojyaiḥ supūjītā | sā'ham pratyupakārārthaṁ chintayamy anīśān tava | tavame putra-śakale ḍrīṣṭarāty asmi dhārmika | saṁśleshite mayā daivāl kumāraḥ samapadyata | tava bhāgyād mahārāja hetu-mātrām ahaṁ tv iha | Meruṁ vā khāditumū śaktā kim punas tava bālakam | griha-sampūjanāt tushṭyā mayā pratyarpitas tava |

"I am, bless thee, a Rāxasī named Jarā, who can change my shape at will. Worshipped in thy house, I have dwelt there in comfort. Named the house-goddess, I dwell constantly in every separate house of men, having been created of old by Svayambhū; and placed [there], of celestial form, for the destruction of the Dānavas. Prosperity will remain in the house of that man who devoutly paints me in a youthful form, together with my sons, upon his wall;—otherwise he shall decay. Abiding in thy house, o king, and continually reverenced, painted upon

the wall, surrounded by my numerous sons, worshipped with odours and flowers, with incense, and various kinds of food, I continually consider how I may benefit thee in return. I saw, righteous prince, these two pieces of thy son; I put them together by chance, and a boy was produced, through thy good fortune, o great king, and I was merely the instrument. I could devour mount Meru, much more thy son: but being gratified by the domestic worship I have received, I have restored him to thee."

The Rāxasī then disappears. King Vṛihadratha orders a great festival to be celebrated among the people of Magadha in her honour; and calls the boy *Jarāsandha* because he had been *put together* (*sandhitah*) by the Rāxasī *Jarā* (v. 738: *Ājñāpayach cha rāxasyā Magadheshu mahotsavam | tasya nāmākaroch chaiva Pitāmaha-samah pitū | Jarayā sandhito yasmāj Jarāsandho bhavatr ayam |*). The rishi Chandakauśika arrives on a certain occasion in the country of the Magadhas, and prophesies the future greatness of *Jarāsandha* (vv. 745 ff.). He ends by saying that this mighty prince of Magadha should have a manifest vision of Rudra, Mahādeva, Hara, the destroyer of Tripura (v. 753: *Esha Rudram Mahādevaṁ tripurānta-karam Haram | sarra-lokeshv atibalo sāxād draxyati Māgadhaḥ |*).

The description here given by the Rāxasī of the worship paid to herself, furnishes, as Lassen (who quotes it, i. 609) remarks, an instance of the local adoration of particular deities in ancient India.

In the account given of the transactions connected with the Rājasūya sacrifice which Yudhishthira sought to celebrate, we find (as Lassen, i. 673, remarks) the Pāṇḍavas represented as the partisans of Krishna; and this legendary narrative may perhaps be taken as an indication that they actually were the votaries of Vishnu, and opposed to the worship of Mahādeva. In the story of Śiśupāla, which has been given above (pp. 171 ff.), we have seen that, in the assembly of princes who were gathered together on the occasion of that ceremonial, Krishna's claims to veneration were strongly maintained by the Pāṇḍavas, and others who, on this point at least, took their side, while they were strenuously resisted by Śiśupāla, an adherent of the Kauravas, and according to Lassen,<sup>220</sup> a representative of the Śaiva worship. The same opposition to the worship of Krishna was, as I have already

<sup>220</sup> See above, p. 176, note 160.

noticed, manifested by Duryodhana, Karna, and Salya, (pp. 180, 182, 184, 185, etc.).

It is true that there is one passage (referred to above, p. 240, note 216) to which Lassen has drawn attention, in which Duryodhana is represented as having offered up a sacrifice to Vishnu; and as this legend exhibits some features of interest, I shall give some account of it here. In the Vana-parva, 15274 ff., Karna, after having conquered the earth, says to Duryodhana that the earth was now his, and he should rule over it like Indra. Duryodhana answers that he wished to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice. Karna replies that he should make preparation for that purpose (15278 ff.). Duryodhana then sends for his priest (purohita), whom he desires to perform the sacrifice (15284). The priest, however, states that the Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be celebrated by Duryodhana while Yudhishtira lives, and while his own father, Dhritarāshtra, survives (15285 ff.); but he suggests that there is another great sacrifice which Duryodhana may offer (15287 ff.):

*Asti tv anyad mahat satraṁ rājasūya-samam prabho | tena tvāṁ yaja  
rājendra śriṇu chedāṁ racho mama | ye ime prithīrī-pālāḥ kara-dūs tava  
pārthiva | to karān samprayachhantu surarṇaṁcha kṛitākṛitam | tena te  
kriyatām adya lāngalaṁ nrīpa sattama | yajñā-vāṭasya te bhūmiḥ  
krishyatāṁ tena Bhārata | tatra yajñō nrīpa-śreshṭhaḥ prabhūtānnāḥ  
susāṁskṛitāḥ | pravarttatāṁ yathānyāyāṁ sarvato hy anivāritāḥ | esha te  
Vaishṇavo nāma yajñāḥ satpurushochitāḥ | etena neshtavarān kaścid rite  
Vishnum purātanam | rāja-sīyaṁ kratu-śreshṭham sparddhaty esha  
mahākratuḥ | “But there is another great ceremonial equal to the  
rājasūya, with which, o great king, do thou sacrifice: and hear this  
which I have to say. Let those princes who are your tributaries  
present to you their contributions, and gold both wrought and un-  
wrought. With this let a plough be to-day made, and with it let the  
ground of thy sacrificial enclosure be ploughed. There let a sacrifice,  
well-arranged, and with abundant food, be duly celebrated; for it will  
be completely unobstructed. This is to thee the Vaishnava sacrifice  
(the sacrifice of Vishnu), a ceremony suitable for virtuous men.<sup>221</sup> With it no one ever sacrificed except the ancient Vishnu. This great  
ceremonial rivals the rājasūya, the most excellent of sacrifices.”*

<sup>221</sup> It must, according to this, have been very uncommon. Further on, however, it is said to have been celebrated by Yavāti and others.

Duryodhana and his friends consented to this proposal (15295 f.), and the sacrifice was accordingly performed (15301 ff.). Amid the rejoicings which followed the ceremony, however, some ill-natured persons said to Duryodhana that his sacrifice was not a sixteenth part so good as Yudhishtira's Rājasūya sacrifice, while his friends said that this sacrifice surpassed all other ceremonies, and that Yayāti, Nahusha, Māndhātri, and Bharata, had celebrated this rite, and had in consequence gone to heaven (15327 ff.): *Apare ēv abruvans tatra vātikās tam mahīpatim | Yudhishtirasya yajñena nā samo hy esha te kraluh | naiva tasya krator esha (?) kalām arhati shodaśim | evam tatrābruvan kechid vātikās tam janesvaram | suhridas tv abruvans tatra ati sarrān ayāmkratur ityādi |*

I am not aware of any passage of the Mahābhārata in which Duryodhana is represented as a special worshipper of Mahādeva; but in a passage in the Karna-parva, quoted above, pp. 187 ff., (which, however, I have supposed may be a later interpolation) he is declared to have narrated a legend descriptive of Mahādeva's prowess, and in which Vishnu is generally subordinated to his rival. Duryodhana is also in two passages of the Mahābhārata connected (as if he was considered to be heretically disposed) with a Rāxshasa named Chārvāka, and is represented as his friend (Sānti-parva, 1414-1442), and as calling him to mind after he has received his death-blow, and expressing a belief that if once informed of his fate, Chārvāka would perform an expiation for him in the holy lake Samantapanchaka.<sup>222</sup>

In his Indische Studien, i. 206, Professor Weber conjectures that "the Kurus may have been the representatives of the Rudra-, or Siva-worship, and the Pandus or Panchālas of the Indra- (?) or Vishnu-worship," and this supposition seems to derive support from the considerations which have just been adduced.

The following passage from the Sabhā-parva, (where Krishna is

<sup>222</sup> Salya-parva, 3619. See both passages translated in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xix. pp. 308 f. I have not been able to find any other passage in the Mahābhārata in which the connection of Duryodhana with this Chārvāka (who stands here, no doubt, as a mythical representative of the well-known heretics of that name) is more explicitly described; though from the two passages above adverted to, one would have expected to find some further references to Duryodhana's connexion with him. Possibly such passages may have existed, and have been struck out as dangerous to the cause of Brahmanical orthodoxy.

describing to Yudhishtira the different partisans of Jarāsandha) appears as if it contained a tradition indicating some struggle, at a period antecedent to that of the writer, between the worship of Vishnu, and that of some local deity who was venerated in the provinces east of Magadha.

*Jarāsandham gatas tv eva purā yo na mayū hataḥ | Purushottama-vijñāto yo 'sau Chedishu durmatih | ātmānam pratijānāti loke 'smiṇ Purushottamam | ādatte satatam mohād yaḥ sa chihnaṁ cha māmakam | Vanga-Pundra-Kirāteshu rājā bala-sumanvitah | Paundrako Vāsudeveti yo 'sau loke 'bhiviśruthaḥ |* “And he who formerly was not slain by me, has also taken the side of Jarāsandha—(I mean) the wicked man who is known as Purushottama among the Chedis, who in this world professes himself to be Purushottama, who through infatuation continually assumes my mark—he who is a powerful king among the Bangas, Pundras, and Kirātas, and is celebrated in the world as the Vāsudeva of the Pundras.<sup>223</sup>

<sup>223</sup> On this Lassen remarks (i. 608) “Since these (Purushottama and Vāsudeva) became in later times two of the most venerated names of Vishnu, it is clear from this passage, that among the Eastern tribes, and those too not of Arian origin, a supreme god was worshipped, whose name was afterwards transferred to Vishnu.”

## CHAPTER III.

RUDRA AND MAHADEVA, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC  
HYMNS, AND THE BRAHMANAS

In the preceding chapter I have quoted a variety of passages from the Mahābhārata, which, though primarily adduced to illustrate the ideas entertained of Krishna's character, afford at the same time a pretty full representation of the attributes of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the period of the epic poems and Purāṇas. I have thus found it necessary to anticipate much that would otherwise have found its place towards the close of the present chapter, of which it is the purpose to compare the earlier and the later accounts furnished to us by Indian literature of the deity or deities to whom the name of Rudra was applied. I shall now proceed to adduce the passages relating to this divinity which occur (1) in the Rig-veda, (2) in the Yajur-veda, (3) in the Atharva-veda, and (4) in the Brāhmaṇas, and to compare the representation which they contain with those which are found in the texts descriptive of Mahādeva which I have quoted in the preceding chapter.

SECT. I.—*Rudra as represented in the Hymns of the Rig-veda.*

In the present Section I purpose to quote all the texts of the Rig-veda in which the word Rudra occurs in the singular, whether as an epithet of Agni or as the name of a separate deity.

R. V. i. 27, 10 (S. V. i. 15; Nir. x. 8).—*Jarābodha tad rividdhi viśe  
viśe yajñiyāya stomaṁ rudrāya drisikam* | “Thou who art skilled in

praise, utter therefore for every tribe, a beautiful hymn to the adorable, the terrible (Agni)." In connection with this verse, Yâska remarks :

Nir. x. 7 and 8.—*Agnir api rudra uchyate | tasyaishâ bharati . . . jarâ stutih | jarateh stuti-karmañah | tâm bodha tuyâ bodhayitar iti râ | tad vividdhi tat kuru manushyasya manushyasya yajanâya stomân Rudrâya darśanîyam |* "Agni also is called Rudra, as in this verse (the one before us). *Jarâ* means 'praise.' One who perceives it, or awakens [another] by it, is *jarâbodha*. Compose that for the worship of every man,—a sightly hymn for the terrible." Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 136) remarks that *rudra* in this verse is an epithet of Agni, to whom the whole *trîsha* or aggregate of three verses in which it occurs, is addressed; and he refers to R.V. x. 70, 2, 3, and R.V. viii. 26, 5, where the same epithet is applied in the dual to Mitra and Varuna, and to the Aśvins, respectively. Roth also quotes from Jayatîrtha the following short *itihâsa* in reference to this verse, which, however, applies it to Rudra: *Agnih stuyamânah Sunah-shepham urâcha "Rudram stuhî raudrâ hi paśarâh" iti | Sa tam praty-uvâcha "nâham jânâmi Rudram stotum trâm evaitum stuhi" iti tad idam uchyate "He jarâbodha Rudra-stuti-rettas tat kuru" ityâdi |* "Agni, when he was being praised, said to Sunahshepha, 'Praise Rudra, for cattle (or victims) belong to him.' He (Sunahshepha) answered, 'I do not know how to praise Rudra; do thou praise him.' It is this which is here expressed, 'O thou who art skilled in the praise of Rudra, do thou do so.'

R. V. i. 43, 1 ff.—*Kad Rudrâya prachetase mîlhushtamâya taryase | rochema śantamâñ hṛide |* 2. *Yathâ no Aditiñ karat paśce nrîbhyo yathâ gare | yathâ tokâya rudriyam |* 3. *Yathâ no Mitro Varuno yathâ Rudras chiketati | yathâ riś.e sajusphasah |* 4. *Gâtha-patim medha-patiñ Rudram jalâsha-bheshajam | tat śamyoḥ sumnam imâhe |* 5. *Yah śukra ira sâryo hiranayam ira rochate | śreshtho devânâñ vasuñ |* 6. *Sûn nah karaty arrate sugam meshâya meshye | nrîbhyo nâribhyo gave |* "What can we utter to Rudra, the intelligent, the most bountiful, the strong, which shall be most pleasant to his heart? 2. That so Aditi may bring Rudra's healing to our cattle, and men, and kine, and children. 3. That so Mitra, Varuna, Rudra, and all the [gods] united, may think of us. 4. We seek from Rudra, the lord of songs, the lord of sacrifices, who possesses healing remedies, his auspicious favour. 5. [We seek this from him] who is brilliant as the sun, who shines like gold, who

is the best and the brightest of the gods. 6. He grants prosperity and welfare to our horses, rams, ewes, men, women, and cows."

R. V. i. 64, 2.—*Te jañire diva rishvāsa uxano Rudrasya maryā asurā arepasah | pāvakasah śuchayah sūryā iva satrāno na drapsino ghora-varpasah |* 3. *Yurāno Rudrā ajarā abhogghano rārāxur adhṛigāvah parvatā iva | dṛilha chid viśvā bhurānāni pārthirā prachyārayanti divyāni majmanā | . . . . 12. Ghṛishum pāralām raninām richarshānīm Rudrasya sūnuñ havasā grīñmasi | rājasturañ tarasam mārutañ ganam rījishinām vrishanām saśchata śriye |* "These sons of Rudra have been produced from the sky, exalted, fertilizing, spiritual, sinless, purifiers, bright as suns, resembling spirits, shedding water, fearful in form. 3. The youthful Rudras, undecaying, destroyers of the impious, relentless, [firm as] mountains, have increased [in vigour]. By their power they cast down all the firm terrestrial and celestial worlds. . . . 12. We praise with invocations the fierce, purifying, rain-dispensing, all-beholding offspring of Rudra. To obtain prosperity, worship the dust-chasing host of Maruts, vigorous, impetuous, and fertilizing."

R. V. i. 85, 1.—*Pra ye śumbhante janayo na saptayo yāman Rudrasya sūnavah eudāmsasah | rodasi hi marutās chakrire vridhe madanti vīrā vidatheshu ghṛishvayah |* "The Maruts, energetic sons of Rudra, who when moving in their course, are brightly arrayed like women, have made the two worlds to prosper, and, impetuous heroes, rejoice in sacrifices."

R. V. i. 114, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 16, 48).—*Imā Rudrāya tavase kaparddine<sup>224</sup> xayad-vīrāya prabharāmahe matih | yathā śam asad dvipade chatushpade viśvam pushṭañ grāme asminn anāturam | 2. Mṛilā no*

<sup>224</sup> *Kaparddin* is also an epithet of Pūshan in R. V. vi. 55, 2 *Rathitamañ kaparddinam tīśānañ rādhaso mahāḥ | rāyāḥ sakhāyam īmahe |* "We invoke the possessor of a great chariot, adorned with braided hair, the lord of great power, the friend of wealth." And also in R. V. ix. 67, 10, 11 *Aritā no qasvah Pūshā yāmani yāmani | ābhazat kanyāsu nah |* 11. *Ayāṁ somaḥ kaparddine ghritañ na parate madhu | ā bhazat kanyāsu nah |* "Pūshan, who has goats for steeds, is our protector on every journey. May he give us a share of damsels. 11. This soma is purified for the god with braided hair, like sweet butter. May he give us a share of damsels." The word is also applied to the Tritsus in R. V. vii. 83, 8. . . . *Svityāñcho yatra namasā kaparddino dhyā dīcanto asapanta Tritsavaḥ | . . . .* "Where the white-robed Tritsus with braided hair have worshipped you with obeisances and prayers." With this compare *daxinatas-kaparddāḥ* in R. V. vii. 33, 1. The word *Kaparddin* also occurs in R. V. x. 102, 8.

*Rudra uta no mayas kridhi xayad-rirāya namasā vidhema te | yat  
śām̄ cha yoścha Manur ā yeje pitā tad aśyāma tava Rudra pra-  
ṇitishu | 3. Aśyāma te sumatiṁ dera-yajyayā xayad-vīrasya tava Rudra  
mīdhrāḥ | sumnāyan id viśo asmākam āchara arishṭa-vīrā juharāma te  
havih | 4. Treshaṁ rayam Rudraṁ yajñu-sūdham̄ vankum̄ karim̄ aśe  
niḥrayāmahe | āre asmud dairyam̄ heļo asyatu sumatim id rayam asya ā  
vriṇīmahe | 5. Diro varāham arushaṁ kapardinaṁ treshaṁ rūpaṁ  
namasā niḥrayāmahe | haste bibhrad bheshajā vāryāṇi śarma varma chhardir  
asmabhyām yaṁsat | 6. Idam̄ pitre Marutām uchyate vachāḥ svādoh̄ srād-  
yo Rudrāya vardhanam | rāsrā cha no amṛita martta-bhojanaṁ tmane  
tokaya tanayāya mṛīla | 7. (V. S. 16, 15—A. V. ii, 2, 29). Mā no ma-  
hāntam̄ uta mā no arbhakam̄ mā na uxantam̄ uta mā na uxitatam̄ | mā no  
badhīḥ pitaram̄ mota mātaram̄ mā naḥ priyās tanro Rudra rīrishāḥ |  
8. (V. S. 16, 16) Mā nas toke tanaye mā na āyau mā no goshu mā no  
aśveshu rīrishāḥ | rīrān mā no bhāmito badhīr harishmantāḥ sadam it trā  
harāmahe | 9. Upa te stomān paśu-pā irākaram rāsrā pitar Marutām̄  
sumnam̄ asme | bhadrā hi te sumatir mṛīlayattamā athā vayam arāḥ it te  
vriṇīmahe | 10. Āre te go-ghnam̄ uta pūrusha-ghnam̄ xayad-vīra sumnam̄  
asme te astu | mṛīlā cha no adhi cha brūhi dera adhā cha naḥ śarma  
yachha dvi-barhāḥ | 11. Avochāma namo asmā arasyavaḥ śriṇotu no  
haraṁ Rudro marutrān | tan no Mitro Varuṇo māmahantām Adiūḥ  
sindhūḥ prīthivī uta dyauḥ |*

" We present these prayers to Rudra, the strong, with braided hair, ruling over heroes, that there may be prosperity to the two-footed and four-footed creatures, that everything in this village may be well fed and free from disease. 2. Be gracious to us, Rudra, and cause us happiness; let us with obeciance worship thee, the ruler over heroes. Whatever prosperity and blessing our father Manu has earned by worship, may we attain it all under thy guidance, Rudra. 3. May we by our worship of the gods obtain the goodwill of thee, Rudra, who art the ruler of heroes, and beneficent; act favourably towards our people: may we, with our warriors unharmed, offer thee our oblation. 4. We invoke to our succour the impetuous Rudra, the fulfiller of sacrifice, the crooked-goer, the wise. May he drive far away from us the anger of the gods, for we desire his favour. 5. We invoke with obeciance the dark-hued celestial boar (cloud?), with braided hair, a brilliant form. Carrying in his hand most choice remedies, may he give us

protection, defence, shelter. 6. This magnifying hymn, sweeter than the sweetest, is uttered to Rudra, the father of the Maruts. Bestow on us, o immortal, the food of mortals; be gracious to ourselves, our children, and descendants. 7. Slay neither our great, nor our small, neither our growing nor our grown, neither our father nor our mother; injure not, Rudra, our dear selves. 8. Injure us not in our children and descendants, nor in our men, nor in our cattle, nor in our horses. Slay not our warriors in thine anger: we continually worship thee with offerings. 9. Like a keeper of cattle I have prepared for thee hymns: bestow on us your favour, o father of the Maruts. For kind and most gracious is thy benevolence, and now we desire thy succour. 10. Far from us be thy cow-slaying and thy man-slaying [weapon]: ruler of heroes, let thy sympathy be with us. Be gracious to us, o god, and intercede for us, and bestow on us prosperity, lord of both worlds. 11. We have uttered to him our adoration, desiring his help. May Rudra, attended by the Maruts, listen to our invocation. May Mitra, Varuna, Aditi, Sindhu, Earth and Sky, grant us this."

In Sāyana's annotations on the 6th verse, he quotes the following modern story to explain how Rudra (hero identified with the later Mahādeva) came to be called the father of the Maruts:

*Rudrasya Marutām pitṛitram evam ākhyāyatे | purā kadāchid Indro 'surān jīgāya | tudānīm Dīlīr Asura-mātā Indra-hanana-samartham putrām kūmayamānā tapasā bhartuk sakūśid garbhām lebho | imān vṛittāntam avagachhann Indro rājra-hastāḥ san sūxma-rūpō bhūtrā tasyā udaram praviṣya taṁ garbhām saptadhā bibheda | punar apy ekaikām sapta-khandām akarot | te sarve garbhaika-deśā yonē nirgatyārudan | etasmīn avasare tīlārthaṁ gachhantau Pārvati-parameśvarāv imān da-driṣatuh | Maheśam prati Pārvaty evam avochat | "ime māṁsa-khaṇḍā yathā pratyekam putrāḥ sampadyantām evāṁ tvayā kāryyam mayi chet pritir asti" iti | sa cha Maheśvaras tān samāna-rūpān samāna-vayasaḥ samānālankārān putrān kṛitvā Gauryyai pradadau "tavome putrāḥ santv" iti | atah sarveshu Māruteshu sūkteshu Maruto Rudra-putrā iti stuyante Raudreshu oha Marutām pītā Rudra iti |*

"The story of Rudra being the father of the Maruts is thus recounted. Formerly, once on a time, Indra overcame the Asuras. Then Diti, the mother of the Asuras, desiring a son who should be able

to slay Indra, through austerity became pregnant by her husband. Indra, learning this news, entered into her womb in a very minute form, with a thunderbolt in his hand, divided her foetus into seven parts, and again made each of these parts into seven. All these being parts of the foetus, issued from the womb and wept. At this conjuncture, Parameśvara (Mahādeva) and Pārvatī were passing by for amusement, and saw them. Pārvatī spoke thus to Parameśvara, ‘If you love me, effect that all these bits of flesh may become severally sons.’ Maheśvara made them all of the same form and age, and with the same ornaments, and gave them to Gaurī (Pārvati), saying, ‘Let these be thy sons.’ Hence in all the hymns addressed to the Maruts, they are lauded as the sons of Rudra; and in the hymns to Rudra, he is praised as the father of the Maruts.”

R. V. i. 122, 1.—*Pra vah pāntāñ raghu-manyavo 'ndho yajñam  
Rudrāya mīlhushe bharadvam | divo astoshi asurasya virair ishudhyā  
iva Maruto rodasyoḥ |* “Present, ye mild-tempered priests, to the bountiful Rudra, the draught of soma, your offering. The praise of the divine Marut is celebrated in heaven and earth.”

R. V. i. 129, 3.—*Dasmo hi shmā vrishanam pinvasi tvacham kām chid  
yāvīr ararūm śūra martyam parivrinxaxi martyam | Indrota tubhyam  
tad dive tad Rudrāya sva-yaśase | Mitrāya voohañ Varunāya sapra-  
thaḥ sumriličāya saprathah |* “Thou, who art energetic, causest the teeming skin (the cloud) to be expanded: thou, hero, hast chased away every hostile mortal, thou puttest to flight the mortal. Indra, I have uttered this at length to thee, and to the Sky, and to Rudra, who derives his renown from himself, and to Mitra, and to Varuna, at length to the very bountiful.”

R. V. ii. 1, 6.—*Tvam Agne Rudro asuro maho divas tvam śardho  
mārutam prixa tishe | tvam vātair arunair yāsi śāngayas tvam Pūsha  
vidhataḥ pāsi nu tmanā |* “Thou, Agni, art Rudra, the deity (asura) of the great sky. Thou art the host of the Maruts. Thou art lord of the sacrificial food. Thou, who hast a pleasant abode, movest onward with the ruddy winds. Thou [being] Pūshan, by thyself protectest those who worship thee.”

See above (p. 66) the third verse of this hymn, where Agni is identified with Indra, and Vishṇu, in the same way as he is identified with Rudra and Pūshan in the verse before us.—See also verses 4, 5, and 7.

Sāyana, in his commentary on this verse, gives two derivations of the word Rudra :

*Rud duḥkhaṁ duḥkha-hetur vā pāpādiḥ | tasya drāvayitā etan-nāmako devo'si |* “*Rudro vā esha yad Agnir*” ity ādīsho Agneḥ Rudra-śabdena vyavahārāt | yadvā tvam Rudruḥ | rauti | mām anishtvā narā duḥkha patishyanti | Rudras tūḍriṣo'si | “*Rut* means suffering, or sin, etc., which causes suffering. Thou art the god so called, who drives this away (*Rud-drāvayitā*); for Agni is commonly expressed by the word Rudra in such passages as this, ‘He who is Agni is Rudra.’ Or, thou art Rudra. He cries. Not worshipping me, men will fall into grief. Thou art such a Rudra,” etc.

R. V. ii. 33, 1 ff.—*Ā te pitar Marutāṁ sunnam etu mā naḥ sūryasya sañḍriṣo yuyothāḥ | abhi no viro arrati xameta pra jāyemahi Rudra prajābhiḥ |* 2. *Tvā-dattebhī Rudra śāntamebhīḥ śataṁ hima aśīya bheshajebhīḥ | vi asmad dvesho vitaraṁ vi aṁho vi amīvāś chātayasvā vishūchīḥ |* 3. *Sreshṭha jātasya Rudra śriyā' si tuvastumas tavasāṁ rājra-bāho | parshi naḥ pāram aṁhasaḥ svasti viśvā abhītīḥ rapaso yuyodhi |* 4. *Mā tvā Rudra chukrudhāmā namobhir mā dushtutī vrishabha mā sahūti | ud no vīrān arpaya bheshajebhī bhishaktamāṁ tvā bhishajām śriṇomi |* 5. *Havīmabhir havate yo havirbhīr ava stomebhī Rudraṁ dishīya | riḍūdarāḥ suhavo mā no asyai babhrūḥ suśipro rīradhad manāyai |* 6. *Ud mā mamanda vrishabho marutvān tvaxīyasā vayasā nādhamānam | ghriṇīva chhāyām arapā aśīya ā vivāseyām Rudrasya sunnam |* 7. *Kva sya te Rudra mrīlayākur hasto yo asti bheshajo jalāshāḥ | apabharttā rapaso daivyasya abhī nu mā vrishabha chaxamīthāḥ |* 8. *Pra babhrave vrishabhāya śvitīche maho mahīm eushtutim ṛrayāmi | namasyā kalmalikinām namobhir grīṇīmasi tveshām Rudrasya nāma<sup>225</sup> |* 9. *Sthirebhīr aṅgair puru-rūpa ugro babhrūḥ śukrebhīḥ pipiṣe hiranyaiḥ | iśānād asya bhuvanasya bhūrer na vā u yoshad Rudrād asuryam |* 10. *Arhan bibharshi sāyakāni dhanva arhan nishkaṁ yajataṁ viśvarūpam | arhann idāṁ dayase viśvam abhvām na vā ojīyo Rudrā tred asti |* 11 (A. V. 18, 1, 40). *Stuhi śrutiṁ gartta-sadāṁ yuvānam mrīgām na bhīmam<sup>226</sup> upahatnum ugram | mrīlā jaritra Rudra stavāno anyām te asmad ni vāpantu senāḥ |* 12. *Kumāras*

<sup>225</sup> Compare R. V. vii. 100, 3, above, p. 76.

<sup>226</sup> Compare above similar modes of speaking about Vishnu, Indra, Varuna, etc., p. 59.

*chit pitarañ randamānam prati nānāma Rudra upayantam | bhūrē  
datārañ satpatiñ grīñshe stutas tram bheshajā rāsi asme | 13. Ya  
vo bheshajā Marutah śuchīni yā śāntamā vrishanō yā mayobhu | yāni  
Manur arīñtā pītā nas tā śām̄ cha yoścha Rudrasya raśmi | 14 (V. S.  
16, 50). Pari no hetih Rudrasya vriyyāḥ pari treshasya durmatir māhi  
gāt | ava sthirā magharadbhyas tanvshra mīḍhves tokāya tanayāya  
mrīla | 15. Ecā babbro vrishabhu chekitāna yathā dera na hrīñt̄she na  
haṁsi | harana-śrud no Iludra iha bodhi brihad radema vidathe surīrāḥ |*

" 1. Father of the Maruts, may kindness come from thee : remove us not from the sight of the sun. May the hero spare our horses : may we, Rudra, increase in offspring. 2. Through the auspicious remedies conferred by thee, Rudra, may I attain a hundred winters. Drive away far from us enmity, and sin, and divers diseases. 3. Thou, Rudra, art in glory the most eminent of beings, the strongest of the strong, o wielder of the thunderbolt. Thou carriest us happily across our sin : repel all the assaults of evil. 4. Let us not, Rudra, provoke thee by our prostrations, by our unsuitable praises, vigorous [deity], or by our common invocations. Raise up our heroes by thy remedies : I hear that thou art the greatest physician of physicians. 5. May I with hymns propitiate that Rudra who is invoked with praises and oblations. Let not him who is mild, easily-invoked, tawny, with a beautiful chin, deliver us up to this will [of our enemies]. 6. The mighty [god] attended by the Maruts, has gladdened me his suppliant with invigorating nourishment. May I free from injury obtain [thy protection], as it were, shade from the heat [of the summer] : may I seek the favour of Rudra. 7. Where, Rudra, is that thy gracious hand which is healing and restorative, removing the evil which comes from the gods ? Forgive me, thou vigorous [deity]. 8. I send forth an exceedingly great encomium to this tawny, vigorous, fair-complexioned god. Reverence the fiery [deity] with prostrations : we celebrate the glorious name of Rudra. 9. Firm of limb, multiform, fierce, tawny, he has been invested with bright golden ornaments.<sup>227</sup> Divine power is ever inseparable from Rudra, the lord of this vast world. 10. Thou, governing, holdest arrows and a bow ; governing, thou [holdest] a glorious bracelet of every form. Governing, thou possessest all this vast [world]. There is nothing, Rudra, more powerful than thou. 11. Celebrate the renowned and youthful

<sup>227</sup> See *sukra-pis*, Nir. viii. 11 = R. V. x. 110, 6; and Roth Erl.

god, mounted on his chariot, like a terrible wild beast, destructive, and fierce. Be gracious to thy worshipper, Rudra, when praised: may thy hosts destroy some one else than us. 12. Even a boy, when his father approaches and salutes him, makes obeisance to him in return; [so] o Rudra, I praise [thee], the giver of much [good], the lord of the excellent. Thou, when lauded, grantest to us remedies. 13. Those pure remedies of yours, Maruts, those which are auspicious, ye strong [gods], those which are beneficent, those which our father Manu wished—those, as well as the blessing and favour of Rudra, I desire. 14. May the bolt of Rudra avoid us; may the great malevolence of the fiery [deity] depart far from us. Unbend thy strong bows [so as not to strike] thy wealthy worshippers. Dispenser of good, be gracious to our children and descendants. 15. Tawny and vigorous, intelligent god, Rudra, listen to our invocations in such wise, that thou neither frownest at us, nor injurest us; let us with our vigorous men utter a great hymn at the sacrifice."

R. V. ii. 34, 2.—*Dyāro na stribhiś chitayanta khādino i abhriyā na dyutayanta vrishṭayāḥ | Rudro yad iō Maruto rukma-raxaso vrishājanī priśnyāḥ śukra ūdhani |* “Adorned with armlets, [the Maruts] have shone like the skies with their stars, they have glittered like showers from the clouds, at the time when the prolific Rudra generated you, o Maruts, with jewels on your breasts, from the shining udder of Priśni.”

R. V. ii. 38, 9.—*Na yasya Indro Varuno na Mitro vratam Aryamā na minanti Rudrah | na arātayas tam idam srasti huve devaṁ Savitārām namobhīḥ |* “With prostrations I invoke this blessing from the god Savitri, whose purpose neither Indra, nor Varuna, nor Mitra, nor Aryaman, nor Rudra, nor any enemies can resist.”

R. V. iii. 2, 5.—*Agnīnī sumnāya dadhire puro janā rāja-śravasam iha vrikta-barhishāḥ | yata-sručāḥ suruchaṁ uśra-devyaṁ rudraṁ yaññānāṁ sādhad-iṣṭim apasām |* “Men, having spread the sacrificial grass, and holding ladles, have, to obtain his favour, placed in their front Agni, the bestower of food, the brilliant, acceptable to all the gods, the terrible (rudra), who fulfils the objects of sacrifices and rites.”

R. V. iv. 3, 1.—*Ā vo rājānam adhvarasya rudraṁ hotārām satya-yajām rodasyoḥ | Agnim purā tanayitnor achittād hiranya-rūpam avase kriṇudhvam |* 6. *Kad dhishnyāsu vridhasāno Agne kad Vātāya pratavase*

*śubhañye | pariñmane nāsatyāya xe bravah kad Agne Rudrāya nri-ghne |*  
 7. (quoted above, pp. 67, 68). “Before the thunderbolt [falls] un-aware, call to your succour Agni, the terrible (*rudra*) king of the sacrifice, the invoker of both worlds, offering genuine worship, the golden-formed. . . . 6. How, Agni, wilt thou, who growest in the places of oblation, how wilt thou declare [our sin] to *Vāta*, the energetic, the bestower of blessings, the circumambient, the truthful, how wilt thou declare it to the earth, and to the man-slaying Rudra?”

R. V. v. 3, 3, quoted and translated above, pp. 68, 69.

R. V. v. 41, 2.—*Te no Mitro Varuno Aryamā "yur Indra Ribhuxā Maruto jushanta | namobhir rā ye dadhute surriktiñ stomañ Rudrāya mīlhushe sajoshāḥ |* “May Mitra, Varuna, Aryaman, Āyu, Indra, Ribhuxan, the Maruts, be favourable to us, [and to those] who, united together, offer with obeisances hymns and praises to the bountiful Rudra.”

R. V. v. 42, 11.—*Tum u shtuhi yaḥ srishuh sudhanrā yo viśvasya zayati bheshajasya | yaxṇā mahe saumanasāya Rudrañ namobhir devam asurañ duvaysa | . . . . 15. Esha stomo mārutañ śardho achhā Rudrasya sūnūn yuvanyūn ud aśyāḥ | ityādī |* “Praise him who has excellent arrows and bow, who commands all remedies. Worship Rudra to [obtain his] great benevolence : with prostrations adore the spiritual deity. . . . 15. May this hymn reach the troop of Maruts, and ascend to the youthful sons of Rudra,” etc. etc.

R. V. v. 46, 2 (V. S. 33, 48), quoted and translated above, p. 69.

R. V. v. 51, 13.—*Viśve devā no adya svastaye vaiśrānaro vasur<sup>228</sup> Agnih svastaye | devā avantu Ribhavaḥ svastaye srasti no Rudraḥ pātu aṁhasaḥ |* “May all the gods, may Agni the *Vasu* common to all men, may the divine Ribhus preserve us for our welfare. May Rudra bless and preserve us from sin.”

R. V. v. 52, 16.—*Pra ye me bandhreshe gāñ rochanta sūrayah priśniñ vochanta mātaram | adhā pitaram ishmināñ Rudrañ rochanta śikvasaḥ |* “These wise and powerful [Maruts] who, when I was seeking with my friends, declared to me that the Earth, Priśni, was their mother, and that the rapid Rudra was their father.”

R. V. v. 59, 8—*Mimātu dyaur Aditir vītaye naḥ sañ dānu-chitrā ushaso yatantām | āchuchyavur divyañ kośam ete rishe Rudrasya Maruto*

<sup>228</sup> See Nirukta, vii. 22 ff.; and xii. 41, 42.

*grinānāḥ* | “May the Sky and Aditi work for our enjoyment: may the dawns glittering with moisture, strive [in our behalf]. These Maruts, [the sons] of Rudri, when lauded, o nshi, have caused the celestial treasure to drop down.”

R. V. v. 60, 5.—*Ayeshthāśo akanishthāśa ete sam bhrātaro vāridhuh saubhagya* | *yuvā pitā sapā Rudra eshāṁ sudughā Priśniḥ sudinā Marudbhyaḥ* | “These brothers (the Maruts) among whom there is no distinction of elder and younger, have grown to prosperity. Rudra, their young and energetic father, and the prolific Priśni, [have created] fortunate days for the Maruts.”

R. V. vi. 16, 39.—*Ya ugra u śayu-ha tigma-śringo na rāmsa-gaḥ* | *Agne puro rurojitha* | “Thou, Agni, who art fierce (*ugra*), like an archer, like a sharp-horned bull, hast broken down cities.”

On this the commentator remarks: “*Rudro vā esha yad Agnir*” iti *śruteḥ* | *Rudra-kritam api Tripura-dahanam Agni-kritam eva iti Agniḥ stūyate* | “For the Veda says that ‘this Agni is Rudra.’ It is here said in praise of Agni, that the burning of the Tripura (or the three cities), though done by Rudra, was done by Agni.” Another explanation is that Agni was present in Rudra’s arrow on that occasion.

R. V. vi. 28, 7 (A. V. iv. 21, 7).—*Prajāvatiḥ sūyarasam riśantih śuddhā apaḥ suprapāne pibantih* | *mā vah stena tāta mā'ghasāmāḥ pari ro hēti Rudrasya vriyyāḥ* | “Be ye (cows) prolific, consuming excellent pasture, drinking pure waters in a good pond. May no thief or wicked man have power over you. May the bolt of Rudra avoid you.”

R. V. vi. 49, 10. —*Bhuvanasya pitaram girbhir abhi Rudram divā vārdhayā Rudram aktau* | *brihantam rishvam ajaram sushumnam riḍhag hurema kavineshitāsah* | “Magnify with these songs, the father of the world, Rudra, by day, [magnify] Rudra by night. Let us, impelled by the poet, specially invoke [him] the mighty, the exalted, the undecaying, the blessed.”

R. V. vi. 50, 4.—*Ā no Rudrasya sūnavo namantām adya hutāśo Vasavo adhṛiṣṭāḥ* | *ityādi* | 12. (quoted above, p. 71). “May the sons of Rudra, may the irresistible Vasus, invoked to-day, stoop down to us,” etc. . . . 12. (translated above, p. 71).

R. V. vi. 66, 3.—*Rudrasya ye mīlhusahā santi putrāḥ yāṁś cho nu dādhrivir bharadhyai* | *vide hi mātā māhi māhi shā sā it Priśniḥ subhva garbham ādhāt* | . . . 11. *Tam vridhantam mārutam bhrājad-rishiṁ*

*Rudrasya sūnum havasū ā vivāse | ityādi |*—“those who are the sons of the bountiful Rudra, and whom he upholds for their nourishment. For the mighty mother possessed these mighty sons. This Pṛiṣṇi was pregnant for an illustrious birth. . . . 11. I worship with invocation this growing race of the Maruts, with shining weapons, the offspring of Rudra,” etc.

R. V. vi. 74, 1 ff.—*Somā-Rudrā dhārayethām asuryam pra vām ishtayo'ram aśnuvantu | dāme dame saptu ratnā dadhānā śām no bhūtām dvipade śām chatushpade |* 2. (A. V. 7, 42, 1) *Somā-Rudrā vi vṛihataṁ vishūchīm amīvā yā no gayam ā viveśa | āre bādhethām Nirritim parāchair asme bhadrā sauśravasāni santu |* 3 (A. V. 7, 42, 2). *Somā-Rudrā yuram etāni asme riśvā tanūshu bheshajāni dhattum | ava syatam muñchataṁ yad no asti tanūshu buddhañ kṛitam eno asmat |* 4. *Tigmā-yudhau tigma-hetī suśerau Somā-Rudrāv iha su mrīlatām naḥ | pra no muñchataṁ Varunasya pāśād gopāyataṁ naḥ sumanasyamānā |* “Soma and Rudra, do ye grasp divine power. May oblations in abundance reach you. In every house, bearing with you seven jewels, be favourable to our bipeds and our quadrupeds. 2. Soma and Rudra, drive away that hostile disease which has entered into our abode. Chase Nirriti far away from us. May we have excellent renown. 3. Soma and Rudra, infuse into our bodies all these remedies. Remove and banish from us whatever sin we have done which attaches to our bodies. 4. Soma and Rudra, whose weapons are sharp, and whose bolts are piercing, be beneficent and favourable to us. Deliver us from the noose of Varuna; protect us, regarding us with favour.”

R. V. vii. 10, 4.—*Indraṁ no Agne Vasubhiḥ sajoshā Rudraṁ Rudrebhir ā vahā brihantam | Ādityebhir Aditiṁ riśva-janyām Brihaspatim rikvabhir riśvā-vāram |* “Agni, united with the Vasus, bring hither to us Indra, with the Rudras [bring] the powerful Rudra, with the Ādityas [bring] Aditi, who is acceptable to all, and with the bards [bring] the Brihaspati who grants all boons.”

R. V. vii. 35, 6.—. . . . *Sāṁ no Rudro Rudrebhir jalāshah |* . . . . “may the healing Rudra, with the Rudras, be favourable to us,” etc.

R. V. vii. 36, 5.—*Yajante eṣya sakhyām vayaś cha namasvināḥ sve ritasya dhaman | vi prīxo bābadhō nrībhīḥ stavāna idāṁ namo Rudrāya preshṭham |* “Men making obeisance in their own place of sacrifice, seek by worship his friendship, and life. Praised by men, he has

distributed food amongst them. This reverence is most dear to Rudra."

R. V. vii. 40, 5. (quoted and translated above, pp. 73, 74).

R. V. vii. 41, 1 (V. S. 34, 34; A. V. 3, 16, 1).—*Prātar Agnim prātar Indram harāmahe prātar Mitrā-Varunā prātar Aśvinā | prātar Bhagam Pūshanam Brahmanaspatim prātaḥ Somam uta Rudram huvema |*  
"In the morning we invoke Agni, in the morning Indra, in the morning Mitra and Varuna, in the morning the Aśvins ; in the morning let us invoke Bhaga, Pūshan, Brahmanaspati, Soma, and Rudra."

R. V. vii. 46, 1 (Nirukta x. 6).—*Imā Rudrāya sthira-dhanvane girah xipreshave devāya svadhāvne<sup>229</sup> | ashālhāya sahamānāya redhase tigmā-yudhāya bharatā śrinotu naḥ |* 2. *Sa hi xayena xamyasya janmanah sāmrājyena divyasya chetati | avann avantir upa no duraś chara anamīvo Rudra jāsu no bhava |* 3 (Nirukta, x. 7).—*Yā te didyud avasrīshṭā divas pari xmayā charati pari sā rīnaktu naḥ | sahasrañ te svapivātā bheshajā mā nas tokeshu tanayeshu rīrishāḥ |* 4. *Mā no vadhi Rudra mā parā dā mā te bhūma prasitau kīlitasya | ā no bhaja barhishi jīva-śaṁse yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ |* "Present these songs to Rudra with the strong bow, and swift arrows, the self-dependent god, unassailable, the assailant, the disposer, armed with sharp weapons: may he hear us. 2. By his power he perceives the terrestrial race, and by his universal dominion [he perceives] the divine. Protecting us, approach our protecting doors; Rudra, remove sickness from our offspring. 3. May that shaft of thine which is discharged from the sky, and traverses the earth, avoid us. Thou, who art easy of access, hast a thousand remedies. Injure us not in our children and descendants. 4. Slay us not, Rudra; do not abandon us; let us not fall into thy net when thou art incensed. Place us on the sacrificial carpet destined for the tribe of the living. Do ye always succour us with your benedictions."

R. V. vii. 56, 1 (S. V. i. 433)—*Ke iñ vyaktā narāḥ sanīlā Rudrasya maryāḥ adhā svāsvāḥ |* 2. *Nakir hi eshām janūṁshi veda te anga viđre miþho janitram |* "Who are these visible heroes, the sons of Rudra,

<sup>229</sup> Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 135) considers the word *svadhāvat* to signify "independent," "whose glory is inherent," etc., and refers to R. V. vii. 20, 1; vii. 37, 2; vii. 86, 4. At p. 40 f. of his Illust. Roth assigns to *svadhā* the sense of "according to one's own determination," "according to pleasure," and quotes the following passages where it has this sense, viz. . R. V. i. 6. 4; i. 33, 11; i. 81, 4; ii. 3, 11; iii. 47, 1; vii. 78, 4; and viii. 20, 7.

occupying the same abode, possessing excellent horses? No one knows their births. They [themselves] know the place of their common production."

R. V. vii. 58.—*Tān ā Rudrasya mīlhusho vivāse ityādi* | "I worship these [sons] of the bountiful Rudra," etc.

R. V. viii. 13, 20.—*Tad id Rudrasya chetati yahram pratneshu dhāmasu* | *mano yatrā vi tad dadhur vichetusah* | "That [worship] the offspring of Rudra perceive in their ancient abodes, and on it these wise deities have therefore fixed their minds."

R. V. viii. 20, 17.—*Yathā Rudrasya sūnaro divo vaśanti asurasya vedhasah* | *yuvānas tathā it asat* | "As the wise and youthful sons of Rudra the deity of the sky desire, so shall it be."

R. V. viii. 22, 13.— . . . *Tā u namobhir īmahe* | 14. *Tāv id doshā tāv ushasi śubhas patī tā yāman rudra-varttāni* | <sup>230</sup> *mā no marittāya ripave vājīnī-rasū paro rudrāv ati khyatam* | "We invoke them (the Aśvins) with adoration (14) at evening and at dawn, and on their path, the two lords of splendour, proceeding on terrible roads. Do not, o terrible (rudrau) lords of wealth, abandon us to our mortal enemy."

R. V. viii. 29, 5. (quoted and translated above, p. 79).

R. V. viii. 61, 3.—*Antar ichhanti tam jane rudram paro manishayā* | *grībhṇanti jihrayā sasam* | "They entreat the god who is terrible (rudra) beyond all thought, to enter among the people. With their tongues they take food."

R. V. x. 64, 8.—*Triḥ sapta sasrā nadyo mahīr apo vanaspatīn parvatañ Agnim ūtaye* | *Kriśānum astrīn Tishyām sadhasthe ā Rudram Rudreshu rudriyāñ havāmahe* | We invoke to our aid in the assembly of sacrifice, the three times seven swift rivers, the great waters, the trees, the mountains, Agni, Kriśānu, the archers, Tishya, and Rudra, terrible among the Rudras."

R. V. x. 65, 1. (quoted and translated above, p. 82).

R. V. x. 66, 3.—*Indro Vasubhiḥ paripātu no gayam Ādityair no Aditiḥ śarma yachhatu* | *Rudro Rudre�ir devo mṛilayāti nas Tvaṣṭā no gnābhiḥ suvitāya jinvatu* | "May Indra with the Vasus protect our habitation; may Aditi with the Ādityas grant us protection. May the

<sup>230</sup> This word *rudra-varttāni* is also applied to the Aśvins in the first verse of this hymn, and in R. V. x. 39, 11.

divine Rudra with the Rudras be gracious to us; may Tvaṣṭṛi with his wives bless us for our welfaro."

R. V. x. 92, 5.—*Pra Rudreṇa yayinā yanti sindhavas tiro makīm aramatiṁ dadhanvire | yebhiḥ parijmā pariyann uru jrayo vi roruvaj jaṭhare viśvam urate | . . . . 9. Stomaṁ vo ḍāya Rudrāya śikvase xayad-virāya namasā didiṣṭana | yebhiḥ śivah svavān evayāvabhir divah sishakti sra-yaśā nikāmabhīḥ |* “The waters flow [impelled] by the moving Rudra, and have spread over the vast earth; with them the circumambient, roaring god, who moves round the wide space [of the earth], fertilizes all contained in its womb. . . . . 9. With reverence present your hymn to-day to the mighty Rudra, the ruler of heroes, [and to the Maruts] those rapid and ardent deities with whom the gracious and opulent [Rudra], who derives his renown from himself, comes down from the sky.”

R. V. x. 93, 4.—*Te ghā rājāno amṛatasya mandrā Aryamā Mitro Varunāḥ parijmā | kad Rudro nrīnāṁ stuto Marutāḥ Pūshano Bhagāḥ | . . . . 7. Uta no rudrā chid mṛīlatām Aśvinā ityādi |* “These are the kings of immortality who gladden us: Aryaman, Mitra, Varuna the circumambient, Rudra celebrated by men, the Maruts, the Pūshans, and Bhaga. . . . . 7. May the terrible (*rudra*) Aśvins be favourable to us,” etc.

R. V. x. 125, 6 (A. V. 4, 30, 5).—*Ahaṁ Rudrāy adhanur ā tanomi brahma-dvishe śarave hantavā u ityādi |* (Vāch speaks): “I bend the bow for Rudra, for an arrow to slay the hater of the priest,” etc.

R. V. x. 126, 5.—. . . . *Ugram Marubhī Rudraṁ huvema ityādi |* “Let us invoke the terrible Rudra with the Maruts,” etc.

R. V. x. 126, 1 (Nir. xii. 26).—*Keśī agnīn̄ keśī vishuṇ̄ keśī bibhartti rodasi | keśī viśvān̄ svar driṣe<sup>231</sup> keśī idān̄ jyotiḥ uchyate | . . . . 7. Vāyur asmā upāmanthat piṇashṭi smā kunannamā | keśī vishasya pātrena yad Rudrenāpibat saha |* “The long haired [being] sustains fire, water, and the two worlds; he beholds the entire sky; he is called this light. . . . . 7. Vāyu agitated for him; the long-haired [being] breaks down the things which are unbending, by means of the vessel of water (*visha*) which he drank along with Rudrā.”

Prof. Roth (Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 164) understands the *keśīn* or “long-haired being” who is the subject of the hymn, to be an un-

<sup>231</sup> *Keśī idān̄ sarvam idam abhivipaśyati |* —Nir. xii. 26.

shorn ascetic, who by his austerities has gained supernatural powers, and placed himself upon a level with the gods, and refers to R. V. vii. 56, 8. In his Lexicon, however, Roth refers to *keśin* as an epithet of Rudra in Atharva-veda, xi. 2, 18 (to be quoted below), with which he also compares the present passage. Yāska understands *keśin* of the Sun whose locks are rays. The allusion in the 7th verse to Rudra drinking water (*visha*) may possibly have given rise to the legend of his drinking poison (*visha*).—See above, p. 43.

R. V. x. 169, 1.—*Mayobhūr vāto abhivātu usrāḥ ūrjasvatir oshadhūr āriśantām | pīvasvatir jīva-dhanyāḥ pibantu avasāya padvate<sup>232</sup> Rudra mṛīla |* “May the wind, causing prosperity, blow upon our cows. Let them consume invigorating plants; let them drink, being fat and life-sustaining: Rudra, be gracious to our moving sources of food.”

## SECT. II.—Passages relating to Rudra in the Vājasaneyi recension of the white Yajur-veda.

I now proceed to quote from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā the principal texts which it contains relative to Rudra.

Vaj. S. 3, 57 ff.—*Esha te Rudra bhāgāḥ saha srasrā Ambikayā taṁ jushasva svāhā | esha te Rudra bhāga ākhus te paśuh |* 58. *Ava Rudram adīmāhy ava devam tryambakam | yathā no vasyasas karad yathā naḥ śreyasas karad yathā no ryavasāyayāt |* 59. *Bheshajam asi bheshajam gave 'svāya purushāya bheshajam | sukham meshāya meshyai |* 60 (=R. V. vii. 59, 12). *Tryambakaṁ yajāmahe sugandhim pushti-vardhanam | urvārukam iva bandhanād mrityor muxiya mā'mrītāt | tryambakaṁ yajāmahe sugandhim pativedanam | urvārukam iva bandhanād ito muxiya mā'mutah |* 61. *Etat te Rudra avasaṁ tena paro Mūjavato atīhi | avata-tata-dhanvā pinakāvasah krittī-vāsā ahīnsan naḥ śivo 'tīhi |* 62. *Tryāyushāṁ Jamadagnēḥ Kaśyapasya tryāyusham | yad deveshu tryāyushāṁ tad no astu tryāyusham |* 63. *Śivo nāmāsi svadhitis te pitā namas te astu mā mā hiṁsīḥ | nivartayāmy āyushe annādyāya prajanānāya rāyas-pōshāya suprajāstvāya suviryāya |*

“This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā; accept it with

<sup>232</sup> *Padvad avasaṁ gāvāḥ |* —Nir. i. 17.

favour, may it be fortunate (*svāhū*). This is thy portion; thy victim is a mouse. 58. Let us satisfy Rudra; let us satisfy the god Tryambaka,<sup>233</sup> that he may make us most opulent, most happy, that he may prosper us. 59. Thou art a medicine, a medicine for kine and horses, a medicine for men, a [source of] ease to rams and ewes. 60. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, the increaser of fatness. May I, like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, be freed from death, not from immortality. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, who causes us to find our husbands. Like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, may I be released from this [world], not from that. 61. This, Rudra, is thy provision; with it depart beyond the Müjavat, with thy bow unbended, with thy goad slackened, clothed with a skin, without injuring us, gracious, cross over.<sup>234</sup> 62. Let us have a triple life, the triple life of Jamadagni, the triple life of Kaśyapa, the triple life which exists among the gods. 63. Thou art gracious (*śīrṇa*) by name; a thunderbolt [or an axe] is thy father. Reverence be to thee: destroy us not. I empower thee [o sacrificer] to obtain life, food to eat, the power of procreation, the possession of wealth, abundant offspring, and eminent prowess.”<sup>235</sup>

The next passage which I shall quote is the famous Satarudriya, a prayer the holiness and efficacy of which are celebrated in two passages quoted above (pp. 162 and 167) from the Mahābhārata (see also p. 155).

Vājasaneyi Samhitā, xvi 1 ff.—*Namas te Rudra manyave uto te i shave namah | bāhubhyām uta te namah |* 2. *Yā te Rudra śivā tanūr aghoraḥ pāpa-kāśinī | tayā nas tanvā śantamayā giriśantābhichākāśihī |* 3. *Yām ishuṁ giriśanta hasta bibharshi astave | śivāṁ giriitra tāṁ kuru mā hiṁsēḥ purushāṁ jagat |* 4. *Sivena vachasā tvā giriśāchhā vadāmasi | yathā naḥ sarvam ij jagad ayaxmaṁ sumanā asat |* 5. *Adhy avochad adhi-vaktā prathamo daivyo bhishak | ahīṁścha sarvān jambhayan sarvā-*

<sup>233</sup> S. P. ii. 6, 2, 9.—*Ambikā ha vai nāmāya svasā | tayā 'syaisha saha bhāgah | tad yad asyaisha striyā saha bhāgas tasmāt Tryambako nāma |* “He has a sister called Ambikā, with whom he has this share: and since he has this share along with a female (*stri*), he is called Tryambaka” (*i.e.* Stryambaka).

<sup>234</sup> See the 2nd vol. of this work, pp. 364 f.

<sup>235</sup> The commentator says that the first half of this verse is addressed to a razor, and the second half is supposed to be spoken by the razor to the person to whose head it is to be applied. He translates the words *nivārttayāmy āyushe*, etc., by “I shave thee for longevity,” etc.

cha yātudhānyo 'dharāchih parāsuva | 6. Asau yas tāmro aruṇa uta  
 babhrūḥ sumaṅgalah | ye chaināṁ Rudrā abhito dixu śritāḥ sahaśraśo  
 'vaishāṁ heḍa īmahe | 7. Asau yo 'vasarpati nīlagrīvo vilohitah | utaināṁ  
 gopā adriśrann adriśrann udahāryyaḥ sa drishṭo mṛidayāti nah | 8.  
 Namo 'stu nīla-grivāya sahaśrāxaya mīḍhushe | atho ye asya satvāno  
 ahaṁ tebhyo 'karaṇī namah | 9. Pramuñcha dhanranas tvam ubhayor  
 ārtyor jyām | yāścha te haste ishavaḥ parū tā bhagavo vapa | 10.  
 Viṣyaṁ dhanuh kapardinś viśalyo bāṇavān uta | aueśam asya yā  
 ishava abhur asya nishāṅgaḍhiḥ | 11. Yā te hetir mīḍhushtama haste  
 babhūva te dhanuh | tayā 'smān viśvatas tvam ayarmayā pari bhuja |  
 12. Pari te dhanvano hetir asmān vṛinaktu viśvataḥ | atho ya ishu-  
 dhis tava āre asmad nidhchi tam | 13. Aratatyā dhanush tvāṁ saha-  
 rāxa śateshudhe | niśīrya śalyānām mukhā śiro nah sumanā bhava |  
 14. Namas te āyudhāya anātātāya dhṛishṇare | ubhābhyaṁ uta te namo  
 bāhubhyān tava dhanvane | 15. (=R.V. i. 114, 7.) 16. (=R.V. i. 114, 8.)  
 17. Namo hiranyabāhavə senānye diśāñcha pataye namo namo vṛixebhyo  
 harikeśebhyaḥ paśūnām pataye namo namah śashpiñjarāya tvishīmate  
 pathīnām pataye namo namo harikeśāya upavītine puṣṭānām pataye  
 namah | 18. Namo babhūśāya vyādhino 'nnānām patuye namo Bhavasya  
 hetyai jagatām pataye namo namo Rudrāya ātatātāyine xetrānām pataye  
 namo namah sūtāya ahantyai vanānām pataye namah | 19. Namo  
 rohitāya sthapataye vrixānām pataye namo namo bhuvantaye vārivas-  
 kritāya oshadhīnām pataye namo namo mantrīne vāṇijāya kaxānām  
 pataye namo nama uchchhairghoshāya ākrandayate pattīnām pataye namah |  
 20. Namah kṛitsnāyatayā dhārate satvanām pataye namo namah saha-  
 mānāya nivyādhine āvyādhīnānām pataye namo namo nishāṅgīne kaku-  
 bhāya stenānām pataye namo namo nicherave paricharāya aranyānām  
 pataye namah | 21. Namo rāñchate parivañchate stāyūnām pataye namo  
 namo nishāngīne ishudhīmate taskarānām pataye namo namah śrikāyibhyo  
 jighāṁsadbhyo muṣṭatām pataye namo namo 'simadbhyo naktām charad-  
 bhyo vikrīntānām pataye namah | 22. Namo ushñīshīne giricharāya  
 kuluñjānām pataye namo namo ishumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyāścha vo namo  
 namo ātanvānebhyo pratidadhānebhyaścha vo namo namo āyachhadbhyo  
 'syadbhyāścha vo namah | 23. Viśṭijadbhyo vidhyadhbhyāścha vo namo namah  
 svapadbhyo jāgradbhyāścha vo namo namah śayānebhya āśinebhyaścha vo  
 namo namas tishṭhadhbhyo dhāvadbhyāścha vo namah | 24. Namah sabhā-  
 bhyaḥ sabhāpatibhyāścha vo namo namo 'śvebhyo 'svapati'bhyāścha vo namo

nama āvyādhinībhyo vividhyantibhyaścha namo nama ugaṇāgbhyas triṁhati-  
 bhyas cha vo namaḥ | 25. Namo gaṇebhyo gaṇapatibhyaścha vo namo namo  
 vrātebhyo vrātapatibhyaścha vo namo namo gṛitsebhyo gṛitsapatibhyaścha  
 vo namo namo virūpebhyo viśvarūpebhyaścha vo namaḥ | 26. Namaḥ  
 senābhyah senānibhyaścha vo namo namo rathibhyo 'rathebhyaścha vo namo  
 namo namo xattribhyah saṅgrahītribhyaścha vo namo namo mahadbhyo arbha-  
 bhyascha vo namaḥ | 27. Namas taxabhyo rathakārebhyaścha vo namo  
 namo kulālebhyaḥ karmārebhyaścha vo namo namo nishādebhyah puṇ-  
 jishṭhebhyaś cha vo namo namaḥ śrānibhyo mṛignyubhyaścha vo namaḥ |  
 28. Namaḥ śrabhyah śrapatibhyaścha namo Bhavāya Rudrāya cha namaḥ  
 Sarvāya cha Paśupataye cha namo nīlagrīraya cha śitikāṇṭhāya cha |  
 29. Namaḥ kāparḍline cha vyupta-keśāya cha namaḥ sahasrācāya cha  
 śatadhanvane cha namo giriśayāya cha śipirishṭāya cha namo mīḍhushtā-  
 māya cheshumate cha | 30. Namo hrasvāya cha rāmanāya cha namo  
 bṛihate varshīyase cha namo riddhāya cha sārvidhe cha namo 'gryāya  
 prathamāya cha | 31. Nama āśave chājīrāya cha namaḥ śīghryāya cha  
 śībhīyāya cha nama ūrmyāya chāvasvanyāya cha namo nādeyāya cha  
 dvīpyāya cha | 32. Namo jyeshṭhāya cha kanishṭhāya cha namaḥ pur-  
 vajāya chāparajāya cha namo madhyamāya chāpagalbhāya namo ja-  
 ghanyāya cha budhnyāya cha | 33. Namaḥ sobhyāya cha pratisaryāya  
 cha namo yāmyāya cha xemyāya cha namaḥ ślokīḍya chārasānyāya cha  
 nama urvaryāya cha khalyāya cha | 34. Namo rānyāya cha kaxyāya  
 cha namaḥ śravāya cha pratiśravāya cha nama āśushenāya chāśurathāya  
 cha namaḥ śūrāya chāvabhedinē cha | 35. Namo bilmīne cha kāyachīne  
 cha namo varmiṇe cha varūthine cha namaḥ śrutāya cha śrutasenāya cha  
 namo dundubhyāya chāhananyāya cha | 36. Namo dhṛishnave cha  
 pramṛiśāya cha namo nishangīne cheshudhīmate cha namas tīxṇeshave  
 chāyudhīne cha namaḥ svāyudhāya sudhanvane cha | 37. Namah srutī-  
 āya cha pāthyāya cha namaḥ kātyāya cha nīpyāya cha namaḥ kulyāya  
 cha sarasyāya cha namo nādeyāya cha raiśantāya cha | 38. Namaḥ  
 kūpyāya chāvaṭyāya cha namo vīdhryāya chātapyāya namo meghyāya cha  
 vīdyutīyāya cha namo varshyāya chāvarshyāya cha | 39. Namo vātyāya  
 cha reshmyāya cha namo vāstavyāya cha vāstupāya cha namaḥ Somāya  
 cha Rudrāya(?)namas tāmrāya chāruṇāya cha | 40. Namaḥ śaṅgave paśu-  
 pataye cha nama ugrāya cha bhīmāya cha namo agrevadhāya oha dūreva-  
 dhāya cha namo hanṭre cha hanīyase cha namo vrīxebhyo hari-keśebhyo  
 namas tārāya | 41. Namaḥ śambhavāya cha mayobhāvāya oha namaḥ

ṣaṅkarāya cha mayaskarāya cha namaḥ śivāya cha śivatarāya cha | 42.  
 Namaḥ pāryāya chāvāryāya cha namaḥ pratarapāya chottarapāya cha  
 namas tīrthyāya cha kūlyāya cha namaḥ śashpyāya phenyāya cha | 43.  
 Namaḥ sīkutīyāya cha pravāhīyāya cha namaḥ kiṁśilāya cha xayanāya  
 cha namaḥ kaparddine cha pulastaye (?) nama iṇīyāya cha prapathyāya  
 cha | 44. Namo vrajyāya cha goshtīyāya cha namas talpyāya cha geh-  
 yāya cha namo hṛidayyāya cha niveshyāya cha namaḥ kātyāya cha  
 gahvareshṭhāya cha | 45. Namaḥ śushkyāya cha harityāya cha namaḥ  
 pāṁsavyāya cha rajasyāya, cha namo lopyāya cha ulapyāya cha nama  
 ūrvyāya cha survyāya cha | 46. Namaḥ parṇāya cha parṇaśudāya cha  
 nama udguramānāya chābhīgnate cha nama ākhidate cha prakhidate cha  
 nama ishukridbhyo dhanushkridbhyaś cha vo namo namo rāḥ kirikebhyo  
 devānāṁ hṛidayebhyo namo vichinralkebhyo namo vixinatkebhyo nama  
 ānirkatebhyaḥ | 47. Drāpe andhasaspate daridra nīlalohita | āsām pra-  
 jānām eshām paśūnām mā bher mā ron mo cha naḥ kiñchanāmamat |  
 48. (=R. V. i. 114, 1.) 49. Yā te Rudra śivā lanūḥ śivā viśvāhā  
 bheshajī | śivā rutasya bheshajī tayā no mṛīda jīvase | 50. (=R. V. ii.  
 33, 14.<sup>236</sup>) 51. Mīḍhushtama śivatama śivo naḥ sumanā bhava | parame  
 vrixe āyudhañ nidhāya kṛitliṁ rasāna āchara pinākam bibhrad ḍagahi |  
 52. Vikiridra vilohita namas te astu bhugavaḥ | yās te sahasrañ hetayo  
 'nyam asmad nivapañtu tāḥ | 53. Sahasrāṇi sahasraśo bāhvos tava het-  
 yaḥ | tāsām iśāno bhagavaḥ parāchīnā mukhā kṛidhi | 54. Asaṅkhyātā  
 sahasrāṇi ye Rūdrā adhi bhūmyām | teshām sahasra-yojane ava dhanvāni  
 tanmasi | 55. Asmin mahatī arṇave antarixe Bhavā adhi | teshām ityādi |  
 56. Nilagrīvāḥ śitikanṭhā divāñ Rudrā upāśritāḥ | teshām ityādi |  
 57. Nilagrīvāḥ śitikanṭhāḥ śarvāḥ adhuḥ xamācharāḥ | teshām ityādi |  
 58. Ye vrixeshu śashpiñjarā nīlagrīvā vilohitāḥ | teshām ityādi |  
 59. Ye bhūtānām adhipatayo viśikhāsaḥ kaparddināḥ | teshām ityādi |  
 60. Ye pathām pathiraxasaḥ ailabridā āyuryudhaḥ | teshām ityādi |  
 61. Ye tīrthāni pracharanti śrikāstā nishāṅgināḥ | teshām ityādi |  
 62. Ye anneshu vividhyanti pātreshu pibato janān | teshām ityādi |  
 63. Ye etāvantaścha bhūyāñsaḥ cha diśo Rudrā vitasthire | teshām ityādi |  
 64. Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye divi yeshām varsham ishavaḥ | tebhyo  
 daśa prāchīr daśa daxiñā daśa pratīchīr daśa udīchīr daśa ūrdhvāḥ |  
 tebhyo namo astu te no avantu te no mṛīdayantu te yām dvishmo yaś cha

<sup>236</sup> Instead of *mātī gāt*, the concluding words of the verse, as it stands in the R. V., the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā has *aghāyoh*, "of the malicious."

*no dveshti tam eshāñ jambhe dadhmañ | 65. Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo  
ye antarice yeshāñ vāta ishavaḥ | tebhyo daśa ityādi | 66. Namo 'stu  
Rudrebhyo ye prithivyañ yeshāñ annam ishavaḥ | tebhyo daśa ityādi |*

“ Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath, and to thy arrow. Reverence to both thy arms. 2. Shine upon us, dweller in the mountains, with that holy body of thine which is auspicious,<sup>237</sup> not terrible, and which does not betoken harm. 3. The arrow, o dweller in the mountains, which thou bearest in thy hand to discharge, make it, o lord of the mountains, auspicious; do not slay men and cattle. 4.. With auspicious words we supplicate thee, dweller in the mountains, that all our men and cattle may be healthy and cheerful. 5. May the intercessor, the first divine physician, intercede for us. Destroying all serpents, strike down and drive away all Yātudhānis (female goblins). 6. We deprecate from us the wrath of that auspicious deity who is copper-coloured, ruddy, and brown, and of those Rudras who in thousands surround him on all sides. 7. May he who glides away, blue-necked and red-coloured, and whom cowherds and female drawers of water<sup>238</sup> have seen,—may he, when seen, be gracious to us. 8. Reverence to the blue-necked, to the thousand-eyed, to the bountiful; and to his attendant spirits I offer reverence. 9. Loosen the string from both ends of thy bow; and throw away, o divine being, the arrows which are in thy hand. 10. May the bow of the god with braided hair be stringless, and his quiver contain pointless shafts. May his arrows perish, and his sword-sheath be empty. 11. That bow, o most bountiful, and that weapon which is in thy hand, with it, rendered innocuous, do thou protect us on every side. 12. May the shaft from thy bow avoid us in every direction; and deposit thy quiver far from us. 13. Unbending thy bow, o thousand-eyed, and thousand-quivered, and blunting the ends of thy arrows, be gracious and kind to us. 14. Reverence to thy violent weapon, unstrung, to both thy arms, and to thy bow. (Verses 15 and 16 correspond nearly with R. V. i. 114, 7, and 8.—See above, p. 256). 17. Reverence to the golden-armed leader of armies, to the lord of the regions, to the green-haired trees, to the lord of beasts,<sup>239</sup> who is yellow

<sup>237</sup> Compare the passage quoted from the Mahābhārata, above, p. 170, at the top.

<sup>238</sup> “ Persons who are destitute of initiation in Vedic rites (*Vedokta-saṁskāra-*  
*Āśīnāḥ*).—Comm.

<sup>239</sup> This, Weber thinks, must originally have meant *the lord of sacrificial victims*.

like young grass, to the radiant, to the lord of roads, the yellow-haired, the wearer of the sacrificial cord, to the lord of the fattened, (18) to the brown-coloured, to the piercer, to the lord of food. Reverence to the weapon of Bhava, to the lord of things moving, to Rudra with the bended bow, to the lord of the fields, to the charioteer of innoxiousness, to the lord of the forests, (19) to the red architect, to the lord of trees, to the being that affords prosperity, to the lord of plants, to the observant merchant, to the lord of bushes, to the loud-shouting lord of armies who causes his foes to shriek, (20) to him who runs in full stretch, to the lord of spirits, to the conqueror, to the piercer, to the lord of destroying armies, to the great wielder of a sword, to the lord of thieves, to the robber, to the prowler, to the lord of woods, (21) to the cheater, to the deceiver, to the lord of pilferers, to the bearer of the sword and quiver, to the lord of robbers, to those armed with arrows, to the murderous, to the lord of stealers, to those who carry swords, to those who prowl by night, to the lord of plunderers; (22) to him who bears a turban, who frequents the mountains, to the lord of robbers, to you who have arrows, and to you who have bows, to you with bended bows, and you who fit your arrows on the string, to you who draw the bow, and to you who shoot, (23) to you who discharge, and to you who pierce, to you who sleep and you who wake, to you who lie and you who sit, to you who stand and you who run, (24) to the assemblies, and to you the lords of assemblies, to horses, and to you the lords of horses, to you the hosts which wound and pierce, which have excellent troops, and which are destructive, (25) to the troops, and to you the lords of troops, to the Vrātas, and to you the lords of the Vrātas, to the rogues, and to you the lords of rogues, to you who are ill-formed, and to you who have all forms, (26) to armies, and to you the leaders of armies, to you who ride in chariots, and to you without chariots, to you the warriors, and to you the charioteers, to you the great and to you the small, (27) to you the carpenters, and to you the chariot-makers, to you the potters, and to you the blacksmiths, to you the Nishādas, and to you the Punjish-thas, to you the leaders of dogs, and to you the huntsmen, (28) to dogs, and to the masters of dogs, to Bhava, and to Rudra, and to Sarva, to Paśupati, to Nilagrīva, and to Sitikantha, (29) to him with the braided hair, and to him with the shaven hair, to him with a thousand

eyes, to him with a hundred bows, to the dweller in the mountains, to Sipivishta,<sup>240</sup> to the most bountiful, to him who has arrows, (30) to the short, and to the dwarf, to the great, and to him who has arrived at a mature age, to the old, to the coetaneous, to the chief, and to the first, (31) to the swift (or pervader), and to the moving, to the fleet, and to the speedy, to him who dwells in billows, and in roaring waters, and in rivers, and on islands, (32) to the eldest, and to the youngest, to the first-born, and to the last-born, to the middlemost, to him who is not full-grown (?),<sup>241</sup> to the lowest, to him who exists at the roots of trees, (33) to him who lives in the magical city Sobha (?),<sup>242</sup> to him who exists in incantations, to him who exists in punishment, and in prosperity, to the renowned, to the endmost, to him who exists in the soil, and in the threshing floor, (34) in the woods and in the bushes, in the form of sound, and in echo, to him who has fleet armies and swift chariots, to the hero, and to the splitter, (35) to the helmetted, to him with cotton-quilted cuirass, with iron mail, and with armour, to him who is renowned and has a renowned army, to him who exists in drums, and in resounding blows, (36) to the impetuous, to the bold, to the bearer of a sword and a quiver, who carries swift arrows, who wields weapons, and has excellent weapons and a good bow, (37) to him who dwells in pathways and roads, and hollows, and the skirts of mountains, and watercourses, and lakes, and rivers, and ponds, (38) and in wells, and pits, and in bright clouds, and in sunshine, in clouds, in lightning, in rain, in fair weather, (39) in wind, in storm, to the dweller in houses, to the protector of houses, to Soma, and to Rudra, to the copper-coloured, to the ruddy, to the bringer of prosperity, to Paśupati, to the fierce (*ugra*) and the terrible, to him who kills in front, and who kills from afar, to the slayer, to the excessive slayer, to the green-haired trees, to the deliverer, (41) to the source of prosperity, to the source of happiness, to the causer of prosperity (*śākarāya*), to the causer of happiness, to the auspicious (*śiva*) and the very auspicious, (42) to him who exists beyond and on this side, to him who crosses over to and

<sup>240</sup> R. V. vii. 99, 7; and vii. 100, 6, above, pp. 74-77.

<sup>241</sup> Or "to him who is unrelated." The meaning of many of these epithets is very difficult to perceive, and is not perhaps of much consequence.

<sup>242</sup> *Sobhya* seems derived from *sā-ubha*, and perhaps signifies "one who partakes of two natures."

fro (?), to him who exists in fords and river-banks, in young grass, and in foam, (43) who exists in gravel and in streams, in stony ground, and in habitable<sup>243</sup> places (?), to the god with braided hair, to him who stands before us (?),<sup>244</sup> who exists in barren land, and in frequented roads, (44) among herds, in cow-pens, in beds, in houses, in the heart, in whirlpools (or in hoar-frost), and in hollows, who abides in caves, (45) in dry things and in green things, in dust, in moisture (or dust), in inaccessible places, in creepers, in vaults and in deep vaults. 46. Reverence to the leaf, and to the witherer of the leaf, to the threatener, to the slayer, to the vexer and the afflicter, to you who make arrows and who make bows, to you the sprinklers, to the hearts of the gods, to the discerners, to the destroyers, and to the indestructible. 47. O thou who chasest away, who art lord of the soma-juice, who art poor,<sup>245</sup> who art blue and red, do not frighten, do not destroy these [our] offspring, or these cattle, and let nothing of ours be sick. 48. (=R. V. i. 114, 1.) 49. That we may live, be gracious to us with that body of thine which is propitious, which is propitious and healing on all days, which is propitious and heals disease. 50. (=R. V. ii. 33, 14.—See above, p. 260.) 51. Most bountiful, most gracious, be gracious and benevolent to us. Placing thy weapon on the remotest tree, approach, clad in a skin,<sup>246</sup> come, holding thy bow. 52. O deity, who drivest away calamity, and art ruddy in hue, reverence be to thee. May thy thousand shafts smite some one else than us. 53. Thousands of thousands of shafts are in thy hands. O god, do thou, the lord, avert their points [from us]. 54. We unbend a thousand leagues (*yojana*) away the bows of those unnumbered thousands of Rudras who are upon the earth. 55. Above this great atmospheric ocean there exist Bhavas. We unbend their bows a thousand leagues away. 56. Rudras with blue necks and white throats occupy the sky. We unbend, etc. 57. Sarvas with blue necks and white throats frequent [the regions] beneath the earth. We unbend, etc. 58. Of those

<sup>243</sup> Or, "in a place with still water."—Comm.

<sup>244</sup> *Pularstye agre tushthati pulastih* | —Comm.

<sup>245</sup> *Daridra*. The commentator explains this as meaning "without any connexion with others, from being without a second" (*nishparigraho dvitiyatvāt*). Prof. Roth (Lexicon) proposes to render the word by "loving about," and Prof. Weber by "splitter."

<sup>246</sup> See V. S. 3, 61, above p. 268.

[deities] with a colour like young grass, with blue necks and ruddy hue, who [live] in trees, we unbend, etc. 59. Of those lords of beings who are without locks of hair, and whose hair is braided, we unbend, etc. 60. Of those who are guardians of roads, givers of nourishment (?), who fight for [our?] life, we unbend, etc. 61. Of those who frequent the fords, armed with arrows in their hands, and swords, we unbend, etc. 62. Of those who pierce, in the midst of their meals, men who are drinking in vessels, we unbend, etc. 63. Of those Rudras who, so many [as we have described] and yet more numerous, occupy the regions, we unbend, etc. 64. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the sky, of whom rain is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers] to the east,<sup>247</sup> ten to the south, ten to the west, ten to the north, and ten upwards. To them be reverence: may they protect us, may they be gracious to us. We consign to their teeth the man whom we hate, and who hates us. 65. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the atmosphere, of whom the wind is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc. etc. 66. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] upon the earth, of whom food is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc. etc."

SECT. III.—*Passages relating to Rudra, Bhara, Sarva, etc., from the Atharva-veda.*

A. V. ii. 27, 6.—*Rudra jalāsha-bheshaja nīla-śikhaṇḍa karma-krit | prāśam pratiprāśo jahi arasān kṛinu oshadhe |* “Rudra, who hast healing remedies, who hast dark locks, who art the performer of rites, destroy the *prāśa* (? a plant), being an antidote: make them savourless, o plant!”

A. V. v. 21, 11.—*Yūyam ugrā Marutah Priśni-mātara Indrena yujā pra mrīṣita śatrūn | Somo rājā Varuno rājā mahādeva uta mrītyur Indrah |* “Do ye, fierce Maruts, whose mother is Priśni, allied with Indra, destroy [our] enemies. Soma [is] a king, Varuṇa [is] a king, Indra is a great god and death.”

<sup>247</sup> *Prāgabhimukhā angulih kurve iti deshah | añjalim baddhvā varva-dixu namaskaromi |*

A. V. vi. 93, 1.—*Yamo mrityur aghamāro nirritho babhrūḥ Sarvo 'stā nīla-sikhandāḥ | deva-janāḥ senayā uttasthirāñśas te asmākam pari vriñjantu vīrāḥ |* 2. *Manasā homair harasā gṛhitena Sarvāyāstre uta rājñe Bhavāya | namasyebhyo nama ebhyāḥ kriṇomy anyatrāśmad aghavishā nayantu |* “May Yama, death, who brings dire destruction, may the tawny hell, may Sarva the archer with dark locks, may the hosts of the gods, arising with their army, may these avoid our heroes.

2. With mind, with oblations, with fire (?), with ghee, I offer reverence to Sarva the archer, and to king Bhava, to them who deserve reverence; let them carry their deadly poisons to others than us.”

A. V. vii. 87, 1.—*Yo Agnau Rudro yo apṣr antar ya oshadhir vīrudha āviveśa | ya imā riśrā bhuranāni chāklipe tasmai Rudrāya namo astv Agnaye |* “Reverence be to that Rudra, Agni, to the Rudra who is in Agni, who is in the waters, and who has entered into the plants and bushes, and who has formed all these worlds.”

A. V. viii. 2, 7.— . . . . *Bhavā-śarrau mṛidatāṁ śarma yachhatam apasidhya duritaṁ dhattām āyuh | . . . .* “Bhava and Sarva, be gracious, give protection; removing calamity, give life.”

A. V. viii. 5. 10.—*Asmai manīṁ varma badhnantu devā Indro Vishnuḥ Savita Rudro Agnih | ityādi |* “May the gods, Indra, Vishnu, Savitri, Rudra, Agni, bind on him the jewel as a protection,” etc.

A. V. ix. 7, 7.—*Mitraś cha Varuṇāś chāṁsau Tvashṭā chāryamā cha doshaṇī Mahādevo bāhū |* “Mitra and Varuṇa are the shoulders, Tvashṭri and Aryaman the fore-arms, and Mahādeva the two arms.”

A. V. x. 1, 23.—*Bhavā-śarvā asyatām pāpa-kṛite kṛityākṛite dush-kṛite vidyutām deva-hetim |* “Let Bhava and Sarva launch the lightning, the bolt of the gods, against the doer of wickedness, against him who employs sorcery, against the evil doer.”

A. V. xi. 2, 1.—*Bhavā-Sarvau mṛidatam mā 'bhīyatam bhūta-pati paśu-pati namo vām | pratihitām āyatām mā vi srāshṭām mā no hiṁsi-shṭām dvipado mā chatushpadaḥ |* 2. *Sūne kroshṭre mā śarīrāṇi karttam aliklavebhyo gridhrebhyo ye cha kṛishṇā avishyavāḥ | maxikās te Paśupate vayāṁsi te vighase mā vidanta |* 3. *Krandāya te prāṇāya yāś cha te Bhava ropayaḥ | namas te Rudra kriṇmāḥ sahasrāxāya amartya |* 4. *Purastāt te namāḥ kriṇmāḥ uttarād adharād uta | abhīvargād divas pari antarixāya te namāḥ |* 5. *Mukhāya te Paśupate yāni chaxūṁshi te Bhava | tvache rūpāya saṁdrīśe pratīchīnāya te namāḥ |* 6. *Angebhyas*

te udarāya jihvāyai āsyāya te | dadbhyo gandhāya te namah | 7. *Astrā*  
 nīla-śikhāndena sahasrāxena vājinā | *Rudrenārdhaka-ghātinā* tona mā  
 samarāmahi | 8. *Sa no Bhavaḥ pari vrīṇaktu viśvataḥ ḥpa irāgnih pari*  
*vrīṇaktu no Bhavaḥ* | mā no 'bhi māmīta namo astv asmai | 9. *Chatur*  
*namo ashṭakritvo Bhavāya daśa kṛitvāḥ Paśupate namas te* | *tavete pañ-*  
*cha paśavo vibhaktā gāvo aśvāḥ purushā ajāvayaḥ* | 10. *Tava chatasraḥ*  
*pradiśas tāra dyauḥ tava prīthivī tavedam ugrorū antarixam* | *taredām*  
*sarvam ātmanavād yat prānat prīthivīm anu* | 11. *Uruḥ kośo vasudhānās*  
*tavāyām yasmīn imā viśvā bhurānāy antaḥ* | *sa no mṛīda Paśupate*  
*namas te parah kroshṭāro abhibhāḥ śrānaḥ paro yantr ugharudo rikeśyaḥ* |  
 12. *Dhanur bibharshi haritaṁ hiraṇyayām sahasra-ghniṁ śata-vadhaṁ*  
*śikhāndin* | *Rudrasyeshuś charati deva-hetis tasyai namo yatamasyām*  
*diśitaḥ* | 13. *Yo 'bhiyāto nilayate tvāṁ Rudra nichikīrshati* | *paśchād*  
*anu prayuṇxe taṁ viddhasya pada-nīr ira* | 14. *Bhavā-rudrau sayujā*  
*saṁvidānāv ubhāv ugrau charato vīryāya* | *tābhyaṁ namo yatamasyām*  
*diśitaḥ* | 15. *Namas te astv āyate namo astu parāyate* | *namas te Rudra*  
*tishthate āśīnāyota te namah* | 16. *Namah sāyām namah prātar namo*  
*rātryā namo divā* | *Bhavāya cha Sarvāya cha ubhābhyaṁ akaraṁ namah* |  
 17. *Sahasrāxam atipaśyam purastād Rudram asyantam bahudhā vīpa-*  
*shitim* | *mā upārāma jihvayā īyamānam* | 18. *Syāvāśvam kṛishṇam asi-*  
*tam mṛīnantam bhīmaṁ rathāṁ leśināḥ pādayantam* | *pūrre pratīmo*  
*namo astv asmai* | 19. *Mā no 'bhi srā matyām deva-hetim mā naḥ kru-*  
*dhaḥ Paśupate namas te* | *anyatra asmad divyām śākhām vi dhūnu* |  
 20. *Mā no hiṁsir adhi no brāhmaṇi pari no vrīṇdhī mā krudhāḥ* | *ma tvayā*  
*samarāmahi* | 21. *Mā no goṣhu purusheshu mā gridho no ajāvishu* |  
*anyatrogro vi varttaya piyārūṇām prajām jahi* | 22. *Yasya takmā*  
*kāśikā hetir ekam aśvasyeva vrishṇaḥ kranda eti* | *abhipūrvām nirṇayate*  
*namo astv asmai* | 23. *Yo antarize tishthati vishṭabhito ayajvanaḥ pram-*  
*riṇāḥ deva-priyān* | *taṣmai namo daśabhiḥ śakvaribhiḥ* | 24. *Tubhyam*  
*aranyāḥ paśavo mṛīgā vane hitā haṁsāḥ suparnāḥ śakunā vayāmī* |  
*tava yaxam Paśupate apes antas tubhyaṁ xaranti divyā ḥpo vridhe* |  
 25. *Siṁśumārā ajagarāḥ purikayā jashā mateyā rajasā yebhyo asyasi* |  
*na te dūraṁ na parīshṭhā 'sti te Bhava sudyāḥ sarvām pari paśyasi*  
*bhūmim pūrvasmād dhamey uttarasmīḥ samudre* | 26. *Mā no Rudra*  
*takmanā mā vishēṣa mā naḥ saṁ srā divyēnāgninā* | *anyatrāsmad*  
*ridyutam pātaya itām* | 27. *Bhavo divo Bhava iśe prīthivī Bhava*  
*ā papre uro antarixam* | *tasyai namo yatamasyām diśitaḥ* |

28. *Bhava rājan yajamānāya mṛida paśunāṁ hi paśupatir babhu-tha | yaḥ śraddadhati santi devā iti chatushpade dvi-pade asya mṛida |*  
 29. (=R. V. i. 114, 7.) *Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam mā no vahantam uta mā no vaxyatalaḥ | mā no hiṁsiḥ pitaram mātaram oha srāñ tanvāñ Rudra mā rīrisha nah |* 30. *Rudrasyailabā-kārebhyo 'saṁsūkta-gilebhyah | idam mahāsyebhyah śvabhyo akarañ namah |* 31. *Namas te ghoshinibhyah namas te keśinibhyah | namo namaskritibhyo namah sambhuñjatibhyah | namas te dera senābhyah svasti no abhayañ cha nah |*

"Bhava and Sarva, be gracious to us, be not hostile, lords of spirits, lords of beasts; reverence to you twain. Discharge not a long arrow; destroy not our bipeds and quadrupeds. 2. Abandon not our bodies to the dog or the jackal, to carrion birds, to vultures, to thy greedy black flies, lord of beasts; let not thy birds get us to devour. 3. We offer reverence to thy shout, to thy breath, and to thy arrows, Bhava, and o immortal Rudra, to thee the thousand-eyed. 4. We offer reverence to thee from before, and from behind, and from below, and from thy domain in the sky: reverence to thy firmament. 5. Reverence to thy face, Paśupati, to thine eyes, Bhavā, to thy skin, to thy form, to thine aspect from before and behind. 6. Reverence to thy limbs, to thy belly, to thy tongue, to thy mouth, to thy teeth, to thy odour (nose?). 7. May we never contend with that archer whose locks are dark, who has a thousand eyes, the horseman, with Rudra the slayer of Ardhaka (?). 8. May he (Bhava) everywhere avoid us, may Bhava avoid us as fire avoids the waters. May he not bear malice towards us: reverence be to him. 9. Four times, eight times, be reverence to Bhava: ten times be reverence to thee, Paśupati. Thine are these five distinct sorts of animals—kine, horses, men, goats, and sheep. 10. Thine, Ugra, are the four regions, the sky, the earth, and the wide atmosphere; thine is everything which has a spirit and which breathes upon the earth. 11. This is a vast and wealthy store-house of thine, within which all these worlds are contained. Do thou favour us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Far from us be jackals, unlucky omens, dogs: may shrieking female demons with dishevelled hair go far from us. 12. Long-haired god, thou carriest a yellow and golden bow, which smites thousands and kills hundreds. Rudra's arrow, a celestial bolt, flies abroad: reverence be to it from hence in whatever direction it goes. 13. Thou pursuest after the adversary who settles down and seeks to overcome thee, Rudra, as a man

tracking the steps (?) of a wounded [animal]. 14. Bhava and Rudra, who are always united and concordant, both fierce, ye advance to [deeds of] heroism. Reverence be from hence to them twain in whatever direction they are. 15. Reverence to thee coming, and to thee departing; reverence to thee, Rudra, standing, and to thee sitting. 16. Reverence in the evening, in the morning, by night and by day: I have offered reverence to Bhava, and to Sarva, both of them. 17. Let us not with our tongue injure Rudra, who rushes on, thousand-eyed, viewing all the world, who hurls his shafts in our presence, and who is manifoldly wise. 18. We approach first [with our worship] the god who has horses, is dark, black, destroying, who sets in motion the terrible car of the long-haired god (the Sun ?): reverence be to him. 19. Do not hurl at us thy harrow (?),<sup>248</sup> thy celestial bolt: be not incensed at us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Brandish thy celestial arrow over some other than us. 20. Slay us not; intercede for us; avoid us; be not angry with us; let us not contend with thee. 21. Do not covet our cattle, our men, our goats, and sheep. Fierce god, betake thyself elsewhere; slay the offspring of the wicked. 22. Reverence be to him whose consumption, whose cough, whose bolt, assails some one like the neighing of a stallion—to him who determines [his victims?] in order. 23. Be reverence paid with ten *sakvari* verses to him who abides fixed in the atmosphere, smiting the despisers of the gods who offer no sacrifice. 24. For thee the beasts of the wood, deer, well-winged swans, and various birds are placed in the forest; worship of thee (?), Paśupati, exists in the waters: to magnify thee the celestial waters flow. 25. Porpoises, great serpents, *purikeyas*, sea-monsters, fishes, *rajatas*, upon which thou hurlest [thy weapon]. There is to thee, Bhava, nothing far, nor anything which stands [near] around thee. At a glance thou lookest around the whole earth: from the eastern thou slayest in the northern ocean. 26. Do not assail us, Rudra, with consumption, or with poison, or with celestial fire: cause this lightning to descend elsewhere than upon us. 27. Bhava rules the sky, Bhava rules the earth, Bhava hath filled<sup>249</sup> the vast atmosphere: reverence be to him from hence in

<sup>248</sup> A. V. viii. 8, 11.—*Trinedhu enān matyam Bhavasya* | “May the harrow (?) of Bhava crush them.”

<sup>249</sup> Compare R. V. i. 52, 13, p. 86, above; and the other passages quoted in note 65 of the same page.

whatever region [he is]. 28. Bhava, king, be gracious to thy worshipper, for thou art lord of beasts. Be gracious to the quadrupeds and bipeds of him who believes that the gods exist.<sup>250</sup> 29. (=R. V. i. 114, 7.) Slay neither our great nor our small, neither him who carries (?) nor those who shall carry (?),<sup>251</sup> neither our father nor our mother: injure not, Rudra, ourselves. 30. I have offered this reverence to Rudra's wide-mouthed howling dogs who swallow their prey unchewed. 31. Reverence, o deity, to thy shouting, long-haired, reverenced devouring (?) hosts. May blessing and security be ours."

A. V. xi. 6, 9.—*Bhavāśarvāv idam brūmo Rudram Paśupatiś cha yaḥ | ishūr yā eshām̄ sañvidma tā nah̄ santu sadā śivāḥ |* “We say this to Bhava and Sarva, to Rudra and to him who is Paśupati: may those arrows of theirs which we know be always propitious to us.”

A. V. xii. 4, 17.—*Ya enām avaśām āha devānām̄ nihitām̄ nidhim̄ | ubhau tasmai Bhavāśarvau parikramyeshum̄ asyataḥ |* “Both Bhava and Sarva advancing, discharge an arrow against him who declares this [cow], the hoarded treasure of the gods, to be no cow.”

A. V. xiii. 4, 4.—*So 'ryamā sa Varunāḥ sa Rudraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ | 26. Sa Rudro vasuvanir vasudeye namovāke vashaṭkāro 'nu sañhitāḥ | 27. Tasyeme sarve yātava upa praśisham̄ āsate | 28. Tasyāmū sarvā naxatrā vase chandramasā saha |* “4. He (Savitri) is Aryaman, he is Varuna, he is Rudra, he is Mahadeva. 26. He (Rudra) the giver of wealth, is placed as the *vashaṭkāra* in the reverential invocation, for the purpose of giving wealth. 27. All these demons wait upon his command. 28. All these stars, with the moon, are under his control.”

The following passage, together with the rest of the fifteenth book of the Atharva-veda, is quoted and translated by Aufrecht in the first vol. of Weber's *Indische Studien*, pp. 121–140:

A. V. xv. 5, 1.—*Tasmai prāchyā diśo antar-deśād Bhavam ishvāsam anushṭhātāram akurvan | Bhava enām ishvāsaḥ prāchyā diśo antar-deśād anushṭhātā 'nutishṭhati | nainām Sarvo na Bhavo na Īśāno nāsyā paśūn na samānān hinasti ya evam veda | 2. Tasmai daxināyā diśo antardeśāch*

<sup>250</sup> Compare R. V. viii. 89, 3, 4, quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 151.

<sup>251</sup> Compare R. V. i. 114, 7, p. 256, above. It would appear as if in the time of the composition of the A. V. *uxantam* and *uxitam* of the R. V. had been derived from the root *vah*, in the same way as Śāyana explains *vavazuh*, and other forms of *vax* and *ux*, as derived from the root *vah*.—R. V. i. 64, 3, etc.

*chharvam ishvāsam ityādi | 3. Tasmai pratīchyā diśo antar-deśat Paśupatim ityādi | 4. Tasmai udīchyā diśo antar-deśād ugraṁ devam ityādi | 5. Tasmai dhruvāyā diśo antar-deśād Rudram ityādi | 6. Tasmai urdhvāyā diśo antar-deśād Mahādevam ityādi | 7. Tasmai sarvebhyo antar-deśebhya Īśānam ityādi |* “[The gods] made Bhava the archer [to be] to him (the Vṛātya) a deliverer from the intermediate space of the eastern region. Bhava the archer, a deliverer, delivers him from the interval of the eastern region. Neither Sarva nor Bhava, nor Īśāna slays either him who knows this, or his cattle, or his kindred. 2. [The gods] made Sarva the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the southern region, etc. 3. [The gods] made Paśupati the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the western region, etc. 4. [The gods] made Ugradeva, etc. (as above), of the northern region, etc. 5. [The gods] made Rudra, etc. (as above), of the lower region, etc. 6. [The gods] made Mahādeva, etc. (as above), of the upper region, etc. 7. [The gods] made Īśāna the archer [to be] his deliverer from all the intermediate regions,” etc.

SECT. IV.—*Passages relating to Rudra from the Satapatha and Sankhayana Brāhmaṇas.*

In the following text (which has been already quoted in the second volume of this work) Rudra is identified with Agni :

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. i. 7, 3, 8.—*Agnir vai sa devas tasyaitāni nāmāni Sarva iti yathā prāchyā āchaxata Bhava iti yathā Bāhikāḥ Paśūnām pati Rudro 'gnir iti | tāny asya asāntāny eva itarāṇi nāmāny Agnir ity eva sāntatamam |* “Agni is a god. These are his names : Sarva, as the eastern people call him,<sup>252</sup> Bhava, as the Bāhikas, Paśūnāmpati (lord of beasts), Rudra, and Agni. These other names of his (i.e. all the foregoing except Agni) are ungentle. Agni is his gentlest appellation.”

<sup>252</sup> On this the commentator remarks (p. 124 of Weber's edition) : *Prāchyādeśa-bhedena Sarvādi-nāma-bhede 'pi devatā skū eva |* “Though, owing to the difference of countries, there is a difference of names, as Sarva, etc., still the god is but one.”

The following passage describes the birth of Rudra, and at the same time identifies him with Agni :

Satapatha Brâhmaña, 6, 1, 3, 7 ff.—*Abhûd vā iyam pratishtîha iti | tad bhûmir abhavat | tâm aprathayat sâ prithivy abhavat | tasyâm asyâm pratishtîhâyâm bhûtânî bhûtânâñcha patîh sañvatsarâya adîxanta | bhûtânâm patir griha-patir âsîd Ushâh patnî | 8. Tad yâni tâni bhûtânî ritavas te | atha yaḥ sa bhûtânâm patîh sañvatsaraḥ saḥ | atha yâ sâ Ushâh patny aushasî sâ | tâni imâni bhûtânî cha bhûtânâñcha patîh sañvatsara Ushasi reto 'siüchan | sa samvatsare kumâro 'jâyata | so 'rodit | 9. Tam Prajâpatir abravit “kumâra kiñ rodishi yach chhramât tapaso 'dhi jâto 'si” iti | so 'bravîd “anapahata-pâpmâ vâ asmy ahitânâm nâma me dhehi” iti | tasmât putrasya jâtasya nâma kuryât pâpmâ-mam evâsyâ tad apahanty api dritiyam api tritîyan abhipûrvam evâsyâ tat pâpmânam apahanti | 10. Tam abravîd Rudro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nâma akarod Agnis tad rûpam abhavad Agnir vai Rudro yad arodit tasmâd Rudrah | so 'bravîj “jyâyân vâ asato 'smi dhehy eva me nâma” iti | 11. Tam abravît “Sarvo 'si” iti | tad yad asya tan nâma akarod âpas tad-rûpam abhavann âpo vai Sarvo 'dbhyo hi idam sarvam jâyate | so 'bravîj “jyâyân vâ asato 'smi dhehy eva me nâma” iti | tam abravît Paśupatir asi iti | tad yad asya tan nâma akarod oshadhayas tad-rûpam abhavann oshadhayo vai Paśupatis tasmâd yadâ paśava oshadhir labhante 'tha patiyanti | so 'bravîj “jyâyân vâ asato 'smi dhehy eva me nâma” iti | 13. Tam abravîd Ugro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nâma akarod Vâyus tad-rûpam abhavad Vâyur vâ ugras tasmâd yadâ balavad vâty Ugro vâti ity âhuḥ | so 'bravîj “jyâyân vâ asato 'smi dhehy eva me nâma” iti | 14. Tam abravîd Aśanir asi iti | tad yad asya tan nâma akarot vidyut tad-rûpam abhavad vidyud vâ Aśanis tasmâd yamî vidyud hanty Aśanir abadhid ity âhuḥ | so 'bravîj “jyâyân vâ asato 'smi dhehy eva me nâma” iti | 15. Tam abravîd Bhavo 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nâma akarot Parjanyas tad-rûpam abhavat Parjanyo vai Bhavaḥ | Parjanyâd hi idam sarvam bhavati | so 'bravîd “jyâyân vâ asato 'smi dhehy eva me nâma” iti | 16. Tam abravîd “Mahân devo 'si” iti | tad yad asya tan nâma akaroch chandramâs tad-rûpam abhavat Prajâpatir vai chandramâḥ Prajâpatir vai mahân devaḥ | so 'bravîj “jyâyân vâ asato 'smi dhehy eva me nâma” iti | 17. Tam abravîd Īśâno 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nâma akarod Ādityas tad-rûpam abhavad Ādityo vâ Īśâna Ādityo hy asya sarvasya iṣhṭe | so 'bravîd “etâvân vâ asmi mā metaḥ paro nâma dhâ” iti | 18..*

*Tāny etāny ashtāv Agni-rūpāṇi Kumāro navamah | sā eva Agnes trivrittā | 19. Yad vā iva ashtāv Agni-rūpāṇy ashtākarā gāyatrī taemād āhur gāyatro 'gnir iti | so 'yaṁ kumāro rūpāṇy anuprāviśat | na vā Agniṁ kumāram iva paśyanty etāny evāsyā rūpāṇi paśyanty etāni hi rūpāṇi prāviśat |*

"This foundation existed. It became the earth (*bhumi*). He extended it (*aprathayat*). It became the broad one (*prithivi*). On this foundation beings, and the lord of beings, consecrated themselves for the year (*samvatsara*). The lord of beings was a householder, and Ushas was his wife. Now these 'beings' were the seasons. That 'lord of beings' was the Year. That wife Ushas was Aushasī (the daughter of the dawn).<sup>253</sup> Then both those beings, and that lord of beings, the Year, impregnated Ushas, and a boy (*Kumāra*)<sup>254</sup> was born in a year. The boy wept. Prajāpati said to him, 'Boy, why dost thou weep, since thou hast been born after toil and austerity?' The boy said, 'My sin indeed has not been taken away, and a name has not been given to me. Give me a name.' Wherefore when a son has been born [to any man], let a name be given to him; that takes away his sin; and [let] also a second and a third [name be given] in succession: that takes away his sin. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Rudra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Agni became his form, for Agni is Rudra. He was Rudra because he wept (*arodit* from *rud*, 'to weep'). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Sarva.'<sup>255</sup> Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the waters became his form, for the waters are Sarva (All), because all this is produced from the waters (see above, p. 21). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Paśupati.' Inasmuch as he gave him

<sup>253</sup> I am unable to explain how Ushas, the dawn, is identified with her own offspring, Aushasī; or how the 'lord of beings' = the Year, consecrated himself for the year.

<sup>254</sup> The name *Kumāra*, Weber remarks (*Indische Studien*, ii. 302, 395) is applied to Agni in Rig-veda, v. 2, 1.

<sup>255</sup> The origin of this name may perhaps be found in Rig-veda, x. 61, 19, where these words occur: *Iyam me nābhīr iha me sadhāsthām īme me devā ayam asmi Sarvah | dvijā aha prathama-jā ritasyā idāṁ dhenur aduhaj jāyamānā |* "This is my centre, here is my assembly, these are my gods, this is I, Sarva (All). The twice-born men are the firstborn of the sacred rite. This the cow milked out, when she was being born."

that name, the Plants became his form, for the Plants are Paśupati. Hence, when beasts obtain plants, they become lords (or strong?) The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Ugra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vāyu (the Wind) became his form. Vāyu is Ugra (or the 'Fierce'). Wherefore when it blows strongly, men say, 'Ugra blows.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Aśani.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vidyut (Lightning) became his form. Lightning is Aśani. Hence they say that Aśani has struck a man whom lightning strikes. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Bhava.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Parjanya (the god of rain) became his form. For Parjanya is Bhava (Being); because all this [universe] arises from Parjanya. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Mahādevaḥ (the 'Great god').' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Chandramas (the Moon) became his form. Prajāpati is the Moon: Prajāpati is the 'Great god.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Īśāna (the ruler).' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Aditya (the Sun) became his form. For the Sun is Īśāna, because he rules (*īshṭe*) over this universe. The boy said, 'I am so much: do not give me any further name.' These are the eight forms of Agni. Kumāra (the boy) is the ninth. This is the threefoldness (*trivṛittā*) of Agni. Since there are, as it were, eight forms of Agni, the gāyatrī metre has eight syllables. Hence men say, 'Agni pertains to the gāyatrī.' This boy (Kumāra) entered into the forms. Men do not see Agni as a boy; it is these forms of his that they see; for he entered into these forms."

This passage appears to be the original from which the story of the birth of Rudra in the Purāṇas is borrowed. That legend, as given in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (in nearly the same words as in the Vishṇu Purāṇa) is as follows:

Mārk. Pur. Sect. 52, 2 ff.—*Kalpādāv ātmanas tulyaṁ sutam pra-dhyāyataḥ prabhoḥ | 3. Prādur-āśid athāṅke 'syā kumāro nīla-lohitāḥ | ruroda susvaraṁ so 'tha dravāṁś cha dvija-sattama | kiṁ rodishīti tam Brahmā rudantam pratyuvācha ha | nāma dehiti taṁ so 'tha pratyuvācha*

*jagat-patim | Rudras tvam̄ deva namnā 'si mā rodīr dhairyayam āvaha | evam uktas tataḥ so 'tha sapta-kṛitco ruroda ha | tato 'nyāni dadau tas-mai sapta nāmāni vai prabhuh | sthānāni chaishām ashṭānām patnīh puttrāñś cha vai dvija | Bhavañ Sarvañ tatheśānañ tathā Paśupatim prabhuh | Bhīmam Ugram Mahāderam uvācha sa Pitāmuhah |*

"When, at the beginning of the kalpa, the lord (*i.e.* Brahmā) was meditating on a son similar to himself, there was manifested in his lap a boy of a blue and red colour, (3) who then wept loudly, running about. Brahmā said to him when he was weeping, 'Why dost thou weep?' He answered the lord of the world, 'Give me a name.' [Brahmā rejoined] 'Thou, o deity, art called Rudra; do not weep; be patient.' Being thus addressed [the boy] wept again seven times. Then the lord gave him seven other names, and the places of these eight, and wives, and sons. The Progenitor (Brahmā) called him [beside Rudra] Bhava, Sarva, Isāna, Paśupati, Bhīma, Ugra, Mahādeva."

These names (except Bhīma, which is substituted for Asāni) are the same as those in the Brāhmaṇa. The same legend is given in a somewhat different form in the Sāṅkhāyana or Kaushitakī Brāhmaṇa, and an abstract of that passage is furnished by Prof. Weber in his Indische Studien, ii. 300 ff. For the text of the passage I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht, who has copied it from the MS. of the Sāṅkhāyana in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, vi. i. etc.—*Prajāpatih prajātikāmas tapo 'tapa-yata | taṁtātaptāt panchājāyanta Agnir Vāyur Ādityās Chandramā Ushāh panchamī | tān abravīd yūyam api tapyadhvam iti | te 'dīkshanta | tān dīkshitāñś tepānān ushāh prajāpatyā 'psarorūpañ kṛtvā purastāt pra-tiyudait | tasyām eshām manah samapatat | te reto 'siñchanta | Te prajā-patim pitaram etyābruvan "reto va asichāmahā idam no māmuyā bhūd" iti | sa prajāpatir hiranmayām chamasam akarod ishumātram ūrdhvam evām tiryāñcam | taṁmin retah samasiñcat | tata udatishṭhat sahasrākshah sahasrapāt sahasrena pratihitābhīḥ | 2. Sa prajāpatim pitaram abhyā-yachhat | tam abravīt kathā mā 'bhyāyachhasīti | nāma me kurv ity abra-vīn na vā idam avihitena nāmnānnam atseyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Bhava eveti yad Bhava āpas | tena na ha vā evam Bhavo hinasti | nāsyā prajātm nāsyā paśūn nāsyā bruvāñnam cana | atha ya enām dveṣṭī sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa ya evām veda tasya vrataṁ ā īm eva vāsaḥ pari-*

*dadhītēti | 3. Tām dvītyam abhyāyachhat tam abravīt | kathā mābhya-*  
*yachhasīti | dvītyam me nāma kurv ity abravīn na vā idam ekena nām-*  
*nānnam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam iti abravīch Chharva eveti yaḥ Chharvo*  
*'gniḥ | tena na ha vā enāṁ Šarvo hinasti nāsyā prajām nāsyā paśūn*  
*nāsyā bruvāṇāṁ cana | atha ya enāṁ dveshī sa eva pāpiyān bhavati |*  
*na sa ya evāṁ veda tasya vrataṁ sarvam eva nāśnīyād iti | 4. Tām*  
*trītyam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā mābhya-yachhasīti | trītyam me*  
*nāma kurv ity abravīn na vā idām dvābhyaṁ nāmabhyām annam atsyā-*  
*mīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīt Paśupatir eveti yat Paśupatir vāyuḥ |*  
*tena na ha vā enāṁ Paśupatir hinasti nāsyā prajām nāsyā paśūn*  
*nāsyā bruvāṇāṁ cana | athā ya enāṁ dveshī sa eva pāpiyān bhavati |*  
*na sa ya evāṁ veda tasya vrataṁ brāhmaṇam eva na parivadeś iti | 5.*  
*Tām chaturtham abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā mābhya-yachhasīti |*  
*chaturtham me nāma kurv ity abravīt | na vā daṁ tribhir nāmabhir*  
*annam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Ugra eva deva iti yad*  
*Ugro deva oshadhayo vanaspatayah | tena na ha vā enāṁ Ugro devo*  
*hinasti nāsyā prajām nāsyā paśūn nāsyā bruvāṇāṁ chana | atha*  
*ya enāṁ dveshī sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa ya evāṁ veda*  
*tasya vrataṁ striyā eva vivaraṁ neksheteti | 6. Tam pañcamam abhy-*  
*āyachhat | tam abravīt kathā mābhya-yachhasīti | pañchamam me nāma*  
*kurv ity abravīt | na vā idām chaturdhīr nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti |*  
*sa vai tvam ity abravīn Mahān eva deva iti | yan Mahān deva Ādityaḥ |*  
*Tena na ha vā enāṁ Mahān devo hinasti nāsyā prajām nāsyā paśūn*  
*nāsyā bruvāṇāṁ chana | atha ya enāṁ dveshī sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na*  
*sa ya evāṁ veda tasya vrataṁ udyantam evainaṁ nekshetāstam yantam*  
*cheti | 7. Tām shashṭham abhyāyachhat tam abravīt kathā mā abhyā-*  
*yachhasīti | shashṭham me nāmā kurv ity abravīt | na vā idam pañcha-*  
*bhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Rudra eveti*  
*yad Rudras chandramāḥ | Tena na ha vā enāṁ Rudro hinasti nāsyā*  
*prajām nāsyā paśūn nāsyā bruvāṇāṁ chana | atha ya enāṁ dveshī sa*  
*eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa ya evāṁ veda tasya vrataṁ vimūrtam eva nāś-*  
*nīyān majjānaṁ cheti 8. Tām saptamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā*  
*mābhya-yachhasīti | saptamam me nāma kurv ity abravīt | na vā idām*  
*shaḍbhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Īśāna eveti*  
*yad Īśāno 'nnaṁ | tena na ha va enāṁ Īśāno hinasti nāsyā prajām nāsyā*  
*paśūn nāsyā bruvāṇāṁ chana | atha ya enāṁ dveshī sa eva pāpiyān*  
*bhavati | na sa ya evāṁ veda tasya vrataṁ annam evehhamānaṁ na prat-*

*yācaḥshītēti | 9. Tam aśṭamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā mābhyaḥ  
dyachhaerī | aśṭamam me nāma kurv ity abravīn na vā idāṁ eṣṭabhir  
nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Aśanir eveti yad  
Aśanir Indraḥ | tena na ha vā enam Aśanir hinasti nāsyā prajām nāsyā  
paśūn nāsyā bruvāṇāṁ chana | atha ya enāṁ dreshti sa eva pāpiyāṁ  
bhavati | na sa ya evāṁ veda tasyā vrataṁ satyam eva vade dhiranyāṁ  
oha bibhriyād iti | sa esho 'śṭanāmā 'śṭadhā vihito Mahān devaḥ | ā  
ha vā aśyāśṭamāt purushāt prajā'nnam atti vasīyān vasīyān haivāsyā  
prajāyām ājāyate ya evāṁ veda |*

"Prajāpati, being desirous of progeny, performed austerity. From him when he had [thus] performed austerity five [children] were born, Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, Chandramas (Moon), and Ushas (dawn) the fifth. He said to them, 'Do you also perform austerity.' They consecrated themselves. Before them, when they had consecrated themselves, and had performed austerity, Ushas, the daughter of Prajāpati, assuming the form of an Apsaras (celestial nymph), arose. Their attention was rivetted upon her, and they discharged seed. They then came to Prajāpati their father, and said to him, 'We have discharged seed; let it not lie there in vain.' Prajāpati made a golden platter, of the depth of an arrow, and of equal breadth. In this he collected the seed, and from it there arose a being with a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, and a thousand arrows. 2. He came to his father Prajāpati, who asked him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' He answered, 'Give me a name. I shall not eat this food, so long as no name has been given to me.' 'Thou art Bhava,' said Prajāpati; for Bhava is the Waters. Therefore Bhava does not slay this man, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. And further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with him who knows this. His rule is, let a man wear a garment. 3. He (this newly-produced being) came a second time to Prajāpati, who asked him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me,' he replied, 'a second name: I shall not eat this food with only one name.' 'Thou art Sarva,' Prajāpati answered; for Sarva is Agni. Wherefore Sarva does not slay him, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. Further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with him who knows this. His rule is, let not a man eat every sort of food. 4. He came the third time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost

thou come to me?' 'Give me a third name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only two names.' 'Thou art Paśupati,' Prajāpati answered; for Paśupati is Vāyu (wind). Wherefore Paśupati does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no one slander a Brāhmaṇa. 5. He came the fourth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a fourth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only three names.' 'Thou art Ugradeva (the fierce god)' Prajāpati answered; for Ugradeva is plants and trees. Wherefore Ugradeva does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let not a man look upon the shame of a woman. 6. He came the fifth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a fifth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only four names.' 'Thou art Mahāndeva (the great god),' Prajapati answered; for Mahāndeva is Aditya (the Sun). Wherefore Mahāndeva does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no man look upon him (the Sun) rising or setting. 7. He came the sixth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a sixth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only five names.' 'Thou art Rudra,' Prajāpati answered; for Rudra is Chandramas (the Moon). Therefore Rudra does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no man eat anything decomposed, or any marrow. 8. He came the seventh time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a seventh name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only six names.' 'Thou art Īśāna,' Prajāpati answered; for Īśāna is food. Wherefore Īśāna does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no one reject him who desires food. 9. He came the eighth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me an eighth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only seven names.' 'Thou art Aśani,' Prajāpati answered; for Aśani is Indra. Wherefore Aśani does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let a man speak truth, and keep gold. This is the Mahāndeva (great god) who has eight names, and who is formed in eight ways. The progeny to the eighth generation of the man who possesses this knowledge, eats food, and ever wealthier men will be born among his descendants."

The following is the account given in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa of the object and name of the Satarudriya:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 1.—*Atha atah śatarudriyāṁ juhoti |*

*atra esha sarvo 'gnih saṃskritah | sa esho 'tra Rudro devatā | tasmin devū etad amṛitam rūpam uttamam adādhuḥ | sa esho 'tra dīpyamāno 'tishṭhad annam ichhamānah | tasmād devā abibhayur yad vai no 'yam na hiṃsyād iti | 2. Tē 'bruvann annam asmai sambharāma tena enām śamayāma iti | tasmā etad annām samabharan śānta-devatyam | tena enam aśamayan | tad yad etañ devam etena aśamayañ tasmāch chhānta-devatyam | śānta-devatyām ha vai tach chhatarudriyam ity āchaxate paroxam | paroxakāmā hi devāḥ |*

"He now offers an oblation with the Satarudriya. Here this universal fire has been prepared; and here this Rudra is the deity. In him the gods placed this most excellent immortal form. Here he rose up flaming, desiring food. The gods were afraid of him, 'lest' (they thought) 'he should destroy us.' 2. They said, 'Let us collect food for him, and with it appease him.' They collected for him this food with which a deity is appeased, and with it they appeased him. Inasmuch as they appeased this god with this, it is therefore called Śānta-devatyā ("that with which a god is appeased"). They call this Śānta-devatyā esoterically *Sata-rudriya*; for the gods love what is esoteric."

On this the commentator remarks: *Vihito 'yāñ homo Rudra-rūpātū-pannasya Agner upaśamanārtham |* "This oblation is offered in order to appease Agni who has taken the form of Rudra."

The same work gives, a little further on, a different account of the origin of Rudra, and a different etymology for the Satarudriya:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 6 ff.—*Prajāpater visvastād devatā udakrāmāñ tam eka eva devo nājahād Manyur eva | so 'emin̄ antar vitato 'tishṭhat | so 'rodīt | tasya yāny aśrūṇi prākandañ tāny asmin Manyau prat�atiṣṭhan | sa eva śata-śirshā Rudraḥ samabhavat sahasrāxāḥ śateshudhiḥ | atha yā anyā vīprusho 'putañ tū asaṅkhyātā sahasrāñ<sup>256</sup> imān lokān anuprāviśan | tad yad ruditāt samabhavañ tasmād Rudrāḥ | so 'yāñ śataśirshā Rudraḥ sahasrāxāḥ śateshudhir<sup>257</sup> adhijya-dhanvā pratihitāyī bhīshayamāṇo 'tishṭhad annam ichhamānah | tasmād devā abibhayuḥ | 7. Tē Prajāpatim abruvan | asmād vai bibhīmo yad vai no 'yāñ na hiṃsyād iti | so 'bravīd annam asmai sambharata tena enām śamayata iti | tasmā etad annām samabharan śānta-rudreyañ tenainam aśamayan | tad yad etañ śataśirshānañ Rudram etenāśamayañ tasmāch chhataśirsha-*

<sup>256</sup> Compare Nir. i. 15, and Vāj. Sanh. 16, 54, above, p. 271.

<sup>257</sup> Compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 13, above, p. 269.

*rudra-śamaniyam | śataśirsha-rudra-śamaniyam ha vai tat śatarudriyam  
ity achacate paroxam | paroxa-kāmā hi devā ityādi |*

“From Prajāpati, when he had become divided, the deities sprang forth. Only one god, Manyu, did not leave him, but continued extended within him. He (Prajāpati) wept. The tears which fell from him remained in that Manyu. He became a Rudra with a hundred heads, a hundred eyes, and a hundred quivers. Then the other drops which fell from him in unnumbered thousands entered into these worlds. They were called Rudras because they sprang from him when he had wept. This Rudra with a thousand heads, eyes, and quivers, stood with his bow strung, holding arrows, causing terror, and demanding food. The gods were afraid of him. 7. They said to Prajāpati, ‘We are afraid of this being, lest he destroy us.’ Prajāpati said to them, ‘Collect for him food, and with it appease him.’ They collected for him this food, the śatarudriya, and with it they appeased him. From the fact that with this they appeased the hundred-headed Rudra, it is “that wherewith the hundred-headed Rudra is to be appeased” (*Sata-śirsha-rudra-śamaniyam*). This they esoterically call Śatarudriya; for the gods love what is esoteric.”

In the descriptions of Mahādeva which are found in the passages quoted in the last chapter from the Mahābhārata, though that deity is occasionally identified with Agni, as he is with other gods (see above, p. 169), he is generally represented in a different aspect, and with different characteristics. In the legend of the birth of Skanda or Kārttikeya,<sup>258</sup> however, which is narrated in the Vana-parva of that poem, we find some trace of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni. We are there told that, after Skanda had been installed in his office of general of the gods (v. 14424), Mahādeva and Pārvatī arrived :

14427 ff.—*Āgamya manuja-vyāghra saha devyā parantapa | archa-*  
*yāmdea suprito bhagavān govisha-dhvajah | Rudram Agnīm dvijāḥ prā-*  
*hu Rudra-sūnus tatas tu saḥ | Rudrena śukram utsṛiṣṭām tat śvetāḥ*  
*parvato 'bhavat | Pāvakasyendriyām śvete krittikabhiḥ kritām nage | pū-*  
*jyamānaṁ tu Rudrena drishṭvā sarve divaukasāḥ | Rudra-sūnuṁ tataḥ*  
*prāhur Guhaṁ gunavatām varan | anupraviṣya Rudrena vahnīm jāto hy*

<sup>258</sup> Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 588, note) observes that this legend differs from the one on the same subject in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 38, and regards the former as a later interpolation in the Mahābhārata.

*ayaṁ śiśuh | tatra jātas tataḥ Skando Rudra-sūnus tato 'bharat | Rudrasya Vahneḥ Svāhāyāḥ shannām strīnām cha Bhārata | jātas Skandah sura-śreshṭho Rudra-sūnus tato 'bharat |*

"The god whose banner is a bull, arriving with his goddess, paid him honour, well pleased. Brāhmans call Rudra Agni; consequently he (Kārttikeya) is the son of Rudra. The seed which was discharged by Rudra became the white mountain. And the seed of Pāvaka (Agui) was formed (?) by the Kṛittikās on the white mountain. Having seen Guha (Kārttikeya) thus honored by Rudra, all the deities consequently call him, who is the most excellent of the gifted, the son of Rudra. For this child was produced by Rudra when he had entered into Fire. Being there born, Skanda was the son of Rudra. Skanda, that most eminent deity, being born from Rudra, [who was] Agni, and from Svāhā [and] the six wives, was the son of Rudra."

The allusions in this passage will become more intelligible if I give an outline of the preceding part of the allegorical story, which commences with v. 14241. Indra being distressed at the defeat of the armies of the gods (*dera-senū*) by the Dānavas (v. 14245 ff.) is meditating on this subject, when he hears the cry of a female calling for help, and asking for a husband to protect her. Indra sees that she has been seized by the demon Keśin, with whom he remonstrates; but the demon hurls his club at Indra, who, however, splits it with his thunderbolt. Keśin is disabled in the next stage of their combat, and goes off. Indra then finds out from the female that her name is Devasenā (army of the gods), and that she has a sister called Daityasenā (army of the Daityas), and that they are both daughters of Prajāpati. Her sister, she says, loves Keśin, but she herself does not, and wishes Indra to find for her a proper husband, who shall be able to overcome all the enemies of the gods. Indra takes Devasenā with him to Brahmā and desires him to provide her with a martial husband; and Brahmā promises that a helpmate of that description shall be born (14279 f.). Indra then departs with Devasenā. It happened that Vaśishtha and other rishis had been offering a sacrifice, whither the gods headed by Indra proceeded to drink the soma-juice. Agni too, being invoked, descended from the region of the sun, entered into the fire, received the oblations of the rishis, and presented them to the gods. The story then proceeds (v. 14287):

*Nishkrāmañś chāpy apaśyat sa patnīs teśham mahātmanām | svehvo  
 āśrāmeshūpariṣṭhāḥ svapantīś cha tathā sukhām | rukma-reḍi-nibhās tās  
 tu chandra-lekhā ivāmalātīḥ | hubāsanārchiḥ-pratimāḥ sarvās tārā nād-  
 bhutāḥ | sa tatra tena manasā babbūra xubhitendriyāḥ | patnīr drishṭrā  
 dvijendrāṇām Vahniḥ kāma-vāśām yayau | bhūyaḥ su chintayāmāsa na  
 nyāyyām xubhito hy aham | sādhyaḥ patnyo dvijendrāṇām akāmāḥ  
 kāmayāmy aham | naitāḥ śākyā mayā drashṭum prashṭum rā 'py ani-  
 mittataḥ | gārhapatyām samāviśya tasmāt paśyāmy abhīxuśāḥ | saṁ-  
 sprisann iva survās tāḥ śikhaḥbhiḥ kāñchana-prabhāḥ | paśyamānaś cha  
 munude gārhapatyām samāśritāḥ | nirushya tatra suchiram evām Vah-  
 nīr vāśām gataḥ | manas tāsu viniḥxiipyā kāmayāno varāṅganāt | kāma-  
 santapta-hṛidayo dha-tyāga-ciniśchitaḥ | alābhe brāhmaṇa-strīṇām Agnīr  
 vanam upāgamat | Srahā tam Daxa-dulitā prathamañ kāmayat tudā |  
 sā tasya chhidram anāichhāch chirāt-prabhṛili bhāvinī | apramattasya  
 devasya na cha paśyati aninditā | sā tam jñātvā yathārat tū Vahnīm  
 vanam upāgatam | tattvataḥ kāma-santaptañ chintayāmāsa bhāvinī |  
 ahañ saptarshi-patnīnām kṛitiā rūpāṇī Pāvakam | kāmayishyāmi kā-  
 mārttā tāsām rūpeya mohitam | evām kṛite prītiḥ asya kāmārāptiḥ cha  
 me bharet | Sivā bhāryyā te Ḍngirasaḥ śila-rūpa-guṇānvitā | tasyāḥ sā  
 prathamañ rūpām kṛitiā derī janādhīpa | jagāma Pāvakābhyaśām tam  
 chordha varāṅganā | mām Agne kāma-santaptañ tvām kāmayitum  
 arhasi | karishyasi na ced evam mṛitām mām upadhāraya | aham  
 Ḍngiraso bhāryyā Sivā-nāmā Ḍutāśana | śiśṭabhiḥ prahitā prāptā  
 mantrayitvā viniśchayam | Agnīr uvācha | katham mām tvām rijānīshe  
 kāmārttam itarāḥ katham | yīś tvayā kīrttitāḥ sariāḥ saptarshīṇām  
 priyāḥ striyaḥ | Sivā uvācha | asmākām tvām priyo nityam bibhīmas tu  
 vayañ taru | trachchittam ingitaur jñātrā preshitā 'smi tarāntikam |  
 maithunyeha samprāptā kāmam prāptum drubañ chara | yāmayo mām  
 pratīkante gamishyāmi Ḍutāśana | Mārkanḍeya urācha | tato 'gnīr  
 upayemo tām Sivām prītām mudā yuṭāḥ | prītyā derī samāyuktā śukrañ  
 jagrāha pāṇinā | achintayad mamedām ye rūpām draxyanti kānane | te  
 brāhmaṇinām anūṭitām doshañ raxyanti Pāvake | tasmād etad raxamāṇā  
 Garudī sambhavāmy aham | ranād nirgamanām chaiva sukhām mama  
 bhavishyati | Suparṇī sā tadaḥ bhūtvā nirjagāma mahāvanāt | apaśyat  
 parvatañ śvetāñ śara-stambaiḥ susamṛitam | drishṭivishvaiḥ sapta-śirshair  
 guptam bhogibhir adbhutaiḥ | raxobhiś cha piśāchaiś cha raudrair bhūta-  
 ganais tathā | rāxasibhiś cha sampūrṇam anekaiścha mṛiga-driyaiḥ | sā*

tatra sahasā gatvā śaila-prishṭham sudurgamam | prāxipat kāñchane  
 kundे śukram sā tvaritā śubhā | saptānām api sā devī saptarshinām  
 mahātmanām | patni-sarūpatām kṛtvā kāmayāmāsa Pāvakam | divya-  
 rūpam Arundhatyāḥ kartum na śakitañ tayā | tasyās tapaḥ-prabhāvena  
 bhartuḥ śuśrūshanena cha | shaṭkrītas tat tu niḥxiptam Agne retaḥ  
 Kurūttama | tasmin kundे pratipadi kāminyā Svāhayā tada | tat skan-  
 nām tejasā tatra sañvritām janayat sutam | rishibhiḥ pūjitañ skannam  
 anayat Skandatām tataḥ | shaṭ-śirā dviguna-śrotra dvāduṣāxi-bhuja-kra-  
 maḥ | eka-grīvaika-jātharaḥ kumāraḥ samapudyata | . . . . .

v. 14514: *Yadā Skandena mālīnām evam etat priyām kritam | ta-*  
*thainam abravīt Svāhā “mama putras tvam aurasaḥ | ichhāmy aham-*  
*tvayā dattām prītim parama-durlabhām” | tām abravīt tataḥ Skandah*  
*prītim ichhasi kīdriśim | Svāhovācha | Daxasyūham priyā kanyā Svāhā*  
*nāma mahābhujā | balyāt prabhṛiti nityañcha jāta-kāmā Hūtāśane | na*  
*sa mām kāminīmputra samyag jānāti Pāvakaḥ | icchāmi śāśvatañ vāsām*  
*vastum putra sahāgninā | Skanda uvācha | Havyām kavyañcha yat kiñ-*  
*chid dvijānām mantra-saṁstutam | hoshyanṭy Agnau sadā devi svāhety*  
*uktvā samuddhṛitam | adya prabhṛiti dāsyanti surrittāḥ sat-pathe sthitāḥ |*  
*evam Agnis tvayā sārdham sadā vatsyati śobhane | Mārkanḍeya uvācha |*  
*evam ukta tataḥ Svāhā tushṭā Skandena pūjītā | Pāvakena samāyukta*  
*bhartṛā Skandam apūjayat | tato Brahmā Mahāsenam Prajāpatir athā-*  
*bravīt | abhigachha Mahādevam pitaram tripurārddanam | Rudrenāgnīm*  
*samāviśya svāhām āviśya ohomayā | hitārthañ sarva-lokānām jātas tvam*  
*aparājitaḥ |*

“Issuing forth, he beheld the wives of these great [rishis] seated in their own hermitages, and sweetly sleeping, resembling golden altars (?), pure as beams of the moon, like to flames of fire, all wonderful as stars. Perceiving that, his senses became agitated. Beholding the wives of the Brahmins, Agni was overcome by desire. Again and again he reflected, ‘It is not proper that I should be thus agitated: I am enamoured of the chaste spouses of the Brahmins, who are not in love with me. They cannot be looked upon or questioned by me without reason. Entering into the domestic fire, I shall gaze upon them close at hand.’ Entering the domestic fire, touching, as it were, with his flames, all of them, who were bright as gold, and beholding them, he was delighted. Dwelling thus there for a long time, fixing his attention upon these beautiful women, and enamoured of them, Agni was

overcome. His heart being distressed with desire, Agni, failing to obtain the Brahmans' wives, resolved to abandon his corporeal form, and went into the forest. Then Svāhā, the daughter of Daxa, first fell in love with him. This amorous and blameless goddess for a long time sought for his weak point, but as the god was watchful, she could not find any. But being perfectly aware that he had gone into the wood, and that he was really disturbed by desire, the amorous goddess thus reflected : 'I who am distressed by love, will take the form of the seven rishis' wives, and will court the affection of Agni who is enchanted by their beauty. By doing so he will be pleased, and I shall obtain my desire.' Assuming first the form of Sivā, the wife of Angiras, who possessed a good disposition, beauty, and excellent qualities, the beautiful goddess (Svāhā) went to Agni, and thus addressed him : 'Agni, thou oughtest to love me, who am disturbed with love for thee: if thou wilt not do so, look upon me as dead. Agni, I, Sivā, the wife of Angiras, have come, sent by virtuous women, and having considered my determination.' Agni replied : 'How dost thou, and how do all the other beloved wives of the seven rishis whom thou mentionest, know that I am distressed with love?' Sivā answered : 'Thou hast always been beloved by us, but we are afraid of thee. Knowing thy heart by external signs, I have been sent to thee. I have come to be embraced: come quickly and fulfil your desire. The other females are awaiting me; I shall depart, Hutaśana (Agni).' Agni then with joy embraced the delighted Sivā. The goddess filled with delight took his seed in her hand. She reflected, 'All those who shall see this form of mine in the forest, will falsely allege the transgression of Brahmans' wives with Agni. Wherefore preserving this, I shall become Garuḍī; and thus my egress from the wood will become easy. She then, becoming Suparnī, issued from the great forest, and beheld the white mountain surrounded by palisades of arrows, guarded by wondrous seven-headed serpents whose very glance was venomous, by Rāxasas, Piśāchas, and by hosts of Rudra's demons, filled with Raxasīs, and numerous beasts and birds. The beautiful goddess, having then gone quickly to the summit of the mountain, which was difficult of access, hastily threw the seed into a golden reservoir. Thus this goddess, assuming in succession the resemblance of the wives of the seven great rishis, loved Agni. But she

could not take the divine form of Arundhatī (the wife of Vaśishṭha), owing to the power of the latter's austerity, and her obedience to her husband. Six times was the seed of Agni thrown by the enamoured Svāhā into the reservoir on the *pratipad* (the first day of the lunar fortnight). Discharged there and collected, that seed by its energy generated a son. That [seed] which was discharged (*skunna*), being worshipped by the rishis, gave to this son his character of *Skanda*. Kumāra (Kārttikeya) was born with six heads, a double number of ears, twelve eyes, arms, and feet, one neck, and one belly." Kārttikeya marries Devasenā (vv. 14446 ff.). The six rishis' wives, his mothers, afterwards come to him, complaining that they had been abandoned by their husbands, and degraded from their former position, and asking him to secure their admission into paradise (*srarga*). The story then proceeds (v. 14514 ff.): "When Skanda had done what was gratifying to his mothers, Svāhā said to him, 'Thou art my genuine son: I desire the love, difficult to obtain, which thou givest.' Skanda then asked her, 'What love dost thou desire?' Svāhā replied, 'I am the beloved daughter of Daxa, by name Svāhā. From my childhood I have been enamoured of Agni. But, my son, Agni does not thoroughly know me who am enamoured of him. I wish to dwell perpetually with Agni.' Skanda rejoined: 'Whatever oblation of Brahmans is introduced by hymns, they shall always, goddess, lift and throw it into the fire, saying, 'Svāhā.' From this day forward, virtuous men, abiding in the right path, shall grant [thee this]. Thus, o beautiful goddess, Agni shall dwell with thee continually.' Being thus addressed by Skanda, Svāhā, gratified, worshipped by Skanda, and united with Agni as her husband, worshipped Skanda. Then Brahmā Prajāpati said to Mahāsena (Skanda), 'Go to thy father Mahādeva, the vexer of Tripura. Thou unconquered hast been produced for the good of all worlds by Rudra who had entered into Agni, and Umā who had entered into Svāhā."

#### SECT. V.—*Passages relating to Rudra in the Upanishads.*

To the preceding passages, descriptive of Rudra, from the Brāhmaṇas, I shall now subjoin a few of a different character from the Upanishads.

The first is from the Svetāśvatara Upanishad (Bibliotheca Indica, vol. vii. pp. 323 ff.):

Svetāśvaratara Upanishad, iii. 1 ff.—*Ya eko jālavān iśate iśanībhiḥ sarvān lokān iśate iśanībhiḥ | ya evaika udbhave sambhavet cha ye etat vidur amritā te bhavanti |* 2. *Eko hi Rudro na dvitīyāya tashthu<sup>259</sup> ya imān lokān iśate iśanībhiḥ | pratyāñ janāñs tishṭhati sañchukopāntakāle<sup>260</sup> sañṣrījya viśvā bhurānāni gopāḥ |* 3. (R. V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 5.) *Viśvataś-chazur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pāt | sam bāhubyām dhamati sam patatrair dyāvābhūmī janayan deva ekah |* 4. *Yo devānām prabhavaś chodbhavaś cha viśvādhipo Rudro maharshih | Hiranyagarbhaṁ janayāmāsa pūrvāñ<sup>261</sup> sa no buddhyā śubhayā saṃyunaktu |* 5 and 6=Vāj. S. xvi. 2, 3 (see above, p. 268). . . . . iv. 21: *Ajāta ity evāñ kaścid bhīruḥ pratipadyate | Rudra yat te daxinām mukham tena mām pāhi nityam |* 22=R. V. i. 114, 8, and Vāj. S. xvi. 16 (see above). “He who alone, the enchanter, rules by his powers, rules all worlds by his powers, he who in source and in production is alone,—they who know this become immortal. 2. For Rudra who rules these worlds by his powers, is but one; [the wise] do not assert (?) a second. Having, a preserver, created all worlds, he abides in men severally; he absorbs them at the time of the end. 3. This one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the heaven and earth, blows them forth with his arms and with his wings. 4. May Rudra, the lord of all, the great sage, the cause of production and the source of the gods, who first

<sup>259</sup> These words *na dvitīyāya tashthuḥ* appear to be established as the current reading of this passage; and a similar reading (with variations in other respects) will be found below in a corresponding verse which occurs in the Atharva-sīras. The commencement of the verse is, however, also found in the Nirukta, i. 15, where the reading is different and preferable, *eka eva Rudro'vatasthe na dvitīyāḥ*; and Sūyana, in his commentary on the Rig-veda (quoted in vol. iii. of this work, p. 42), gives the words thus, *eka eva Rudro na dvitīyo'vatasthe*. Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 12, note), quotes the whole verse as follows (without saying from what work it is taken): *Eka eva Rudro'vatasthe na dvitīyo rane vighnam pri- tanāsu śatruṇ | sañṣrījya viśvā bhurānāni gopāḥ pratyāñ janāñ sañchukochānta-kāle |* “One only Rudra exists and no second, slaying his enemies in the conflicts of the battle. Having created all worlds, a protector, he draws back all beings into himself at the time of the end.”

<sup>260</sup> The proper reading is probably *sañchukooḥa*. See the last note.

<sup>261</sup> These two words are varied below, 4, 12, thus: *paśyata jāyamānam*, i.e. “beheld Hiranyagarbha being born.” The rest of the verse remains the same.

generated Hiranyagarbha,—may he put us in possession of an excellent understanding. . . . *Ibid.* iv. 21. Some fearful man approaches (thinking) thus—‘[Thou art] unborn.’ Rudra, protect me with thy southern face.”

The next passage is from the commencement of the Atharva-sîras<sup>262</sup> Upanishad. The MSS. which I have consulted vary very much in their readings :

*Devā ha vai svargaṁ lokam agaman | te devā Rudram apricchhan ko  
bhavān iti | so 'bravid aham ekaḥ prathamam āsaṁ varttāmi cha bhavish-  
yāmi cha nānyāḥ kaścid matto vyatirikta iti | eo 'ntarād antaram prāviśad  
diśāśchāntaraṁ samprāviśat | so 'ham nityānityo vyaktāvyakto 'ham  
Brahmābrahmāham prāñchaḥ pratyāñcho 'ham daxināñcha udañcho 'ham  
adhaśchorddhvañcha diśāscha pratidiśāśchāham pumān apumān śrī chāhañ  
sāvitry ahañ gāyatry aham trishṭub jagaty anushṭup chāhañ chhando  
'ham gārhapatyō daxināgnir āhavanīyo 'ham satyo 'ham gaur ahañ Gaury  
ahañ jyeshṭho 'ham sreshṭho 'ham varishṭho 'ham āpo 'ham tejo 'ham rig-  
yajuh-sāmātharvāṅgiraso 'ham axaram ahañ xaram ahañ guhyo 'ham  
gopyo 'ham aranyo 'ham pushkaram aham paviṭram aham agrāñcha mad-  
hyañcha vahiścha purastāj jyotir ity aham ekaḥ | sarvañcha mām eva mām  
yo veda sa sarvān devān veda | gāñ gobhir brāhmaṇān brāhmaṇyena  
havīṁshi havishā āyur āyushā satyañ satyena dharmāñ dharmena tarpa-  
yāmi svena tejasā | tato devā Rudrañ nāpaśyams te devā Rudrañ dhyā-  
yanti tato devā ūrddhva-bhāvah stuvanti yo vai Rudra sa bhagavān  
yaś cha Brahmā tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān  
yaścha Viśhnus tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān  
yaścha Maheśvaras tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān  
yā chomā tasmai . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Viśnayakas  
tasmai . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaścha Skandāḥ . . . . | yo  
vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaśchendrah . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaś-  
chāgnih . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yā cha bhūḥ . . . . | yo vai  
Rudraḥ . . . . yaścha bhuvah . . . . | om ādau madhye bhūr bhuvah  
suvar ante śirsham<sup>263</sup> janadom viśva-rūpo 'si | Brahmaikas tvāñ dvi-*

<sup>262</sup> A work called Atharva-sîras is mentioned in the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 14, 2, quoted above, p. 138.

<sup>263</sup> The commentator explains this thus: *S'irshām tiro mantraḥ svāhety evaṁrū-  
paḥ | janadom janadeti karmo palazanāṛtham axara-trayam janam janim tadupa-  
lacita-janimad vastu-fātam tad dadāti iti janadah | tasya sambodhanam |* Instead  
of the words in the text, another MSS. reads, *bhūs te ādir madhyam bhuvah te svas  
te s'irshām viśvarūpo 'si.*

*tridhā ūrddhvam adhaścha tvaṁ śāntiścha tvaṁ pushtiścha tvaṁ tush-  
tiścha tvaṁ hutam ahutam viśvam aviśvam dattam aduttam kritam  
akritam param aparam parāyaṇañcheti | “apāma somam<sup>264</sup> amṛita  
abhimā aganma jyotir avidāma devān | kiṁ nūnam asmān kriṇavād  
aratiḥ kiṁ u dhūrttir amṛita martyasya” | (R. V. viii. 48, 8) |  
sarva-jagaddhitam vā etad axaram prajāpatyam sūxmaṁ saumyam  
purusham agrāhyam agrāhyena Vāyum vāyavyena somaṁ saumyena gra-  
satī stena tejasā | tasmā upasāṁhartitre mahāgrāsāya vai namo namaḥ |  
hṛidisthā devatāḥ sarvā hṛidi prāne pratishṭhitāḥ | hṛidi tvam asi yo  
nityam tiero mātrāḥ paras tu saḥ | tasyottarataḥ śiro daxinataḥ pādau ya  
uttarataḥ sa oṁkāraḥ | yaḥ oṁkāraḥ sa pranavaḥ yaḥ pranavaḥ sa sarva-  
vyāpi yaḥ sarva-vyāpi so 'nanta yo 'nanta tat tāraṁ<sup>265</sup> yat tāraṁ tat  
sūxmaṁ yat sūxmaṁ tat śuklaṁ yat śuklaṁ tad vaidyutaṁ yad vaidyu-  
taṁ tat param Brahmeti sa ekaḥ sa eko Rudraḥ sa Īśānaḥ sa bhagavān sa  
Maheśvaraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ | atha kasmād uchyate oṁkāraḥ | yasmād  
uchchāryamāna eva sarvāṁ śarīram unnāmayati tasmād uchyate oṁkāraḥ  
. . . . atha kasmad uchyate ekaḥ | yaḥ sarvān lokān udgrihṇāti<sup>266</sup> śrijati  
viśrjati vāsayati tasmād uchyate ekaḥ | atha kasmād uchyate eko Rudraḥ |  
eko Rudro na dvitīyāya tasthe (sthitavān | advitīya eva sthitavān | Comm.)  
turiyam imām lokam iṣate īśānīyur (niyamana śaktimān | Comm.) janani-  
yuḥ (viśvotpāda-śaktimān | Comm.) pratyāṇ janāś tishtanti saṁyugas-  
yantakale samhṛitya viśvā bhuvānani gop्तā |<sup>267</sup> tasmād uchyate eko Rudraḥ |  
atha kasmād uchyate īśāno yaḥ sarvān lokān iṣate īśānibhir jananibhiḥ pa-  
rama-śaktibhiḥ | “abhi tvā śūra nonumah adugdhā iva dhenavah | īśānam  
asya jagataḥ svardriśam īśānam Indra tastushaḥ” | (R. V. vii. 32, 22) |  
tasmād uchyate īśānaḥ | . . . . atha kasmād uchyate Maheśvaraḥ | yaḥ  
sarvān lokān sambhaxah sambhaxayat� ajaśraṁ śrijati vierijati vāsayati  
tasmād uchyate Maheśvaraḥ | atha kasmād uchyate Mahādevaḥ | yaḥ  
sarvān bhāvān parityajya ātma-jñāna-yogaiśvaryye mahati mahīyate tas-*

<sup>264</sup> Umayā Brahma-vidyā-svarūpinyā Kātyāyanyā saha varttate iti Somas tam |  
yataḥ somam apāma tataḥ amṛitāḥ maraṇa-hetubhir avidyā-tat-kāryya-saṁskārair  
vivarjitāḥ abhimā sampannāḥ | —Comm.

<sup>265</sup> Tārayati, “delivers :” that which delivers.—Comm.

<sup>266</sup> Īrdhva-moxam ātmāni grihṇāti | —Comm.

<sup>267</sup> In another MSS. a different answer is given to this question : Yasmād gishibhir  
nāngair bhaktair drutam asya rūpam upalabhyate | “He is called Rudra because his  
form is quickly (drutam) perceived by rishis, and not by other devout persons [or, by  
devout rishis alone ?].”

*mād uchyate Mahādevah | tad etad (etad nāma-nirukti-rūpaṁ charitam | Comm.) Rudra-charitam | “esho ha derah pradiśo 'nu sarrāḥ pūrvo ha jātaḥ sa u garbha antaḥ | sa eva jātaḥ sa janishyamāṇaḥ pratyāṇ janāś tishṭhati viśvato-mukhah” | (Vāj. S. 34, 4) | “viśvataś-chaxur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pāt | sam bāhulhyāṁ dhamati sam patatrair dyāvā-prithivī janayan deva ekaḥ” | (R. V. x. 81, 3) | . . . Rudre ekatram (aikyam | Comm.) āhuḥ | Rudraṁ śāśvataṁ vai purāṇam ityādi . . . | vratam etat pāśupatam | agnir iti bhasma vāyur iti bhasma jalām iti bhasma sthalam iti bhasma ṣyometi bhasma sarvāṁ ha vā idam bhasma mana etāni chaxūṁshi bhasmāni | “Agnir” ityādinā bhasma gṛihitvā nimrijya aṅgāni saṁspriśet | tasmād vratam etat pāśupatam paśu-pāśa-vimoxāya | yo 'tharva-śiram brāhmaṇo 'dhīte so 'gni-pūto bhavati | sa vāyu-pūto bhavati | sa āditya-pūto bhavati | sa soma-pūto bhavati | sa satya-bhūto bhavati sa sarra-bhūto bhavati | sa sarveshu tirtheshu snātō bhavati | sa sarveshu vedeshv adhīto bhavati | sa sarva-vedavrata-charyyāsu charito bhavati | sa sarvair derair jñātō bhavati | sa sarva-yajñā-kratubhir iṣṭavān bhavati | tena itihāsa-purāṇānāṁ Rudrāṇāṁ śata-sahasrāṇi japtānī bhavanti | gāyatrīḥ śata-sahasram juptam bhavati | pranavānāṁ ayutaṁ japtam bharati | rūpe rūpe (pāthe pāthe pratipāṭham | Comm.) daśa-pūrvān punāti daśottarān āchaxushaḥ pañktim punāti ityāha bhagavān Atharva-śiro 'tharva-śirah (abhyāsa ādarārthaḥ | Comm.) | sakṛij japtvā śuchiḥ pūtaḥ karmanyo bhavati | dvitiyāṁ japtvā gāṇapatyam (sarra-niyantritvam | Comm.) avāpnoti tritiyāṁ japtvā deram evānupraviśaty oṁ satyam | “yo Rudro agnau yo apev antar ya oshadhir vīrudha āvireśa | ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni chākliripe tasmai Rudrāya namo 'stu agnayo” | (A. V. vii. 87, 1, above, p. 277).*

“The gods went to heaven. They asked Rudra, ‘Who art thou?’ He said, ‘I alone was before [all things], and I exist, and I shall be. No other transcends me.’ He entered into one space after another, and into the space of the sky. ‘I am eternal and not eternal, discernible and undiscernible, I am Brahma, I am not Brahma,<sup>268</sup> I am the eastern, western, southern, northern [breaths, etc. Comm.], I am below and above, the regions, and the intermediate regions, I am male, eunuch, and female, I am the sāvitri, I the gāyatri, I the *trishṭup* (metres), I am metre, I am the household, the southern,

<sup>268</sup> *Vākyābhyaśo rūpasyātmano vāstavatva-pradarśanārthaḥ* | Comm. I should rather suppose, however, that the second word is not *Brahma*, but *abrahma*.

and the *āhavanīya* fires, I am true, I am the earth (or cow), I am Gaurī,<sup>269</sup> I am the eldest, I am the chief, I am the most excellent, I am the waters, I am fire, I am the Rik, Yajush, Sāman, Atharvāngirases, I am the undecaying, I the decaying, I the mysterious, I the secret, I dwell in the forests, I am the *pushkara* (sacrificial jar), the filter, the end, the middle, the outside, the front, and light,—I alone. He who knows me only, me, to be all, knows all the gods. By my own energy I satisfy the earth with rays (or the cow with cows), the Brahmins with brahmanhood, oblations with oblation, life with life, truth with truth, righteousness with righteousness.' Then the gods did not behold Rudra. They meditated upon him. Then the gods, with arms raised aloft, praised him: 'He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Brahmā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Vishṇu, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Maheśvara, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Umā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Vināyaka, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Skanda, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Indra, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Agni, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhūh, etc. He who Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhuvah, etc.' (In the same way Rudra is identified with *surah* [*svah*]; *mahah*; *jana*; *tapas*; *satya*; *prithivi*; *āpas*; *tejas*; *vayu*; *ākāśa*; *surya*; *soma*; *naxatrāṇi*; *aushtau grahāḥ*; *prāṇa*; *kāla*; *Yama*; *mṛityu*; *amṛita*; *bhūta*, *bhavya*, *bhavishyat*; *viśva*; *kṛitsna*; *sarva*; and *satya*). Om! at the beginning and in the middle are *bhūr*, *bhuvah*, *svah*; at the end is the head. O giver of life, om, thou art universal-formed. Thou alone art Brahma doubly and triply, above and below; thou art gentleness, fatness, contentment; thou art the thing sacrificed, and the thing not sacrificed, the whole, and not the whole, what is given, and what is not given, what is done, and what is not done, that which is supreme, and not supreme, and what is surpassing. 'We have drunk the soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us? What can the malice of any mortal effect, o immortal god?'<sup>270</sup> This imperishable [being or word?] benefi-

<sup>269</sup> *Siva-priyā* | *ashṭāvarshā* vā *kumārī gaura-varnā bāla-tatā* (?) tu | —Comm.

<sup>270</sup> Quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 162. According to the commen-

cial to the whole world, sprung from Prajāpati, subtle, beautiful, by its own energy swallows up the incomprehensible Purusha by the incomprehensible, Vāyu by that which has the nature of wind, soma by that which has the nature of soma.<sup>271</sup> To him the destroyer, the great devourer, be adoration. All the gods reside in the heart, situated in the heart and the breath. Thou who art continually in the heart, [art] the three letters, but he is beyond. To the north of him is the head, to the south the feet; that which is the north is the omkāra. The omkāra is the pranava, which (pranava) again is all-pervading, which ('all-pervading') again is infinite, which again is that which delivers, which again is subtle, which again is white, which again has the nature of lightning, which again is the supreme Brahma. He is the one; he is the only Rudra, he is Isāna, he is divine, he is Maheśvara, he is Mahādeva. Now whence does the omkāra get its name? Inasmuch as soon as it is uttered, it raises up the whole body, it is called omkāra. (The same enquiry is then made and answered in regard to the words *pranava*, *sarvavyāpin* ['all-pervading'], *ananta* ['infinite'], the 'deliverer,' 'subtile,' 'white,' 'having the nature of lightning,' and 'the supreme Brahma.' Then *eka* 'one' is explained.). Now why is he called 'one?' He who evolves, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called the 'one.' 'There is only one Rudra; there is no place for a second. He rules this fourth world, controlling and productive; living beings abide within [him?]. At the time of the final conjunction he annihilates all worlds, the protector.'<sup>272</sup> Wherefore he is called the one Rudra. Then why is he called Isāna? He it is who rules all worlds by his ordinances, and supreme creative powers. 'We, o heroic Indra, like unmilked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord (*isāna*) of this moving, and the lord of this stationary, [world].'<sup>273</sup> Hence he is called *Isāna*. (*Bhagavat* is then explained). Then why is he called Maheśvara? He who, a devourer, constantly devours, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called Maheśvara. Then why is he called Mahādeva? He who, abandoning

tator whom I have quoted under the text, Soma means *sa+uma*, he who dwells with Umā, in the form of divine knowledge, Kūtyāyau.

<sup>271</sup> I do not profess to understand the sense of this.

<sup>272</sup> It is difficult to make sense of this verse as the text at present stands.

<sup>273</sup> R. V. vii. 32, 22, quoted above, p. 90.

all forms of being, is magnified in the great divine power of absorption in the knowledge of himself, is therefore called Mahādeva. Such is the history of Rudra. ‘This god [abides] throughout all regions; he was the first born; he is within the womb; it is even he who has been born, and he is still to be born; he exists, o men, with his face turned to every side.’ (Vāj. S. 32, 4.) ‘The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth and sky, blows them forth with his arms, and with his wings.’” (R. V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 6.) . . . Rudra is mentioned again in the following verses. “In Rudra they say there is openness, and that Rudra is eternal and primeval,” etc. The Pāśupata rite is thus described: “This is the Pāśupata observance; ‘Agni is ashes, Vayu is ashes, water is ashes, dry land is ashes, the sky is ashes, all this is ashes, the mind, these eyes are ashes.’ Having taken ashes while pronouncing these preceding words, and rubbing himself, let a man touch his limbs. This is the Pāśupata rite, for the removal of the animal bonds. The Brahman who reads the Atharva-śira is purified with fire, with air, with the sun, with soma (or the moon); he becomes truth, he becomes all, he has bathed in all the holy places, he is read in all the Vedas, he has practised the observances prescribed in all the Vedas, he is known by all the gods, he has sacrificed with all sacrificial rites; by him hundreds of thousands of itihāsas, purāṇas, and passages relating to Rudra, and a hundred thousand Gāyatrīs have been muttered, ten thousand oms have been uttered; at every recitation he purifies ten generations of ancestors, and ten future generations of descendants; he purifies a row of men as far as the eye can reach; thus says the divine Atharva-śiras. Having muttered it once, he becomes clean, pure, and fit for the ceremonial; having muttered it a second time, he obtains dominion over hosts; having muttered it a third time, he enters, *om*, into the true god. ‘Adoration be to Rudra Agni, who resides in fire, and in the waters, who has entered into these plants, who formed all these worlds.’”

I shall not make more than a few further extracts from this mystical Upanishad, which throws little light on Rudra’s character or history. The three gods, Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Rudra, are mentioned together, along with Indra (*Brahmā-Vishṇu-Rudrendrāḥ*); and Sambhu (one of the names of Rudra) is said (in a passage which, as it seems to be

corrupt, I cannot perfectly make out) to be possessor of all divine qualities, and to be lord of all; while the benefits of worshipping him are described (*kāraṇāñ tu dhyeyah sarvaiśvaryya-sampannaḥ sarveśvaraś cha Sambhur ākāśa-madhye dhruvaṁ stabdhvā 'dhikāñ xan̄am ekaṁ kralu-śatasyāpi chatuh-saptatyā yat phalaṁ tad avāpnoti kṛitsnam oṁkāra-gataṁ cha sarva-dhyāna-yoga-jñānānām yat phalam oṁkāra veda-para-īśo vā śiva eko dhyeyah śivāṅkaraḥ sarvam anyat parityajya).*

In the Kaivalya Upanishad (translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. ii. 10 ff.) Aśvalāyana asks Brahmā to explain to him the science of divine things (*Athāśvalāyano bhagavantam parameshṭhinam upasametyorācha adhīhi bhagavan brahma-vidyām ityādi |*). Brahmā (*pitāmaha*) among other things tells him as follows: *Antyāśrama-sthaḥ sakalendriyāni nirudhya bhaktyā sva-gurum prāṇamya | hrīt-puṇḍarīkāñ virajaṁ viśuddhaṁ vich-intya madhye viśadaṁ viśokam | anantam avyaktam achintya-rūpaṁ śivam praśāntam amṛitam brahma-yonim | tam ādi-madhyānta-viñānam ekaṁ vibhuñ chidānanda-svarūpam adbhutam | Umāśahāyam parameśvaram prabhuñ trilochanāñ nīla-kanṭham praśāntam | dhyātvā munir gachhati bhūta-yoniñ samasta-sāxiñ tamasaḥ parastāt | sa Brahmā sa Śivah Sendraḥ so 'xarah paramah svarāt | sa eva Viṣhṇuh sa prāṇah sa ātmā parameśvaraḥ |<sup>274</sup> sa eva sarvāñ yad bhūtam yachcha bhavyāñ sanātanam | jñātvā tam nrityum atyeti nānyah pañthā vimuktaye | . . . . yaḥ śata-rudriyam adhīte so 'gnipūto bhavati sa Vāyu-pūto bhavati ityādi | “A man in the last (or fourth) religious order (*i.e.* that of a mendicant) restraining all his senses, making obeisance to his teacher, meditating within on the lotus of the heart, [which is] spotless, pure, lucid, undisturbed,—the infinite, undiscernible, inconceivable, auspicious (*śiva*), tranquil, immortal, source of Brahma, [or, of divine knowledge],—contemplating him who is without beginning, middle, or end, the one, the pervading, the spiritual and blessed, the wonderful, the supreme lord, the consort of Umā, the three-eyed, the blue-throated, the tranquil,—[doing this] a Muni, [passing] beyond darkness, attains the source of being, the universal witness. He is Brahmā, he is Śiva, he is Indra, he is undecaying, supreme, self-resplendent; he is Viṣhṇu, he is breath, he is the spirit, the supreme lord; he is all that has been or that shall be, eternal. Knowing him, a man overpasses death. There is no other way to liberation.” Further*

<sup>274</sup> Another MS. has here *Sa kūlo 'gnih sa Chandramāḥ*.

on it is said : “ He who reads the Sātarudriya becomes purified by fire, purified by air,” etc. etc.

In one of the MS. collections of Upanishads belonging to the library of the East India Office, I find another work of that description, called the Nīlarudropanishad, which begins thus : *Apaśyāñ chāvarohantāñ divitāḥ prithivīmayāḥ | apaśyam apaśyāñ tañ Rudrañ nīlagrīvañ śikhandinam |* “ I, formed of earth, behold descending from the sky, I beheld, I beheld, that blue-necked, crested Rudra.” This composition contains many verses from the Sātarudriya.

SECT. VI.—*Some further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas relative to Rudra.*

In the earlier parts of this work I have given a variety of extracts from the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, etc., which exhibit the character of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the epic period (see pp. 138, 147, 148, 153–170, 187–190, 194 f., 203 ff., 225 ff., 236 ff., and 241 ff.). I shall now adduce such other passages from the Itihāsas, or Purāṇas, as may appear to throw any light on the history of the conceptions entertained of this deity, and of his relations to the other members of the Indian pantheon.

Rudra is briefly alluded to in the passages of the Rāmāyana i. 14, 1 ff.; i. 75, 14 ff.; and Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, 119, 1 ff., quoted in pp. 138, 146 f., and 148 f. The other texts of the Rāmāyana in which I have observed any allusion to him are the following ; and the representations which are there given of this god appear generally to bear a stamp of greater antiquity than those which are found in the Mahābhārata.

In Rāmāyana i. 25, 10 ff. (ed. Sch.), Rudra curses the embodied Kandarpa (the Indian Cupid) who wished to enter into him after his marriage, at a time when he was performing austerity ; and Kandarpa in consequence becomes bodiless (*anāṅga*). (*Kandarpo mūrttimān āśit Kāma ity uchyate budhaiḥ | ṛveshtum abhyagat tūrṇāñ kritolvāham Unāpatim | tapasyantam iha Śākñuñ nimayena samāhitam | dharshayāmāsa durmedhā hūṇkṛitaś cha mahātmanā | avadhyātasya Raudreṇa charushā Raghunandana | vyāśiryanta śarirāt svāt sarva-gātrāṇi durmateḥ |*)

In i. 36, 20, it is mentioned that the mountain-god, Himavat, gave his daughter Umā to the “unequalled Rudra” (*Rudrāya apratirūpāya*). In chapter xxxvii. of the same book, vv. 5 ff. the connubial intercourse of Siva with Umā is described in most undignified language, as follows : *Purā Rāma kṛitodvāhaḥ Sitikanṭhaḥ mahātapāḥ | Umā cha sparddhayā devī maithunāyopachakratuḥ | tasya saṅkrīḍumānasya Mahādevasya dhīmataḥ | Sitikanṭhasya dṛyāścha divyāṁ varsha-śutam galam | evam manmatha-yuddhe tu taylor nāśit parājayah | na chāpi tanayo Rāma tasyām āśit parantapa |* “Formerly, after his marriage, Sitikantha (Siva) the great devotee, and the goddess Umā, began to indulge emulously in connubial love. A thousand years of the gods passed while the wise Mahādeva Sitikantha and the goddess were thus sporting. In this contest of love neither of them was overcome : nor, o Rāma, vexer of thy foes, was any son born to Umā.” The gods being alarmed at the prospect of the formidable character of the offspring which might be born to Mahādeva, entreated him and his spouse to practise chastity. To this Mahādeva consented ; but asked what would become of the seed which he had already discharged. This, the gods said, should be received by the earth. The gods then desired Agni, along with Vāyu, to enter into this seed. This Agni did, and the white mountain was produced in consequence (see above, p. 292), where Kārttikeya was born. The gods then worshipped Siva and Umā, but the latter implored sterility on all their wives. The thirty-eighth section relates the birth of Kārttikeya. While Tryambaka (Siva), the lord of the gods, was performing austerity, the other deities went to Brahmā and asked for a general in the room of Mahādeva who, it seems, had formerly acted in that capacity. “He,” they said, “whom thou didst formerly give us as a leader of our armies (*i.e.* Mahādeva) is now performing great austerity, along with Umā” (*yo naḥ senāpatir dera datto bhagavatā purā | sa tapāḥ param āsthāya tapyate sma sahomayā |*). Brahmā says, that in consequence of the curse of Umā, no son could be born to any of the wives of the gods ; but that Agni could beget a son on the river Gangā, who should be the general of the gods. The gods accordingly went to mount Kālīśa, and appointed Agni to effect their object. Agni accordingly impregnated the Gangā, who brought forth Kārttikeya, so called because he was nursed by the Krittikās.”

In the forty-third section it is related how king Bhagīratha performed austerity in order that the Gangā might descend from heaven and purify the ashes of the sons of Sagara (who had been destroyed by Kapila, sect. 41, at the end); and might by this means elevate them to paradise. Brahmā appeared to the king and told him that he ought to propitiate Siva, who was the only being who could sustain the shock of the falling Gangā. Bhagīratha (as is told sect. 48) continued his austerities till Siva the lord of Umā, the lord of animals (*Paśupati*) appeared to him, and said he would receive the Gangā on his head. He accordingly mounted the Himālaya, and called on the Gangā to descend. The Gangā was indignant at this summons, but came down in great volume and with great force on his head, thinking to sweep him down along with her into Pātāla. The god, however, determined to humble her pride, and she was compelled to circle for a long period of years in the labyrinth of his matted locks, without being able to reach the earth. Being again propitiated by Bhagīratha, Siva at length allowed her to reach the lake Vindu, to flow to the sea, and eventually into the infernal regions, where she purified the ashes of the sons of Sagara and enabled them to ascend to heaven.

In the forty-fifth section is described the production of nectar from the churning of the ocean of milk by the rival sons of Diti and Aditi, who wished to obtain some specific which should render them immortal. In the first place, however, a fiery poison was vomited from the mouths of the serpent Vāsuki, which was used as the rope in the process of churning. The gods then resorted to Siva to deliver them from this portent :

*Atha devā Mahāderāñ Sankarañ śaranārthinaḥ | jagmuḥ Paśupatīn  
Rudram trāhi trāhī tushṭuvuḥ | prādūrāśit lato 'traiva śaṅkha-chakra-  
gadādharaḥ | urāchaināñ smitāñ kṛitvā Rudram śūla-dharam Hariḥ |  
daivatair mathyamāne tu yat pūrrañ samupasthitam | tat trādīyañ sura-  
śreshṭha surāñām agrajo hi yat | agra-pūjām iha sthiteḥ grīhāñedañ  
visham prabho | ity uktvā cha sura-śreshṭhas tatraivāntaradhīyata |  
devatānām bhayañ drishṭrā śrutvā vākyāñ tu Sūrṇgiñāḥ | halāhalām  
vishañ ghorāñ sañjagrāhāñritopamam | devān visriyā deveso jagāma  
bhagavān Harah | “Then the deities, seeking as their refuge Mahā-  
deva, Sankara, went to Rudra Paśupati, and lauded him [calling out]  
'deliver, deliver.' Then Hari appeared on that very spot, bearing*

the shell, the discus, and the mace, and smiling, said to Rudra, the wielder of the trident : ‘That which has first appeared, when the ocean was being churned by the deities, belongs to thee, most eminent of the gods, since thou art the first-born among them. Standing here, receive, lord, this poison as the earliest offering.’ Having thus spoken, the most eminent of the gods disappeared on the spot. Perceiving the alarm of the deities, and having heard the words of Vishṇu, he (Siva) took the deadly poison, as if it had been nectar. The divine Hara then dismissed the gods and departed.”

The gods and Asuras proceeded with the churning, but were obliged now to call in the aid of Vishṇu, as the mountain with which the operation was being performed sank down into the infernal regions. Vishṇu, however, assumed the form of a tortoise and supported the mountain on his back. At length nectar was produced, which Vishṇu carried off.

In the description of the northern region contained in the Kishkindhyā-kānda of the Rāmāyana, Kailāsa is spoken of as the residence of Kuvera, and no mention is made of Siva as residing there :

Kishk. 44, 27 ff.—*Taṁ tu sīghram atikramya kāntāraṁ loma-harsh-anam | pāṇḍuraṁ dravyathā tataḥ Kailāśam nāma parvatam | tatra pāṇḍura-meghābhāṁ Jāmbūnada-parishkritam | Kuvera-bhavaranāṁ divyām nirmitām Viśvakarmānā |* “Having quickly passed over that dreadful desert, you shall then see the white mountain, called Kailāśa, and there the celestial palace of Kuvera, formed by Viśvakarman, in colour like a brilliant cloud, and decorated with gold.”

Another passage relating to Rudra which occurs in Gorresio’s recension of the Rāmāyana is the following (though it is not to be found in the corresponding section of the Calcutta edition) :

Kishk. 44, 46 ff.—*Tuṁ tu deśum atikramya Triśringo nāma parrataḥ | tasya pāde suro diryam mahat kāñchana-pushkaram | tataḥ prachyavate divyā tīrṣṇa-śrotas taranīṇī | nadī naika-grahākīrnā kuṭilā loka-bhāvinī | tasyaikaṁ kāñchanāṁ śringam parvatasyāgni-sannibham | vaidūryyayam-yaṁ ekaīcha śailasyāsyā samuchhhritam | Anutpanneshu bhūteshu ba-bhūra kila bhūmitaḥ | agrajah sarra-bhūtānām Viśvakarmeli viśrutāḥ | tat tasya kila paurāṇam agnihotram mahātmanāḥ | āśit triśikharaḥ śailaḥ pravrittās tatra ye 'gnayaḥ | tatra sarvāṇī bhūtāni sarvamedhe mahā-makhe | kritvā 'bhavad mahātejāḥ sarva-loka-mahēśvaraḥ | Rudrasya kila*

*sañsthānaṁ saro rai sārvamedhikam | tataḥ prarittā Sarayūr ghoranakravati nadi | deva-gandharva-patagāḥ piśāchoraga-dānavāḥ | pravisanti na tañ deśam pradīptam ira pārakam | tam atikramya śailendram Mahāderabhipālitam | ityādi |* “When that region has been overpassed, a mountain called Trisringa [will be seen], at the foot of which is a divine lake, of large dimensions, filled with golden lotuses. Thence flows a divine billowy river, with rapid stream, swarming with crocodiles, winding, gladdening the world. That mountain has one golden peak, [one] resembling fire, and it has also one elevated point formed of *lapis lazuli*. When no creatures had as yet come into existence, there sprang from the earth the first of all beings, known as Viśvakarman. This triple-peaked mountain was the scene of the ancient *agnihotra* sacrifice of that great being, where all the fires were employed. Having formed all beings there at this great universal sacrifice, he became the mighty lord (*māheśvara*) of all worlds. This lake of the universal sacrifice is the abode of Rudra; and from it issues the river Sarayū, abounding in dreadful crocodiles. Gods, Gandhavas, birds, Piśāchas, snakes, and Dānavas, do not enter that region, which is like blazing fire. Having overpassed that great mountain, protected by Mahādeva,” etc.

In regard to the legend of Viśvakarman, which is not usually met with in the Purāṇas, and does not harmonize well with the course of their cosmogony, compare the two hymns in pp. 5, 6, the story from the Nirukta in pp. 7, 8, above, and the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa xiii. 7, 1, 14, p. 1002:

Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 14.—*Tena haitena Viśrakarmā Bhaurana īje | teneshtvā 'tyatishṭhat sarvāni bhūtūni idam sarram abhavat | atishṭhati sarvāni bhūtāni idam sarram bharati ya evam vidvān sarva-medhena yajate yo vaitad evam reda |* 15. *Tuñ ha Kaśapo yājayāñchākāra | tad api bhūmīḥ ślokañ jagau |* “na mā martyāḥ kaśchana dātum arhati Viśrakarman Bhuvana manda āsitha | upamanxyati sya salilasya madhye mrishaisha te sangarāḥ Kaśyapāya” iti | “With this sacrifice, Viśvakarman, the son of Bhuvana, sacrificed. Having sacrificed with it, he overpassed all beings, and became all this. That man overpasses all beings and becomes all this, who, knowing this, sacrifices with the *sarva-medha* ('universal sacrifice')—he who thus knows this. 15. Kaśyapa performed this sacrifice for him. Wherefore also the earth

recited a verse :<sup>275</sup> ‘No mortal ought to bestow me. Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, thou wast foolish. She (the earth) will sink into the midst of the water. This promise of thine to Kaśyapa is vain.’”

It would appear as if the author of the preceding passage of the Rāmāyaṇa intended to identify Rudra with Viśvakarman, when he says that the latter “became the mighty lord (*mahaśvārū*) of all worlds.” Compare the passages from the Kūrma Purāṇa and Mahābhārata quoted below in notes 280 and 282, pp. 316 and 317. If Mahādeva is identified with Viśvakarman, he must, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, be regarded as sprung from the earth, and therefore not eternal.

In the following passage<sup>276</sup> Mahādeva is represented as paying a visit to Kuvera on mount Kailāsa, and as acknowledging the divine character of Rama :

Ram. v. 89, 6 ff.—*Atha pradhāno dharmātmā lokānām iśvarah prabhūḥ | tathā sabhāyām derasya rājño Vaiśravānosya saḥ | dhanādhyaxa-sabhām derah prāptō hi Vrishhabha-dhrajaḥ | Umā-sahāyo deveśo gaṇaś cha bahubhir vritaḥ | avatīrya vrishat tūrṇam mahitaḥ śūla-dhṛig vibhuḥ | gires tasya mahātejaḥ pravishṭas tu sabhām Harah | Riddhyā sahāya-yuktaś cha tathā Vaiśravānah svayam | anyonyām tau samālingya upavishṭāv ubhāv api | sabhāyām tatra tau devau te cha devā yathākramam | upavishṭā gaṇūś chaiva yaxūś cha saha Guhyakaiḥ | axa-dyūtām tatas tābhyaṁ pravrittām samanantaram | etasmīn antare tatra Rāxāsrendram Vibhūshanām | drīṣṭrā Paulastyam āyāntām Sivah prāha dhaneśvaram | ayaṁ Vibhūshanāḥ prāptah śaranam tava pārthiva | man-yunā 'bhipluto vīro Rāsaxendra-vimānitah | ityādi |*

<sup>275</sup> The commentator observes on this: *Asmai cha Viśvākarmā bhūmiṁ dātum iyesha tatra cha kāle bhūmir apि imām ślokaṁ gitavat | tvām tu mandaḥ manda-matiḥ janaḥ āsitha babbūvitha jāta ity arthaḥ | upa-śabdo ni-śabdasyārthe | yaś chāśaka-yam pratiyānīte manda ity abhiprāyāḥ |* “Viśvakarman desired to give the earth to him; and at that time the earth also sang this verse. Thou wast dull, dull of understanding. The preposition *upa* is here used in the sense of *ni*. And the sense is that he who promises what is impossible is foolish.” Compare the passage of the Mahābhārata, Vana-pavu, v. 10209 (in the First Part of this work, p. 157), where the earth is said to have been given to Kaśyapa by Parasturāma; and another text from the Anusāsana-parva, vv. 7232 ff. (*ibid.* p. 164), where the earth is said to have become offended with king Anga, who desired to bestow her on the Brahmans, and to have in consequence abandoned her form. Kaśyapa afterwards entered into her and she became his daughter. Compare also Satapatha Brāhmaṇa vii. 4, 3, 5 (quoted above, p. 23).

<sup>276</sup> This passage, however, is only to be found in Gorresio's recension, and not in the section of the Devānāgari recension which corresponds to it—viz., vi. 17, 1, ff.

"Now the righteous and mighty ruler of the worlds, whose banner is a bull, the god of gods, accompanied by Umnā, and attended by numerous hosts, came then to the assembly of the divine king Vaiśravana (Kuvera), the lord of riches. Alighting quickly from his bull, Hara, the mighty lord, the wielder of the trident, received with honour, entered into the assembly on that mountain (*Kailāsa*, v. 4); and at the same time Vaiśravana himself, with Riddhi (? his wife), and attended by his companions, [came in]. Having embraced each other, those two gods and the other deities sat down in order in the assembly, together with their hosts, and the Yaxas and Guhyakas. The two gods then began to play at dice. In the meantime, beholding the eminent Raxasa Vibhishana, the son of Pulasty, approaching, Siva says to the lord of riches, 'This, o king, is the hero Vibhishana, who has resorted to thee, overwhelmed by distress, having been dishonoured by the chief of the Raxasas (Rāvana)," etc. etc.

While Siva is speaking, Vibhishana arrives, and bows down before the deities, who tell him to stand up; and go to Rāma, who will install him king of the Rāxasas (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhishana stands, with his head bent downwards, and sunk in contemplation, when Siva again speaks to him (vv. 37 ff.): *Taṁ dhyāyamānam bhagavān urācha prabhur avyayāyah | uttishṭhottishtha rājendra sukham āpnuhi śāśvatam | . . . . 39. Tu-*  
*mād uttishṭha gachha tvam purānam prabhum avyayam | ādhārām sarva-*  
*bhūtānām śāśvatām niravagraham | su hi sarva-nidhānām cha gatir gati-*  
*mālām varāḥ | kṛīṣṇasya jagato mūlām tasmād gachhasva Rāghavam |*  
 "The divine, imperishable lord said: 'Stand up, stand up, prince of kings, obtain ever-during happiness. . . . . Stand up, therefore, go to the ancient, imperishable lord, the support of all beings, eternal, uncontrouled. For he, the most excellent, contains all things, and is the refuge of all who seek a refuge, the root of the whole world: wherefore go to Rāghava (Rāma).'" Vibhishana then departs through the air, to go to Rāma.<sup>277</sup>

From the passage quoted above from the Mahābhārata in p. 241, it appears as if some contest had at one time existed between the votaries

<sup>277</sup> In the following passages some of Mahādeva's achievements are alluded to:—iii. 30, 27 (ed. Calc.), and iii. 35, 93 (Gorr.): *Sa papāta Kharo bhūmāu dāhyamānāh sārāgninā | Rudreneva viñirdagdhabh Svetāraye purā 'ndhakah |* "[The Rāxasa] Khara fell on the ground, burnt by the fire of the arrow, like Andhaka [who was]

of Mahādeva, and those of other deities, in regard to adoration of the former. It may perhaps be inferred from the passages cited in pp. 224–246, also, that the worship of this god, as practised by some tribes, was regarded by others with aversion, or even with horror. Some further indications of this aversion may be discovered in the myth of Daxa's sacrifice, as related in the Mahābhārata, and in the Vayu and other Purāṇas (see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 61 ff.).

This story is told, perhaps, in its simplest form, in the following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 66, 7 ff. (ed. Schlegel):

*Eram uktas tu Janakaḥ pratyuvācha mahāmunim | śrīyatām asya dhanusho yad-ar�ham iha tishṭhati | Devarāta iti khyāto Nimeḥ shashṭho mahāpatiḥ | nyāso 'yām tasya bhagavan haste datto mahātmanah | Daxayajñā-badhe pūrvam dhanur āyamya vīryavān | vidhrasya tridaśān Rudraḥ salilam idam abravit | "yasmād bhāgārthino bhāgān nākalpayata me surāḥ | varāngāni mahārāṇi dhanushā sātayāmi rāḥ | tato viman-asāḥ sarve devā vai muni-puṇyāca | prāsādulyanta deveśām teshām pṛito 'bhavad Bharaḥ | pṛitaśchāpi dadau teshām tāny angāni mahanjasām | dhanushā yānu yāny āsan śālitāni mahātmanā | tad etad dera-devasya dhanū-ratnam mahātmanah | nyāsa-bhūtām tadā nyastaṁ asmākam pūrake vibho |*<sup>278</sup>

formerly consumed by Rudra in the S'veta forest." iv. 5, 30 (Gorr.). *Yathā kruddhasya Rudrasya Tripurām vai vījigyushaḥ |* "[The frowning face of Rāma] like that of the incensed Rudra, who had conquered Tripura." vi. 51, 17 (Gorr.). The Rāxasa trembled when smitten by Laxmana's arrow, like the dreadful portal of Tripura, when struck by the bolt of Rudra" (*Rudra-vāṇīshatām ghoram yathā Tripura-gopuram |*). In the following verse allusion is made to Rudra as a slaughterer of animals: vi. 73, 37 f. *Hatair aśvaiḥ padāntais cha tad babhūva ranājiram | ākriḍa iva Rudrasya kruddhasya nighnataḥ paśūn |* "With slain horses and footmen, that battle-field became like the garden of the enraged Rudra when slaughtering animals." I do not know what the next verse refers to, vi. 55, 88 (Gorr.): *Kumbhasya patato rūpām bhagnasyorasi mushīnū | īśvareṇābhipannasya rūpam Paśupater iva |* "The appearance of Kumba when struck on the chest by the fist of Sugrīva, was like the appearance of Paśupati (S'iva) when overcome by Isvara." The commentator quoted by Gorresio has the following note in explanation: *Īśvareṇa pralaya-kālena hetunā abhipannasya lokān abhisrastasya Paśupate Rudrasya rūpam iva rūpam babhūva ity arthaḥ |* The Calc. ed. (76, 93) reads in the second line: *babhau Rudrābhipannasya yathā rūpām Gavāmpateḥ |* which the commentator renders, "appeared like the form of the sun, overcome by Rudra."

<sup>278</sup> This last line runs as follows in Gorresio's edition (ch. lxvii. 13): *Tishṭhaty adyūpi bhagavan kule 'smakām supūjitam |* The other various readings, though numerous, are unimportant.

"Janaka, being thus addressed, replied to the great muni : 'Hear, regarding this bow, from what cause it is here. A king called Devārāta was the sixth in descent from Nimi. This [bow] was a deposit committed to the hands of this great personage. Formerly, at the destruction of Daxa's sacrifice, the heroic Rudra, when he had drawn this bow, and routed the gods, thus spake in derision : *Since, ye gods, ye have divided to me no portion, though I desired it, I cut off your principal and most precious limbs with my bow.* Then all the deities, being distressed, propitiated the god of gods, who became favourable to them, and restored the limbs of those glorious beings which had been cut off by the mighty bow. This is the precious bow of the great deity, which was at that time deposited with our ancestor.'"

In this version of the myth there is no mention of Rudra commissioning Virabhadra, or any other demons, to destroy the sacrifice or put the gods to flight. He is simply said to wound the gods with his bow.<sup>279</sup>

The same story is told in greater detail in the Sānti-parva of the Mahābhārata, in verses 10226-10258, and is immediately afterwards repeated in vv. 10275 ff. According to the first account (which is given in answer to a question regarding the origin of *Jvara*, Fever), Umā, Siva's wife, seeing the gods passing by in chariots, enquires of her husband where they are going, and is told by him that they are proceeding to Daxa's horse-sacrifice. The goddess then asks why her lord also does not go. He replies : *Surair eva mahābhāge pūrvam etad anushṭhitam | yajñeshu sarveshu mama na bhāga*

<sup>279</sup> This same version of the story is again alluded to in the following other passages of the Rāmayana :—iii. 30, 36 (ed. Gorr.): *Tum dṛishṭvā tjasā yuktām vivyathur vana-devatāḥ | Daxasyeva kratuṁ hantum udyatāstram Pinākinam |* "Beholding him (Rāma), possessed of might, the sylvan deities were distressed, as if he had been Pinākin (Siva) with his weapon ready to destroy the sacrifice of Daxa." Ibid. 70, 2: *Hantu-kāmum pāśūm Rudrām kruddhaī Daxa-kratāu yathā |* And again, vi. 54, 33 (ed. Gorr.): *Tato visphārayāmāsa Rāmas tad dhanur uttamam | bhagavān iva saṅkruddho Bhavaḥ kratu-jighāṁsayā |* "Then Rāma stretched that excellent bow, like the divine Bhava enraged, and seeking to destroy the sacrifice." Rudra's followers are, however, mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus in iii. 31, 10 (ed. Gorr.) it is said : *Sa taik parivrito ghorai Rāxasair nri-varātmajāḥ | Mahādevaḥ pitri-vane gaṇāḥ pārśva-gatair iva |* "This son of an eminent man (Rāma) was surrounded by these horrible Rāxasas, like Mahādeva by his attendant hosts in a cemetery." And in another place (v. 12, 39, ed. Gorr.) Siva is called the lord of demons (*grīham Bhūtāpater iva*).

*upakalpitah | pūrvopāyopapannena mārgena varavarnini | na me surāḥ  
prayachhanti bhāgaṁ yajñasya dharmataḥ |* “The former practice of the gods has been, that in all sacrifices no portion should be divided to me. By custom, arising out of early arrangements, the gods lawfully (*dharma-taḥ*) allot me no share in the sacrifice.” Umā is extremely chagrined that her husband, a god of so great dignity, should be so treated. Perceiving his wife’s distress, Siva goes, with his attendants, and puts an end to the sacrifice. The sacrifice takes the form of a deer, and is followed by Siva to the sky. A drop of sweat falls from his forehead, from which a fire proceeds, out of which again a formidable being is born *Jvara* (fever) which burns up the sacrifice, puts the gods to flight, etc. On this Brahmā appears to Siva, and promises that the gods shall henceforth give him a share in the sacrifice (*bhavato ’hi surāḥ sarve bhāgaṁ dāsyanti vai prabho*), and proposes that *Jvara* (fever) shall be allowed to range over the earth. Siva is propitiated, and assents to Brahma’s proposal, and has ever afterwards obtained a share in the sacrifice (*ity ukto Brahmanā devo bhāge chāpi prakalpite | bhagavantam tathety āha . . . parāñcha pṛitim agamad utsmayañścha Pināka-dhṛik | avāpa cha tada bhāgaṁ yathoktam Brahmanā Bhavah*).

The second version of the story is as follows: vv. 10272 ff. Daxa formerly commenced a sacrifice at Gangādvāra in the Himalaya, which was attended by the various orders of divine beings, including Indra and Brahmā. Dadhīchi, however, a votary of Rudra, was indignant that no worship was to be offered to that deity. 10283 ff. *Tān dṛishṭvā manyunā ”vishto Dadhīchir vākyām abravīt | ”nāyañ yajño na vā dharmo yatra Rudro na ijyate | badha-bandham prapannā vai kinnu kālasya paryayayah | kinnu mohād na paśyanti vināśam paryyupasthitam | upasthitam mahāghorām na budhyanti mahādhvare” | Ity uktvā sa mahā-yogī paśyati dhyāna-chaxushā | sa paśyati Mahādevām devīñcha vara-dām śubhām | Nāradañcha mahātmānaṁ tasyā devyāḥ samīpataḥ | santosham paramām lebhe iti niśchitya yoga-vit | eka-mantrās tu te sarve yeneśo na nimantritah | tasmād deśād apūkramya Dadhīchir vākyam abravīt | apūjya-pūjanāchchaiva pūjyānāñchāpy apūjanāt | nṛi-ghātaka-samam pāpañ śāśvat prāpnoli mānavāḥ | anṛitañ nkta-pūrvam me na cha vaxye kadāchana | devatānām rishinām cha madhye satyam bravīmy aham | āgatam Paśubhartāraṁ srashṭāraṁ jagataḥ patim | adhvare yajña-bhok-tāraṁ sarveshām paśyata prabhūm | Daxa uvācha | Santi no bahavo*

*Rudrāḥ śūla-hastāḥ kapardināḥ | ekādaśa-sthāna-gatā nāhaṁ vedmi Ma-*  
*heśvaram | Dadhīchir uvācha | sarreshām era mantrō 'yaṁ yenāsau na-*  
*nimantritāḥ | yathā 'ham Saṅkarād ūrddhvāṁ nānyam puṣyāmi daiva-*  
*tat | tathā Daxasya vipulo yajño 'yaṁ na bhavishyati | Daxa uvācha |*  
*etan makheśāya suvarṇa-pātre harīḥ samastaṁ vidhi-mantra-pūtam | Vish-*  
*nor nayāmy apratimasya bhāgam prabhur vibhuś chāhavanīya eshaḥ |*  
*Dervy uvācha | kim nāma dānaṁ vishamaṁ tapo vā kuryām ahaṁ yena*  
*patir mamādyā | labheta bhāgam bhagavān achintyo arddham tathā bhā-*  
*gam atho trītyam | eram bruvāṇām bhagavān sva-patnīm prahṛishṭa-*  
*rūpāḥ xubhitām uvācha | na vetsi māṁ devi kriśodarāṅgi kim nāma yu-*  
*ktān vachanam makheśe | ahaṁ vijānāmi viśūla-netre dhyānena hīnā na*  
*vidanty asantāḥ | tarādyā mohena cha sendra-devā lokās trayāḥ sarvata*  
*era mūḍhāḥ | māṁ adhvare śāṁsitārah stuvanti rathantaraṁ sāma-gāś*  
*chopagānti | māṁ brāhmaṇā brahma-rido yajante mamādhvaryarāḥ kalpa-*  
*yante cha bhāgam | Devy uvācha | suprākrīlo 'pi purusho sarvāḥ stri-jana-*  
*saṁsadi | stauti garvāyate chāpi sram ātmānam na saṁśayāḥ | Bhagavān*  
*uvācha | nātmānuṁ staumi deveśi paśya me tanu-madhyame | yañ srax-*  
*yāmi varārohe yāgārthevara-varṇini |*

“Beholding them, Dadhīchi, filled with indignation, thus spake : ‘This is no sacrifice, nor a legitimate ceremony, in which Rudra is not worshipped. [These gods] have become entangled in the bonds of destruction. Is this the adverse influence of time? or is it through delusion that they do not see that ruin is at hand? They perceive not that a great calamity is impending at the sacrifice.’ Having so spoken, this great devotee beholds with the eye of contemplation : he sees Mahādeva and his boon-bestowing and auspicious goddess, and close to her the great Nārada, and received the highest satisfaction. Dadhīchi, versed in meditation, having ascertained that all the gods had adopted a common resolution that they would not invite Mahādeva, issued forth from that [sacrificial] ground, and spake thus : ‘By worshipping that which ought not to be worshipped, and neglecting to worship that which ought to be worshipped, a man ever incurs sin equal to that of a murderer. I have never before uttered, neither shall I ever utter, falsehood. Among gods and rishis I declare the truth. Behold Paśubharttri (Siva) arrived, the creator, the master of the world, the lord of all, the eater of the sacrifice.’ Daxa replied : ‘We have many Rudras, armed with tridents, and wearing braided hair, who occupy

eleven places. I know not Maheśvara.' Dadhīchi answered : 'Owing to this preconcerted plan of all [the gods] (*lit.* this is a device of them all, by which) he (Mahādeva) has not been invited. Since I perceive Sankara, and no other deity, to be supreme, therefore this sacrifice of Daxa shall not be prosperous.' Daxa spake : 'I offer to the lord of sacrifice (Vishnu), in a golden vessel, this entire oblation purified by rites and by texts, the share of the incomparable Vishṇu : he is the lord, the all-pervading, the sacrificial fire.'<sup>280</sup> Devī (who, without any preamble, is here introduced as speaking) said : 'What liberality or arduous austerity can I perform whereby my divine, incomprehensible, husband may to-day obtain a share, a half-share, or a third?' The god, delighted in aspect, addressed his troubled wife who had thus spoken : 'Thou knowest me not, goddess, slender of waist and limb ; nor what speech befits the lord of sacrifice. I know, o large-eyed ; but the wicked, devoid of reflection, know not : and the three worlds, including Indra and the gods, are to-day altogether bewildered with thy bewilderment. Worshippers praise me at the sacrifice, singers of the sāma chant the rathantara, Brahmans, versed in the *veda* (*brahma*), adore me, and *adhvaryu* (*i.e.* Yajurvedic) priests divide for me a portion.'<sup>281</sup> Devī replied : 'Doubtless, every common man

<sup>280</sup> Prof. Wilson (p. 63) has the following note on the parallel passage of the Vāyu Purāṇa : "The Kūrma Purāṇa gives also this discussion between Dadhīcha and Daxa, and their dialogue contains some curious matter. Daxa, for instance, states that no portion of a sacrifice is ever allotted to Śiva, and no prayers are directed to be addressed to him, or to his bride (*sarveshv eva hi yajñeshū na bhāgah parikalpitah | na mantrā bhāryayā sārddhaṁ Šapkarasyeti neshyate |*) Dadhīcha apparently evades the objection, and claims a share for Rudra, consisting of the triad of gods, as one with the sun, who is undoubtedly hymned by the several ministering priests of the *Vedas* (*sa stūyate sahasrāṁśuh sāmagādhwaryyu-hotribhiḥ | puṣyainān Viśvā-karmāṇām Rudram mūrtti-trayīmayam |*) Daxa replies that the twelve Adityas receive special oblations ; that they are all the suns ; and that he knows of no other. The Munis, who overhear the dispute, concur in his sentiments (*ye ete dvādaśādityā Aditya-yajña-bhāgīnah | sarve suryyā iti jñeyū na hy anyo vidyato raviḥ | evam ukte tu munayah samāyātū didriyavah | vādham ity abruwan Daxāṁ tasya sāhāyya-kāri-nah |*) These notions seem to have been exchanged for others in the days of the Padma P. and Bhāgavata, as they place Daxa's neglect of Śiva to the latter's filthy practices—his going naked, smearing himself with ashes," etc. etc. An abstract of the story as given in the Bhāgavata will be found in the text.

<sup>281</sup> The text of the Vāyu Purāṇa as translated by Prof. Wilson (Vish. Pur., p. 65) differs somewhat from that of the Mahābhārata, as here given. The former text has been copied for me by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall from the Guikowar MS. in the India Office

praises and magnifies himself in an assembly of women.' Mahādeva answered: 'I praise not myself, queen of the gods; behold, slender-waisted, beautiful-complexioned [goddess], what being I shall create.' Mahādeva accordingly creates a dreadful being, who, attended by hosts of other frightful creatures, demolishes all Daxa's preparations for his sacrifice. Brahmā and the other gods humbly enquire of this destroyer who he is. He replies that he is neither Rudra nor Devī, but Virabhadra, sent to destroy the sacrifice, and exhorts them to submit to Mahādeva, whose wrath is better than the beneficence of any other god:' (*varam krodho 'pi dorasya rara-dānaṁ na chānyataḥ*). Upon this Daxa sings the praises of Maheśvara.<sup>282</sup> The latter then appears, and assents to Daxa's request that his preparations for sacrifice shall not be fruitless. Daxa then celebrates him by reciting his eight thousand names.

The following is an abstract of the same story as told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book iv. sections 2-7, with a colouring different from that of the Mahābhārata. Satī, the wife of Siva, was the daughter of Daxa, as we are told in the same work (iv. 1, 47, 48): *Prasūtim Mānavīm Daxa upayeme hy Ajātmajah | tasyām sasarja duhitrīḥ shoḍaśāmala-lochanāḥ | trayoduśādād Dharmāya tathaukām Agnaye vibhuḥ | pitribhya ekām yuktēbhyo Bhavāyaikām bhava-chhile |* "Daxa, the son of Aja (the 'unborn'—he is said [v. 11] to be the son of Brahmā=Aja), married Prasūti, the daughter of Manu. On her he begot sixteen pure-eyed daughters. Of those this lord gave thirteen to Dharma, one to Agni, one to the meditative [or united] Pitrīs, and one to Bhava (Siva), the destroyer of existence." Satī, however, bore no children to Siva. 64. *Bharasya patnī tu Satī Bharañ deram anuvrata | ātmanāḥ sadriśam putrañ na lebhe guna-śilataḥ |*

Library, and is as follows: *Mamādhware śāṁsitāraḥ stu�anti rathantare sūma gāyanti geyam | abrūhmane brahma-satrc yajante mamādhwaryyavāḥ kalpayante cha bhōgam |* "At my sacrifice worshippers praise (me); in the *rathantara* they sing the *sāma* song; they adore (me) in a sacrifice of devotion without Brahmans; and the *adhvaryyu* priests divide for me a portion." It is remarkable that Mahādeva's worship should be here described as performed *without Brahmans*.

<sup>282</sup> In this passage (v. 10332) Mahādeva is called Viśvakarman (*Devo nāhūyate tatra Viśvakarṇū Maheśvaraḥ*). Compare the passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, above, p. 308 f., and note 280. There appears to be some confusion in the narrative as given in verses 10331 ff. Though Daxa had already made his submission to Mahādeva, the story seems to be begun over again.

In the second section we are informed how enmity arose between Mahādeva and his father-in-law Daxa. It appears that the gods and rishis were assembled at a sacrifice celebrated by the Prajāpatis. On the entrance of Daxa, all the personages who were present, rose to salute him, excepting only Virīñcha (Brahmā) and Mahādeva. Daxa, after making his obeisance to Brahmā, sat down by his command; but was offended at the treatment he received from Siva(iv. 2, 8 ff.): *Prāṇa nishan̄nam Mṛidam  
dṛishṭvā nāmrishat tad-anādritah | uvācha rāmañ chaxurbhyām abhivixya  
dahann iva | śrūyatām brahmaṇshayo me saha-devāḥ sahāgnayah | sādhūnām  
bruvato vrittam nājūnānād na cha matsarāt | ayañ tu loka-pālūnām yaśo-  
ghno nirapatrapah | sadbhīr ācharitaḥ panthā yena stabdhena dūshitaḥ |  
esha me śishyatām prāpto yan me duhitur agrahit | pāñim riprāgni-mukha-  
taḥ sāvitryā iva sādhu-vat | grihitvā mṛiga-śāvāxyāḥ pāñim markaṭa-locha-  
anah | pratyuthānābhivādārhe vachā'py akrita nochitam | lupta-kriyāyā-  
śuchaye mānīne bhinna-setave | anicchhan apy adām bālūn śūdrāyevosha-  
tim giram | pretavāseshu ghoreshu pretair bhūta-gaṇair vritah | aṭaty  
unmatta-vad nagno vyupta-keśo hasan rudan | chittā-bhasma-krīta-snānah  
preta-sraṇ nrasthi-bhūshanah | śivāpadēśo hy aśivo matto matta-jana-  
priyah | patih pramatha-bhūtanām tamo-mātrātmakātmanām | tasnā  
unmāda-nāthāya naṣṭa-śauchāya durhride | dattā mayā vata sādhvī  
ohodite parameṣṭhinā | rinindyaivañ sa Giriśam apratīpam avasthitam |  
Daxo 'thāpa upaspriṣya kruddhaḥ śaptum prachakramē | ayañ tu deva-  
yajane Indropendrādibhir Bhavaḥ | saha bhāgañ na labhatām devair  
deva-gaṇādhamah | “Beholding Mṛida (Siva) previously scated, Daxa  
did not brook his want of respect; and looking at him obliquely with  
his eyes, as if consuming him, thus spake: ‘Hear me, ye Brahman  
rishis, with the gods and the Agnis, while I, neither from ignorance  
nor from passion, describe what is the practice of virtuous persons.  
But this shameless being (Siva) detracts from the reputation of the  
guardians of the world,—he by whom, hardened as he is, the course  
pursued by the good is transgressed. He assumed the position of my  
disciple, inasmuch as, like a virtuous person, in the face of Brahmans  
and of fire, he took the hand of my daughter, who resembled Sāvitri.  
This monkey-eyed [god], after having taken the hand of [my] fawn-  
eyed [daughter], has not even by word shewn suitable respect to me  
whom he ought to have risen and saluted. Though unwilling, I yet  
gave my daughter to this impure and proud abolisher of rites and*

demolisher of barriers, like the word of the Veda<sup>283</sup> to a Sūdra. He roams about in dreadful cemeteries, attended by hosts of ghosts and sprites, like a madman, naked, with dishevelled hair, laughing, weeping, smeared (*lit.* bathed) with the ashes of funeral piles, wearing a garland of dead men's [skulls], and ornaments of human bones, pretending to be Siva (auspicious) but in reality *Aśiva* (inauspicious), insane, beloved by the insane, the lord of Pramathas and Bhūtas (sprites), beings whose nature is essentially darkness. To this wicked-hearted lord of the infuriate, whose purity has perished, I have, alas! given my virtuous daughter, at the instigation of Brahmā.<sup>284</sup> Having thus reviled Giriśa (Siva), who did not oppose him, Daxa having then touched water, incensed, began to curse him [thus]: ‘Let this Bhava (Siva), lowest of the gods, never, at the worship of the gods, receive any portion along with the gods Indra, Upendra (Vishnu), and others.’ Having delivered his malediction, Daxa departed. A counter-malediction, as follows, was then uttered upon him and the Brahmans who took his part, by Nandiśvara, one of the chief of Mahādeva's followers:

<sup>283</sup> *Uśatīñ giram*, which the commentator explains *veda-laxanāñ giram*. It does not appear how *uśatī* has this sense. In Wilson's Dictionary the participle *uśat* has the sense of “inauspicious” (as discourse) assigned to it.

<sup>284</sup> The commentator gives as follows what he calls the real, esoteric, sense of this abuse:—*Vastavas tv ayam arthaḥ | luptāḥ kriyāḥ yasmīn para-brahma-rūpatvāt | ata eva nāsti śuchir yasmāt | amānīne abhinna-setave iti cha chhedāḥ | tasya paremī-varasya madīyā mānushī kānyā kathaṁ yogyā syād iti lajjādinī dātum anichhann api tut-sambandha-lobhena dattavān | ‘sūdrāyeti’ anarhatva-mātrey drishtānto na hīnatve pūrvāpara-sva-vachana-virodhāpatteḥ | etad uktam bhavati | yathā kaśchit sūdrāya vedam arīha-lobhena dadūti | ‘pretāvāseshv’ ityādi sarvām vidambana-mūtram iti | svayam evāha ‘unnatta-vad’ iti | anyathā ‘unnatta’ ity evāvargat | ‘aśivāḥ’ nāsti śivo yasmāt | amattaḥ | amatta jana-priyah | iti chhedāḥ | ‘putih pramatha-bhūtā-nām’ its bhakta-vātsalyam īha | tīmasān api dosham apanīya pūti iti nashfānām api sauchaṁ sūddhir yasmāt | dusheśhv apy ete mayā anukampyā iti hrī mano yasya sa durhrit tasmai | ‘vata’ iti harshe | Brahmaṇo vākyā[?] lajjā-bhayādikam parityajaya dattā ity arthaḥ | “The real meaning (of vv. 13 ff.) is this: ‘He in whom works are destroyed, owing to his character of supreme Brahma; in consequence of which there is none purer than he.’ Instead of *mānīne* and *abhinna-setave*, the division of words may also be *amānīne, abhinna-setave*, ‘not proud,’ ‘not demolisher of barriers.’ Though unwilling to give my daughter through modesty, etc., from a feeling that my human daughter could not be worthy of the supreme lord, I nevertheless gave her from a covetous desire of being connected with him. The words ‘as to a Sūdra’ are merely an illustration to express unfitness, and not defectiveness, otherwise there would be a contradiction between his preceding and his following words. The sense is this: ‘just as any one through covetousness of money gives the Veda to a Sūdra.’ The*

21 ff.—*Ya etam martyam uddiṣya bhagavaty apratidruhi | druhyat  
ajñāḥ prīthag-dṛiṣṭis tattvato vimukho bharet | gṛiheshu kūṭa-dharmeshu  
sakto grāmya-sukhechhayā | karma-tantrañ vitanutād<sup>285</sup> veda-vāda-vipanna-  
dhīḥ | buddhyā parābhidhyāyinyā vismrītātmā-gatiḥ paśuh | strī-kāmuḥ  
so 'stu nitarāñ Daxo rasta-mukho 'chirat | vidyā-buddhir avidyāyām  
karmamayyām asau jadah | saṁsarantv iha ye ekāmum anu Sarvāvamā-  
ninam | girah śrutāyāḥ pushpiṇyā madhu-gandhena bhūriṇū | mathnā  
chonmathitātmānah sammuyantu Hara-dvishah | sarva-bhaxā dvijā vṛitt-  
yai dhṛita-vidyā-tapo-vratāḥ | vitta-dehendriyārāmā yāchakā vicharantv  
iha | “May the ignorant being who, from regard to this mortal (Daxa),  
and considering [Siva] as distinct [from the supreme spirit],—hates  
the deity who does not return the hatred,—be averse to the truth.  
Devoted to domestic occupations and low duties, from a desire of  
vulgar pleasures, let him practise the round of ceremonies, with an  
understanding degraded by Vedic prescriptions.<sup>286</sup> Forgetting the nature  
of soul with a mind which contemplates other things, let Daxa, brutal,  
be excessively devoted to women, and have speedily the face of a goat.  
Let this stupid being, who has a conceit of knowledge, and all those  
who follow this contemner of Sarva (Siva), continue to exist in this  
world in ceremonial ignorance. Let the enemies of Hara (Siva), whose  
minds are disturbed by the strong spirituous odour and the excitement  
of the flowery words of the Veda, become deluded! Let those Brah-  
mans, eating all sorts of food, professing knowledge and practising  
austerities and ceremonies [merely] for subsistence, delighting in riches  
and in corporeal and sensual enjoyments, wander about as beggars!”*

words ‘in cemeteries,’ etc., are a mere disguise. He himself says ‘like a madman.’ Otherwise he would have said ‘a madman.’ *Asīva*, un-fortunate, means he than whom none is more fortunate. The words *matta* and *matta-jana-priya* should be so divided as to be preceded by a negative, and thus mean ‘not insane,’ ‘beloved by the *not-insane*.’ The words ‘lord of Pramathas,’ etc., intimate his love for those devoted to him. The sense is that, removing their faultiness, he cherishes even those who have the quality of darkness. *Nashṭa-sauchāya* means that from him comes purity to the depraved. *Durhṛit* means he whose heart, feeling, suggests that ‘even these among the wicked are to be compassionated by me.’ *Vatu* intimates joy. ‘Owing to the injunction of Brahmā, abandoning modesty, fear, etc., I gave my daughter:’ such is the sense.”

<sup>285</sup> This is Burnouf's reading. The Bombay edition reads *vitanute*.

<sup>286</sup> This depreciation of the Vedas may have arisen from a consciousness on the part of the Saivas, that their worship was not very consistent with their own most venerated Scriptures.

The wrath of Bhṛigu, one of the sages present at the sacrifice, is aroused by this curse :

27 ff.—*Tasyaivāñ dadataḥ śāpañ śrutrā dvija-kulāya vai | Bhṛiguh  
pratyasrijach chhāpam brahma-danḍāñ duratyayam | Bhava-vrata-dharā  
ye cha ye cha tān samanuratāḥ | pāshāñdinās te bhavantu sachchhāstrā-  
paripanthinoh | nashṭa-śauchā mūḍha-dhiyo jaṭā-bhasmāsthi-dhāriṇāḥ |  
viśantu Siva-dīxāyāñ yatra daivāñ surāsaram | brahma cha brāhma-  
nāmś chaiva yad yūyam parinindatha | setum vidhāraṇam puñṣām atāḥ  
pāshāñdām āśritāḥ | esha eva hi lokānām śivāḥ panthā sanātanāḥ | yam  
pūrre chānusañtasthur yat-pramāṇāñ Janārdanāḥ | tad brahma paramāñ  
śuddhañ satām vartma sanātanām | vigarhya yāta pāshāñdāñ daivāñ vo  
yattra bhūta-rūṭ | “Hearing him thus utter a curse against the tribe  
of Brahmans, Bhṛigu launched a counter-imprecation, a Brahmanical  
weapon, hard to be evaded : ‘Let those who practise the rites of Bhava  
(Mahādeva), and all their followers, be heretics, and opponents of the  
true scriptures. Having lost their purity, deluded in understanding,  
wearing matted hair, and ashes and bones, let them undergo the initiation  
of Siva, in which spirituous liquor is the deity. Since ye revile  
the *veda* (*brahma*) and Brahmans, the barriers by which men are  
restrained, ye have embraced heresy. For this [*veda*] is the auspicious  
(śiva) eternal path of the people, which the ancients have trod, and  
wherein Janārdana (Vishṇu) is the authority. Reviling this *veda*  
(*brahma*), supreme, pure, the eternal path of the virtuous, follow the  
heresy in which your god is the king of goblins.’”*

On hearing this imprecation, Siva departed with his followers, while Daxa and the other Prajāpatis celebrated for a thousand years the sacrifice in which Vishṇu was the object of adoration.

The enmity between the father-in-law and son-in-law continues (sect. 3). Daxa being elevated by Brahmā to the rank of chief of the Prajāpatis, becomes elated. He commences a great sacrifice called Vṛīhaspatisava. Seeing the other gods with their wives passing to this sacrifice, Satī presses her husband, Siva, to accompany her thither. He refers to the insults which he had received from her father, and advises her not to go. She, however (sect. 4), being anxious to see her relatives, disregards his warning and goes ; but being slighted by her father, Daxa, she reproaches him for his hostility to her husband, and threatens to abandon the corporeal frame by which she was connected

with her parent. She then voluntarily gives up the ghost. Seeing this, Siva's attendants, who had followed her, rush on Daxa to kill him. Bhṛigu, however, throws an oblation into the southern fire, pronouncing a *yajus* text suited to destroy the destroyers of sacrifice (*yajñā-ghna-ghnena yajushā daxināgnau juhāva ha*). A troop of Ribhus in consequence spring up, who put Siva's followers to flight. Siva is filled with wrath when he hears of the death of Satī (sect. 5). From a lock of his hair, which he tore out, a gigantic demon arose, whom he commanded to destroy Daxa and his sacrifice. This demon proceeds with a troop of Siva's followers, and they all execute the mandate.

15 ff. *Rurujur yajñu-pātrāṇi tathaike'gnin anāśayan | kundeshv amūtrayān kechid bibhidur vedi-mekhalāḥ | abādhanta munīn anye eke patnīr atarjayan | apare jigrihur devān pratyāsannān palāyitān | . . . . juhvataḥ sruva-hastasya śmaśrūṇi bhagavān Bhavaḥ | Bhṛigor luluñche sadasi yo 'hasat śmaśru darśayan | Bhagasya netre bhagavān pātitasya rushā bhūvi | ujjahāra sadahstho 'xṇā yaḥ śapantam asūsuchat | Pūshṇaś chāpātayad dantān Kalingasya yathā Balāḥ | śapyamāne garimāṇi<sup>287</sup> yo 'hasad darśayan dataḥ | “Some broke the sacrificial vessels, others destroyed the fires, others made water in the ponds, others cut the boundary-cords of the sacrificial ground; others assaulted the Munis, others reviled their wives; others seized the gods who were near, and those who had fled. The divine Bhava (Siva) plucked out the beard of Bhṛigu, who was offering oblations with a ladle in his hand, and who had laughed in the assembly, shewing his beard. He also tore out the eyes of Bhaga whom in his wrath he had felled to the ground, and who when in the assembly had made a signal to [Daxa when] cursing [Siva]. He moreover knocked out the teeth of Pūshan (as Bala did the king of Kalinga's) who (Pūshan) had laughed, showing his teeth, when the great god was being cursed.” Siva then cuts off the head of Daxa, but not without some difficulty. The gods report all that had passed to Svayambhū (Brahmā), who, with Vishnu, had not been present (sect. 6). Brahmatā advises the gods to propitiate Siva, to whom they had wrongfully refused a share in the sacrifice (*athāpi yūyaṁ krita-kilvishā Bhavaṁ ye barhisho bhāga-bhājam paraḍuh*). The deities, headed by Aja (Brahmā), accordingly proceed to Kailāsa, when they see Siva “bearing the linga desired by devotees, ashes, a staff, a tuft of hair, an*

<sup>287</sup> *Garimāṇi gurutare Rudre* | Comm.

antelope's skin, and a digit of the moon, his body shining like an evening cloud" (*lingañcha tāpasābhishṭam bhasma-danda-jatājinam | angena sandhyā'-bhra-ruchā chandra-lekhāñcha bibhratam |*). Brahman addresses Mahādeva "as the eternal Brahma,—the lord of Sakti and Siva, who are respectively the womb and the seed of the universe,—who, in sport, like a spider, forms all things from Sakti and Siva, who are consubstantial with himself, and preserves and reabsorbs them:" (*jāne tvām iśām viśvarya jagato yoni-vījayoh | Sakteḥ Sivasya cha param yat tad Brahma nirantaram | tvam eva bhagarann etach Chhira-Saktyoḥ sarūpayoḥ | viśvām srijasi pāsy atsi kriḍann ūrṇa-paṭo yathā*). Brahman adds that it was this great being who had instituted sacrifice, and all the regulations which Brahmans devoutly observe; and entreats him who is beyond all illusion, to have mercy on those who, overcome by its influence, had wrongly attached importance to ceremonial works, and to restore the sacrifice of Daxa, at which a share had been refused to him by evil priests (*na yatra bhāgañ tara bhāgino duduḥ kuyajrinah*). Mahādeva partly relents (seet. 7), and allows Daxa to have the beard of a goat, Bhaga to see with Mita's eyes, Pūshan to eat with the teeth of his worshipper, Bṛigu to have a he-goat's beard, etc. Daxa, after having had a goat's head fitted to his body, celebrates the praises of Siva. The sacrifice is then recommenced, and in order to its completion, and to remove the pollution occasioned by the touch of Mahādeva's warriors, an oblation is made to Vishnu in three cups (*Vaishnavaṁ yajña-santatyai trikapālaṁ dvijottamāḥ | purodūṣām niravapan vira-saṁsarga-śuddhaye*). Hari (Vishnu) being meditated on, then appears, is saluted with the greatest reverence by Brahman, Indra, and Siva (*Tryaxanāyaka*); is lauded successively by Daxa, by the priests, by Rudra himself, etc. etc., and at length expresses himself as follows, in such a manner as to demonstrate the futility of the dispute between Daxa and Mahādeva, and to show that he himself was the one supreme deity, of whom all the others were only the manifestations :

*Srī-Bhagavān uvācha | aham Brahman cha Sarvaś cha jagataḥ kāraṇam param | ātmeśvara upadrashṭu svayañdrig aviśeshanāḥ | ātma-māyām amāviśya so 'ham gunamayīm kviya | srijan raxan haran viśvām dadhres saṁjñām kriyochitām | tasmin Brahmany advitiye kevale paramātmāni | Brahma-Rudrau cha bhutāni bhedenājño 'nupaśyati | yathā pumān na svāngeshu śirah-pāny-ādīshu kvachit | pārakya-buddhiṁ kurute evam bhū-*

*teshu mat-parah* | “I am Brahmā and Sarva (Siva), the supreme cause of the world, the soul, the lord, the witness, the self-manifesting, (or, self-beholding) devoid of attributes. Entering into my own illusion consisting of the three *gunas* (qualities)—creating, preserving, and destroying—I have assumed names corresponding to my several acts. In that one and only Brahmā, the supreme Spirit, the ignorant person perceives a distinction of Brahmā and Rudra, and creatures. But as a man does not think of his own members, his head, hands, etc., as belonging to another, so the man who is devoted to me [does not look upon] created things [as distinct from me].”

Daxa, after adoring Vishṇu, worships the other gods, and offers to Rudra his proper share in the sacrifice. Satī, the daughter of Daxa, who had abandoned her original body, is born again as the daughter of Himavat and Menā (*evaṁ Dāxāyanī hitvā Satī pūrva-kalevaram | jajne Himavataḥ xetra Menāyām iti śuśruma |*).<sup>288</sup>

The Saiva compiler of the Linga Purāṇa takes his revenge on the Vaishnava writers, who, like the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, have exalted Vishṇu at the expense of Siva, by narrating the following legend of an undignified dispute between Brahmā and Vishṇu regarding their respective claims to superiority, and of the apparition of the

<sup>288</sup> The same account of Satī's double birth is given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa i. 8, 9 ff. : *Evam-prakāro Rudro 'sau Satīm bhāryyām arindata | Daxa-kopūchcha tatyāja sū Satī svāmī kalevaram | Himavud-duhitā sā 'bhūd Menāyām dvija-sattama | upayeme punas' chonām ananyām bhaguvān Bhavaḥ* | “Rudra, being of the character thus described (*i.e.* one of the eight forms of the son born to Brahmā : see above, p. 286) obtained Satī for his wife. This Satī abandoned her body in consequence of the anger of Daxa. She then became as the daughter of Himavat and Menā ; and the divine Bhava again married Umā who was identical [with his former spouse].” In the preceding section (the 7th) of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Satī is mentioned as one of the twenty-four daughters of Daxa ; but the husband, Bhava, to whom she is said to have been given in marriage, is enumerated among the *Munis* to whom Daxa's daughters were wedded : *Tābhyaḥ sishtāḥ kāriyasya ekādaśa sulochanāḥ | Khyātiḥ Saty atha Sambhūtiḥ Smṛitiḥ Prītiḥ Xamā tathā | Sannatiḥ chānusūyā cha Urjjā Svāhā Svadhā tathā | Bhrigur Bhava Marīchiḥ cha tathā chaivāngirū muniḥ | Pulastyāḥ Pulahāś chaiva Kratus charshi-varas tathā | Atrir Vasishṭha Vahniḥ cha Pitaraś cha yathākramam | Khyāty-ādyā jagrīluḥ kānyā munayo muni-sattama* | “Younger than them (the other thirteen daughters of Daxa) were eleven virtuous and lovely-eyed damsels, Khyāti, Satī, Sambhūti, Smṛiti, Prīti, Xamā, Sannati, Anusūyā, Urjjā, Svāhā, and Svadhā. Bhrigu, Bhava, Marīchi, the muni Angiras, Pulastyā, Pulahāś, Kratu the excellent rishi, Atri, Vasishṭha, Vahni (*i.e.* Agni or Fire), and the Pitrīs,—these *munis* in order married Khyāti and the other maidens.”

Linga to rebuke and humble them by pointing out the inferiority of both to the supreme Mahādeva :

Linga Purāṇa, i. 17, 5 ff.—*Pitāmaha uvācha | Pradhānaṁ lingam  
ākhyātaṁ lingī cha parameśvaraḥ | raxārtham ambudhau mahyaṁ Viṣṇos  
tv āśit surottamāḥ | raimānika gate sarge jana-lokaṁ saharshibhiḥ | sthitikāle tadā pūrṇo tataḥ pratyākṛite tathā | chatur-yuga-sahasrānte satya-  
lokaṁ gate surāḥ | vinā 'dhīpalyaṁ samatāṁ gate 'nte Brahmano mama |  
śushke cha sthāvare sarve tv anār̄ishtyā cha sarraśaḥ | paśavo mānushā  
vr̄ixāḥ piśāchāḥ piśitāśanāḥ | gandharrādyāḥ krameṇaiva nirdagdha  
bhānu-bhānu-bhīḥ | okārṇave mahāghore tamo-bhūte sumantataḥ | pushe (?)  
hy ambhasi yogātmā nirmalo nīrupaplarāḥ | sahasra-śirshā viśvātmā  
sahasrāxaḥ sahasra-pāt | sahasrabāhuḥ sarejñāḥ sarva-deva-bhavodbhavaḥ |  
*Hiranyagarbho rajasā tamasā Saṅkaraḥ svayam | sattrena sarvago Viṣṇuḥ  
sarvātmate Maheśvaraḥ | kālātmā kāla-nābhas tu śuklaḥ krishṇas tu  
nīrguṇah | Nārāyaṇo mahābāhuḥ sarvātmā sadasamayaḥ | tuḥā bhūtam  
ahaṁ dṛiṣṭivā śayānam pānakajexanam | māyayā mohitas tasya tam avo-  
cham amarshitaḥ | kas trañu radeti hastena samutthāpya sanātunam | tadā  
hasta-prahāreṇa tīvraṇa sa dṛidhena tu | prabuddho 'hīya-śayanāt sanā-  
śināḥ xanām vaśi | dudarśa nīdrā-viklinnaṁ nīrajāmula-lochanāḥ | mām  
agre saṁsthitam bhāsādhyāsito bhagavān Hariḥ | āha chotthāya bhagavān  
hasan mām madhurām sakrit | svāgataṁ svāgataṁ ratsa pitāmala mahā-  
dyute | tasya tad rachanaṁ śrutvā smita-pūrram surarshabhāḥ | rajasā  
viddha-vairaś cha tam avochām Janārdanam | bhāshase ratsa ratseti sarga-  
saṁhāra-kāraṇam | mām ihāntaḥ-smitaṁ kṛitrū guruḥ śishyam ixānagha |  
karttāraṁ jagatāṁ sāxāt prakṛiteścha pravarttakam | sanātānam ajām  
Viṣṇum Viriñchiṁ viśva-sambhavam | viśvātmānam vidhātūraṁ dhātā-  
ram pānakajexanam | kimarthan bhāshase mohād raktaṁ arhasi satvaram |  
so 'pi mām āha jagatāṁ karttā 'ham iti lokaya | bharttā kurttā bhavān  
aṅgad avatīrṇo mamāvyayāt | vismrīto 'si jagannāthaṁ Nārāyaṇam  
anāmayam | purusham paramātmānam pura-hūtām purushṭutam | Viṣṇum  
achyutam iśānam viśvasya prabhavodbharam | tarāparādho nāsty atra  
mama māyā-kṛitām tv idam | śriṇu satyām chaturvaktra sarva-devesvaro  
hy aham | karttā netā cha harttā cha na mayā 'sti samo vibhuḥ | aham eva  
param Brahma paraṁ tattvam pitāmaha | aham eva param jyotiḥ param-  
ātmā tv ahaṁ vibhuḥ | yad yad dṛiṣṭām śrutiām sarvām jagaty asmin  
charācharam | tat tad viddhi chaturvaktra sarvam manmayam ity atha |  
mayā śrīshṭam purā vyaktām chaturviṁśatīkaṁ svayam | nityāntā hy**

anuvo baddhāḥ śrīshṭāḥ krodhodbhavādayaḥ | prasādād hi bhavān aṇḍāny  
 anekānīha līlayā | śrīshṭā buddhir mayā tasyām ahaṅkāras tridhā tataḥ |  
 tanmātra-pañchakājñ tasmād mano dehendriyāṇi cha | ākāśādīni bhūtāni  
 bhautikāni cha līlayā | ity uktavati tasmiṁs cha mayi chāpi vachas tathā |  
 āvayoś chābhavad yuddhaṁ suphorām romaharṣaṇam | pralayārṇava-  
 madhye tu rajasā baddha-vairayoh | etasminn antare liṅgam abhavach-  
 chāvayoh puraḥ | vivāda-śamanārthaṁ hi prabodhārthaṁ tathārayoḥ |  
 jvāla-mālā-sahasrādhyām kālānala-śatopamam | xaya-vriddhi-vinirmuk-  
 tam ādi-madhyānta-varjitam | anaupamyam anirdeśyam avyaktaṁ viśva-  
 sambhavam | tasya jvāla-sahasreṇa mohito bhagavān Hariḥ | mohitam  
 prāha mām atra parīkṣāvo 'gnī-sambhavam | adho gamishyāmy anala-stam-  
 bhasyānupamasya cha | bhavān ūrddham prayatnena gantum arhasi (sic)  
 satvaram | evaṁ vyāhṛitya viśvātmā svarūpam akarot tadā | vārāham  
 aham apy āśu haṁsatvam prāplavān surāḥ | tadā-prabhṛiti mām āhur  
 haṁsaṁ haṁso virād iti | haṁsa haṁseti yo brūyād mām haṁsaḥ sa  
 bhavishyati | suśveto hy analāxāś cha viśvataḥ paxa-saṁyutāḥ | mano-  
 'nila-javo bhūtvā gato 'haṁ chorddhvataḥ surāḥ | Nārāyaṇo 'pi viśvātmā  
 nīlāñjana-chayopamam | daśa-yojana-vistīrṇaṁ śata-yojanam āyatam |  
 Meru-parvata-varshmāṇaṁ gaura-tīxṇāgra-dash̄triṇam | kālāditya-samā-  
 bhāsaṁ dīrgha-ghoṇam mahāsvanam | hrasva-pādaṁ vichitrāṇgaṁ jaītraṁ  
 dṛidham anaupamam | vārāham asitam rūpam āsthāya gatavān adhaḥ |  
 evaṁ varsha-sahasraṁ tu tvaran Viṣṇur adho gataḥ | nāpaśyat alpam  
 apy asya mūlaṁ liṅgasya sūkaraḥ | tūvat kālaṁ gato hy ūrddvam aham  
 apy arisūdanāḥ | satvaram sarva-yatnena tasyānlām jñātum iochhayā |  
 śrānto hy adrishtvā tasyāntam ahaṅkārād<sup>289</sup> adho gataḥ | tathaiva bha-  
 gavān Viṣṇuḥ śrāntaḥ saṁtrasta-lochanāḥ | sarva-deva-bhavas tūrṇam  
 utthitaḥ sa mahāvapuh | samāgato mayā sārddham pranipatya mahā-  
 manāḥ<sup>290</sup> | māyayā mohitaḥ Śumbhos tathā samvigna-mānasāḥ | priśṭha-  
 taḥ pārśvataś chaiva chāgrataḥ paramēśvaram | pranipatya mayā sārdd-  
 ham sasmāra kim idaṁ tv iti | tadā samabhavat tatra nādo vai śabda-  
 laxanaḥ | om om iti sura-śreshṭhāḥ suvyaktaḥ pluta-laxanaḥ | kim idam  
 tv iti sañchintya mayā tishṭhan mahāsvanam | liṅgasya daxine bhāge tada  
 'paśyat sanātanam | ādyām varṇam a-kāraṁ tu u-kāraṁ chottare tataḥ |  
 ma-kāram madhyas chaiva nādāntaṁ tasyā chom iti |

<sup>289</sup> In a transcript of this passage made for me in India, and published in my *Mataparīkṣā*, the reading is ahaṁ kālād, which seems a preferable reading.

<sup>290</sup> bhayād muhuḥ—reading in the *Mataparīkṣā*.

"Pitāmaha (Brahmā, in answer to an enquiry of the gods and rishis) says: 'Pradhāna (nature) is called the *Linga*, and Parameśvara is called Lingī<sup>291</sup> (the sustainer of the Linga). It arose for the preservation of myself and Vishṇu in the ocean, o deities. When the *Vaimānika*<sup>292</sup> creation had proceeded with the rishis to the Janaloka,<sup>293</sup> and when—the period of the continuance [of the world] having then been completed,—[all things] had been absorbed, at the end of the thousand sets of four yugas, and had departed to the Satyaloka—I, Brahmā, being at length reduced to a condition of equality [with other creatures] without dominion over them,<sup>294</sup> and all immoveable things having become altogether dried up from want of rain,—beasts, men, trees, Piśachas, flesh-eating goblins, Gandharvas, etc., were by degrees burnt up by the rays of the sun. The one awful ocean being everywhere enveloped in darkness, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, formed of existence and non-existence, sleeps<sup>295</sup> upon the water, plunged in contemplation, spotless, tranquil, thousand-headed, the soul of the universe, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed, thousand-armed, omniscient, the source of all the gods, he who is himself through passion (*rajas*) Hiranyagarbha, through darkness (*tamas*) Sankara, through goodness (*sattva*) the all-pervading Vishṇu, and in his universality Maheśvara, having the character of time, the name of time, white, black, free from the three qualities. Beholding the lotus-eyed deity in this condition, sleeping, I, deluded by his illusion, touching the eternal being with my hand, impatient, said to him, 'Who art thou? speak.' Roused by the strong and violent stroke of my hand from his snaky couch, sitting for a moment, self-restrained, the deity whose eyes are pure as the lotus looked up heavy with drowsiness. The divine Hari, invested by lustre, seeing me standing before him, rising up, said to me, sweetly smiling at the same time, 'Welcome,

<sup>291</sup> *Lingādhishṭhānam* | Comm.

<sup>292</sup> *Vaimānika sarge deva-sarge* | Comm.

<sup>293</sup> "The different accounts agree in stating that when the three lower spheres are consumed by fire, Maharloka is deserted by its tenants, who repair to the next sphere, or Jana-loka. Jana-loka, according to the Vayu, is the residence of the rishis and demigods during the night of Brahmā," etc.—Wilson, *Vishnu Purāṇa*, p. 213, note; see also the same Work, p. 632, and note 7.

<sup>294</sup> *Lit.* 'the end of me, Brahmā, having come to equality without dominion.'

<sup>295</sup> The reading of the Bombay text is here *pushṭe*; but some such word as *sete* "sleeps," seems to be required by the sense.

welcome, my child, the glorious Pitāmaha.' Hearing these words of his, accompanied by a smile, o deities, my illwill being excited by passion (*rajas*), I said to Janārdana (Vishṇu): 'Dost thou, o sinless god, like a teacher speaking to his pupil, smiling inwardly, address the words *child, child*, to me [who am] the cause of creation and destruction, the undisputed maker of the worlds, and the mover of Prakriti (nature), the eternal, unborn, Vishṇu,<sup>296</sup> Virīñchi, the source and soul of all things, the disposer, the upholder, the lotus-eyed? Why dost thou foolishly address me thus? Tell me quickly.' He said to me, 'Perceive that I am the maker, the preserver, the destroyer of the worlds; thou hast issued from my imperishable body. Thou hast forgotten the lord of the world, the potent Nārāyaṇa, Purusha, the supreme Spirit, invoked of many, lauded of many, Vishṇu, the undecaying, the lord, the source and origin of the universe. In this there is no fault of thine: it arises from my illusion. Listen to the truth, o four-faced deity: I am the lord of all the gods, the maker, the director, the destroyer; there is no lord equal to me. I, even I, o Pitāmaha, am the supreme Brahmā, the supreme reality, the supreme light, the supreme spirit. Whatever thing, moveable or immoveable, has been seen or heard of in this world, know, o four-faced deity, that it is all formed of me. By me of old has been created everything that is discernible, consisting of the twenty-four principles; the atoms, which in their ultimate [and most subtle] form are eternal, have been united; and the beings sprung from my wrath<sup>297</sup> (Rudra), etc., have been created. From my complacence thou and numerous (mundane) eggs have been formed in sport. Intelligence (*buddhi*) has been created by me in sport, and then from it three-fold *ahankāra*: from it the five *tanmātras*, and thence mind, with the bodily senses, as also ether and the other elements, and things formed of the elements.' As soon as he and I had thus spoken, a direful and terrific fight arose in the sea of universal dissolution<sup>298</sup> between us twain, whose enmity had been roused by passion. At this time there appeared before us, to stay our contention and admonish us, a luminous *Linga*, encircled with a thousand wreaths of flame, incapable of diminution or increase, without beginning, middle, or end, incom-

<sup>296</sup> Brahmā here assumes this character as belonging to himself.

<sup>297</sup> See above, p. 225 f.

<sup>298</sup> See the commencement of this extract.

parable, indescribable, undefinable, the source of all things. Bewildered by its thousand flames, the divine Hari said to me (Brahmā) who was myself bewildered, ‘Let us on the spot examine the source of [this] fire. I will go down the unequalled pillar of fire, and thou shouldst quickly proceed strenuously upwards.’ Having thus spoken, the universal-formed took the shape of a boar, and I immediately assumed the character of a swan. Ever since then men call me Hansa (swan), for Hansa is Virāj.<sup>299</sup> Whoever shall call me ‘Hansa, Hansa,’ shall become a Hansa (un-impassioned saint). Having become purely white, and fiery-eyed, with wings on every side, rapid as thought and as the wind, I went upwards. Nārāyana too, the soul of all things, having taken the dark form of a boar, like a heap of blue collyrium, ten yojanas broad and a hundred yojanas long, bulky as mount Meru, with white sharp-pointed tusks, luminous as the sun of destruction, long-snouted, loud-grunting, short-footed, wondrous-limbed, victorious, strong, incomparable, proceeded downwards. Speeding thus downwards for a thousand years, Vishṇu, the boar, beheld no base at all of the *Linga*. For the same period I went rapidly upwards, o destroyer of your foes, with all my might, desirous of learning its end; but I descended from the lapse of time, and so too the divine Vishṇu of vast bulk, the source of all the gods, worn-out, with affrighted look, ascended rapidly. Meeting with me, that magnanimous deity, prostrating himself, bewildered by the illusion of Sambhu (Siva), and disturbed in mind, bowing, along with me, before Paremeśvara (Siva), behind, at the side, and in front, exclaimed, ‘What is this?’ Then, o chief of the gods, there arose there the articulate sound *om, om*, distinct and protracted. Considering what this could be, he then, standing with me, beheld this eternal loud-resounding [monosyllable] upon the right side of the *Linga*; the first letter *a-kāra*, after it *u-kāra*, *ma-kāra* in the centre, and *Om* as the result of the sounds.”

This is followed by a great deal of mysticism about the letters of the word *om* and the other letters of the alphabet, etc. etc.

The eighteenth section contains a hymn addressed by Vishṇu to Rudra, which recites a list of the attributes of the latter deity. Mahādeva is gratified with this hymn, and tells Brahmā and Vishṇu that they had both sprung from him, offers them a boon, and touches them

<sup>299</sup> See the First Vol. of this work, pp. 7 and 15.

with his auspicious hands. Nārāyaṇa asks as a boon that they may both entertain an eternal devotion for him; which Mahādeva as a matter of course grants. I cite the verses which follow, in the original :

Linga Purāṇa, 18, 8 ff.—*Jānubhyam avanīm gatrā punar Nārāyaṇūḥ svayam | pranipatya cha Viśeṣam prāhu mandutaruñ vaśi | āvayor deva-deveśa vivādaṁ ati-śobhanam | ihaṅgato bharān yasmad vivāda-śamanāya nau | tasya tad-vachanauñ śrutvā punah prāha Haro Harim | pranipatya sthitam mūrdhnā kṛitāñjali-puṭam smayan | Śrī-mahādeva uvācha | pralaya-sthiti-sargāñam karttā trañ dharanipate | vatsa vatsa Hare Viśhṇo pālayaitach charācharam | tridhā bhinno hy ahañ Viśhṇu Brahma-Viśhṇu Bhavākhyayā | sarga-raxā-laya-guṇair nishkalah parameśvaraḥ | sammo-hām tyaja bho Viśhṇo pālayainam Pitāmaham | pūdme bhavishyati sutah kalpe tava Pitāmahaḥ | tadā draxyasi mām chaivañ so 'pi draxyati padma-jah | evam uktvā sa bhagavāñs tatraivāntaradhiyata | tadā-prabhṛiti lokešu lingarchā supratishthitā | linga-vedi Mahādevī lingam sāxūd Maheśvaraḥ | “The self-restraining Nārāyaṇa, falling on his knees on the ground, and having made obeisance to Viśeṣa (Siva), spoke gently thus: ‘Our dispute, o god of gods, has proved most auspicious,<sup>300</sup> since thou hast come hither to allay it.’ Having heard these words, Hara (Siva), smiling, again said to Hari (Viśhṇu), who stood making obeisance with his hands joined : ‘Thou, lord of the earth, art the author of the creation, continuance and destruction [of the universe]: my child, my child, Hari, Viśhṇu, preserve all this moving and stationary world. I, the undivided supreme lord, am divided in a three-fold manner under the names of Brahmā, Viśhṇu, and Bhava, possessing the attributes of creating, preserving, and destroying. Relinquish, Viśhṇu, thy delusion; cherish this Pitāmaha. He shall be thy son in the Pādma Kalpa. Then shalt thou behold me, and he also who sprung from the lotus (Brahmā), shall see me.’ Having thus spoken, the deity vanished. Thenceforward the worship of the *Linga* has been inaugurated in the worlds. The pedestal of the *Linga* is Mahādevī (Umā) and the *Linga* is the visible Maheśvara.”*

<sup>300</sup> I cannot render this sentence otherwise than by taking *vivādaṁ* for a neuter nominative, though nouns of this formation are masculine. The commentator explains *śobhanam* as meaning *ubbhayor api sama-balavāñch chhobhamānam*, “brilliant from the equal powers of the two combatants.”

The reader will probably be of opinion that this story does not throw much light on the origin of the Linga-worship.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa (i. 7, 6 ff.) does not assign a high rank to Rudra; but makes him the offspring of Brahmā (as the Mahābhārata, quoted above, p. 225 f., makes him of Vishṇu): *Sanandanādayo ye cha pūrvamīśriṣṭāḥ tu Vedhasā | na te lokesho asajjanta nirapexāḥ prajāsu te | sarve te chāgata-jñānā vīta-rāgā vimatsarāḥ | teshv evam̄ nirapexesu loka-sriṣṭau mahātmanāḥ | Brahmano 'bhūd mahākroḍhas trilokya-dahana-xamāḥ | tasya kroḍhāt samudbhūta-jvālā-mālā-vidipitam | Brahmano 'bhūt tadā sarvam̄ trilokyam akhilam mune | bhrukuṭi-kuṭilāt tasya laṭāt kroḍha-dipitāt | samutpannas tadā Rudro madhyāhnārka-sama-prabhāḥ | ardha-nārī-nara-vapuh prachando 'ti-śarīravān | "vibhajātmānam" ity uktvā tam Brahmā 'ntardadhe punāḥ | tathokto 'sau dvividhā strītvam purushatvam̄ tathā 'karot | bibheda purushatvam̄ cha daśadhā ohaikadhā cha saḥ | saumyāsaumyais tathā śāntāśāntaiḥ strītvam̄ cha sa prabhūḥ | bibheda bahudhā derāḥ svarūpair asitaiḥ sitaiḥ | "Sanandana and the others who were before created by Vedhas (Brahmā) had no regard for the worlds, and were indifferent about offspring, for they had all attained to knowledge, and were free from love and from hatred. As they were thus indifferent to the creation of worlds, the mighty Brahmā was filled with fierce anger, sufficient to burn up the three worlds. The three worlds were illuminated in every part by the wreaths of flame engendered from the wrath of the god. From his forehead, wrinkled with a frown and enflamed with anger, Rudra then sprang forth, glorious as the noonday sun, his body half male and half female, fierce, and huge in bulk. Brahmā disappeared after saying to him, 'Divide thyself.' Being thus addressed, he severed himself into twain, into a male and a female body. The god then divided his male form into eleven portions, gentle and ungentle; and in like manner his female body into many forms black and white."*<sup>301</sup>

In the same way the Harivansā says (v. 43): *Tato 'srijat punar Brahmā Rudram̄ roshātma-sambhavam | "Then Brahmā next created Rudra, the offspring of his anger."*

<sup>301</sup> See Professor Wilson's notes (3 and 4) on this passage, V. P., p. 51.

SECT. VII.—*Results of the preceding Sections.*

The various texts quoted in Sections i.-iv. (pp. 252-291) from the Rig-, the Yajur-, and Atharva-vedas, and from the Brāhmaṇas, relative to Rudra, compose the principal materials which we possess for forming an idea of the characteristics ascribed to that deity in the more ancient portions of Indian literature anterior to the composition of the Epic poems and Purāṇas. The Upanishads from which I have derived the mystical extracts given in the fifth section (pp. 296 ff.) are of uncertain date, and their contents throw but little light on the development of the worship of Rudra. The extracts which I have given from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata in chapter ii. (pp. 147, 153-170, 187-190, 194 f., 203 ff., 225 ff., 236 ff., and 241 ff.), and in the last section, while they contain some of the earliest descriptions of which I am aware, of Rudra in the new, and very different, aspect in which he has been conceived in the later ages of Hindū mythology, since he has come to be identified with Śiva or Mahādeva, are yet unfitted to elucidate the process by which he became elevated to the highest rank in the Indian pantheon. I shall, however, draw from these texts a summary of the attributes which they respectively assign to Rudra, and shall describe the successive mutations which the conception of this deity undergoes in the later, as compared with the earlier, passages. To my own remarks on this subject, however, I shall prefix some observations by Professors H. H. Wilson, Weber, and Whitney, on the character of the Vedic Rudra.

The following remarks by Professor Wilson are extracted from the Introductions to the first and second volumes of his translation of the Rig-veda :

" We have a Rudra, who, in after times, is identified with Śiva, but who, even in the Purāṇas, is of very doubtful origin and identification ; whilst in the Veda he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either Agni or Indra. The epithet *kaparddin* which is applied to him appears, indeed, to have some relation to a characteristic attribute of Śiva,—the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid ; but the term has probably in the Veda a very different significa-

tion—one now forgotten,—although it may have suggested in after-time the appearance of Siva in such a head-dress, as identified with Agni; for instance, *kaparddin* may intimate his head being surrounded by radiating flame, or the word may be an interpolation; at any rate, no other epithet applicable to Siva occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India, that of the *Linga* or *Phallus*: neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism,—the *Trimūrtti*, or Tri-une combination of Brahmā, Vishnu, and Siva, as typified by the mystical syllable *om*, although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the *Trimūrtti* was the first element in the faith of the Hindūs, and the second was the *Lingam*<sup>302</sup> (vol. i. pp. xxvi., xxvii.).

“Of Rudra also, the character is equivocal; but it may be doubted if it partakes, in any remarkable degree, of that fierceness and wrath which belong to the Rudra of a later date; he is termed, it is true, the slayer of heroes, but so is Indra: the effects of his anger upon men and animals are deprecated; but he is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the author of fertility and giver of happiness, and his peculiar characteristics are evidently his presiding over medicinal plants and removal of disease, attributes of a beneficent, not of a malignant and irascible deity. As above remarked, the Maruts, or winds, are termed his sons; and this relationship would assimilate him to Indra. There is also a class of inferior deities, termed Rudras, who in one passage are worshippers of Agni, and in another are followers of Indra; being the same as the Maruts. So far, therefore, Rudra might be identified with Indra; but we have the name applied unequivocally to Agni in a hymn exclusively dedicated to that divinity (R. V. i. 27, 10). The term denotes, according to the Scholiast, the ‘terrible Agni;’ but there is no warrant for this in the text, and we may be content, therefore, with the latter, to regard Rudra as a form or denomination of fire (*ibid.* pp. xxxvii. f.).

“Rudra is described, as in the first book, by rather incompatible qualities, as both fierce and beneficent; but his specific province is here also the tutelarship of medicinal plants, and administration of medicine, and he is designated as a physician of physicians (R. V. ii. 33, 4).

<sup>302</sup> Creuzer, *Religions de l'antiquité*, book i. chap. i. p. 140.

With respect also to his presiding over medicinal plants, there occurs a passage worthy of note, as among the herbs are those, it is said, which Manu selected, alluding, most probably, to the seeds of the plants which Manu, according to the legend as related in the *Mahābhārata*, took with him into his vessel at the time of the deluge. There are more particulars of the person of Rudra than usual. He is sometimes said to be brown or tawny, but he is also said to be white-complexioned (R.V. ii. 33, 8); he is soft-bellied and handsome-chinned; he is armed with a bow and arrows, and brilliant with golden ornaments. He is also called the father of the Maruts. There is little, however, in all this, except his fierceness to identify him with the Rudra of the *Purānas* (vol. ii. pp. ix. f.)."

The following interesting and ingenious speculations of Professor Weber are translated from his *Indische Studien*, ii. 19–22 :

" In the beginning of the ninth book of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (see above, p. 289 f.), we obtain a complete explanation of the *Satarudriya* (see above, p. 268 ff.). When the preparation of the consecrated place for kindling the fire is completed (*chity-upadhāna-parisamāpty-ānantaryam*, *Sāyana*), and the fire has been kindled, and blazes up (*dīpyamāno 'tishthat*), the gods (*i.e.* the Brahmans<sup>303</sup>) are terrified by it, *yad vai no yam na hiṁsyād iti* ('lost it should destroy us'): and with the view of appeasing this [howling, hungry] flame, which is conceived of as in the form of Rudra, *i.e.* to consecrate and propitiate the fire, they offer their adoration to Rudra, and to his supposed troop of associates, *i.e.* to all conceivable shapes of terror, and by this means render them favourable, and avert all their malevolent influences. Hence the *Brāhmaṇa* explains *sāta-rudriya* by *sānta-rudriya* (as *gata* comes from the root *gam*); a double sense, which may perhaps have actually been, though indistinctly, contemplated, when the name was first given.<sup>304</sup> In this application of Rudra as the god of fire (independently of the other contents of the *Satarudriya*), we may find an indication of the time when it was

<sup>303</sup> " In the *Brāhmaṇas* the thoughts of men are very frequently put into the mouths of the gods. For instance, when the gods go to Prajāpati, and request him to solve any difficulty, this is merely a transcendental expression for the fact of a few wise men applying for instruction to one still wiser than themselves."

<sup>304</sup> The *Ārshādhyāya* of the *Chārāyanīya* School of the Kāthaka also (ii. 17) says : *Satarudriyāṁ devānāṁ Rudra-samanam*. " The *Satarudriya* is an appeasing of Rudra by the gods."

composed. Though Rudra originally signifies generally the howler, and consequently can stand as well for an epithet of the crackling fire as of the raging storm, yet in the earliest period the word had been more specially used to denote the latter signification, and is therefore frequently used in the Rig-veda in the plural as an epithet of the Maruts. The unbridled fury (*manyu*) of the storm, its roaring, its tearing up (*aufwuhlen*) of heaven and earth,<sup>305</sup> must have produced a strong and overpowering effect upon the Arian Indians in the high mountain valleys (perhaps of Kashmîr) in which we must conceive them to have lived at that early period ; and it was thus in the natural course of things that they should connect everything terrible and horrible with the idea of the god of storms, and regard him as the lord, and the cause, of every evil :<sup>306</sup> numberless, indeed, were these aerial hosts, black, pierced only by the quivering gleams of the lightning, diffusing everywhere shuddering and horror.

"It is true that Rudra 'is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the author of fertility, and giver of happiness,'<sup>307</sup> but it is only indirectly that he is so addressed, and merely because he departs, and directs his destroying arrows towards some other quarter, against the enemies of the suppliant, and leaves the latter himself in peace ; the worshipper flatters him with fair words, as if he were purely benevolent, to pacify his anger, and to render him gracious (*śira*) ; and he only appears directly beneficent in so far as he chases away clouds and vapours, purifies and clears the atmosphere ; in reference to this he is called a physician, and moreover acquainted with healing herbs : but he carries also diseases and contagions themselves as arrows in his quiver, and slays therewith men and cattle.

"In the crackling flame of the fire, now, men thought that they heard again the wrathful voice of the storm, that in the consuming fierceness of the former, they perceived once more the destructive fury of the latter. In this way we have to explain how it happened that both deities became gradually identified, and lent their respective epi-

<sup>305</sup> Hence in the R. V. i. 114, 5, he is also called *varāha*, "boar," as the storm-clouds too are elsewhere conceived under the same imago (Ind. Stud. i. 272, note).

<sup>306</sup> In R. V. i. 114; ii. 33. Hence, too, seven verses from these hymns are incorporated in the Satarudriya.

<sup>307</sup> Wilson Introd. to trans. of R. V. vol. i. quoted above, p. 333.

thets to one another, particularly as at the same time the storm is, in bad weather, accompanied with gleaming and fiery lightnings. This identification seems to have extended not merely to Agni and Rudra themselves, but also to the Rudras, in so far as the latter, from being the raging and flaming companions of the storm, appear to have become the representatives of all sorts of terrific shapes in general, until in the epic period they retired completely into the background, while their ancient master, Rudra, in his combination with Agni, became continually more firmly condensed as the god of rage and destruction, and a new class of beings took the place of the Rudras as attendants upon him (in his capacity of Siva).

"At the period when the Rudra-book (the *Satarudriya*) was composed, the blending of the two destructive deities (Storm and Fire) had evidently taken place; and the epithets which are there assigned to Rudra lead us back partly to himself, and partly to Agni. The epithets 'dweller in the mountains' (*giriśa*, *giriśaya*, *girjśanta*, *giritra*), and those of *kapardin*, *r̥yupta-keśa*, *ugra*, and *bhīma*, *bhishaj* and *śiva*, *śambhu* and *śankara*, belong to the Storm, while on the other hand those of *nīla-grīva* (= *nīlakanṭha*, spoken of smoke), *śitikanṭha*, *hiranyabāhu* (of flame), *vilohita*, *sahasrāxa* (of sparks), *paśupati* (of sacrificial victims), *śarva* and *bhara*, etc., belong to Fire. Now almost all these epithets<sup>308</sup> are technical epithets and characteristics of the epic Siva, and when applied to him are partially unintelligible, and become explicable only after they have been distinguished according to the two separate elements to whose combination this god owes his origin.<sup>309</sup> But as in the Rudra-book Rudra nowhere appears as *Īśa* or *Mahādeva*, and no character is assigned to him analogous to that of the epic Siva; and as the word *śiva* is applied to him simply as an epithet (with its comparative *śivatara* annexed), the book in question must in any case be held to date from an earlier epoch of the Indian religion, whilst its elevation to the rank of an Upanishad may only have taken place in the epic period, and have been occasioned by the special worship of Siva."

<sup>308</sup> "And so of many other epithets found elsewhere: thus S'iva owes his epithet Tryambaka, and his wife Ambikā, to Rudra; and, on the other hand, his epithet Tripura, and his wife Kālī, Karālī, to Agni," etc.

<sup>309</sup> "Hence he is also called *Kālagnirudra*, as in the *Purāṇas*, and in the *Kālagnirudra* Upanishad."

The following remarks of Professor Whitney on the same subject are taken from the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii. p. 318 f.:

"To the second domain, the atmosphere, belong the various divinities of the wind and storm. God of the breeze, the gentler motion of the air, is Vayū (from the root *vā* 'to blow'). He drives a thousand steeds; his breath chases away the demons; he comes in the earliest morning, as the first breath of air that stirs itself at daybreak, to drink the soma, and the Auroras weave for him shining garments. The storm-winds are a troop, the Maruts or Rudras: the two names are indifferently used, but the former is much the more usual (the etymology of neither is fully established). They ride on spotted stags, wear shining armour, and carry spears in their hands; no one knows whence they come nor whither they go; their voice is heard aloud as they come rushing on; the earth trembles and the mountains shake before them. They belong in (*sic*) Indra's train; are his almost constant allies and companions. They are called the sons of Rudra, who is conceived of as peculiar god of the tempest. As their father he is very often mentioned; as a divinity with independent attributes, he is of much rarer occurrence; hymns addressed to him alone are but few. He is, as might be expected, a terrible god: he carries a great bow from which he hurls a sharp missile at the earth; he is called the 'slayer of men,' *kshayadvīra*;<sup>310</sup> his wrath is deprecated, and he is besought not to harm his worshipper; if not in the Rik, at least in the Atharva and Brāhmaṇas, he is styled 'lord of the animals,' as the un-housed beasts of the field are especially at the mercy of the pitiless storm. At the same time he is, to propitiate him, addressed as master of a thousand remedies, best of physicians, protector from harm: this may have its ground, too, partly in the beneficial effects of the tempest in freshening the atmosphere of that sultry clime. Rudra's chief interest consists in the circumstance that he forms the point of connection between the Vedic religion and the later Siva-worship. Siva is a god unknown to the Vedas: his name is a word of not unfrequent occurrence in the hymns, but means simply 'propitious'; not even in the Atharva is it the epithet of a particular divinity, or distinguished by its usage from any other adjective. As given to him whose title it has

<sup>310</sup> Compare the sense given to this word in the translation of R. V. i. 114. 1, above, p. 255.

since become, it seems one of those euphemisms so frequent in the Indian religion, applied as a soothing and flattering address to the most terrible god in the whole Pantheon. The precise relation between Siva and Rudra is not yet satisfactorily traced out. The introduction of an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north has been supposed, who was grafted in upon the ancient religion by being identified with Rudra; or again a blending of some of Agni's attributes with those of Rudra to originate a new development: perhaps neither of these may be necessary; Siva may be a local form of Rudra, arisen under the influence of peculiar climatic relations in the districts from which he made his way into Hindostan proper; introduced among, and readily accepted by, a people which, as the Atharva shows, was strongly tending toward a terrorism in its religion."

The characters ascribed to Rudra in the hymns of the R. V. are most heterogeneous and frequently indefinite. I shall endeavour to gather from different places and to group together those epithets which have most affinity to each other. This god is described as wise, bountiful, and powerful (i. 43, 1; i. 114, 4), as the strongest and most glorious of beings (ii. 33, 3), as lord (*r̄ṣāna*) of this world, possessed of divine power (ii. 33, 9), as unsurpassed in might<sup>311</sup> (*ibid.* 10), as the father of the world,<sup>312</sup> mighty, exalted, undecaying (vi. 49, 10); as cognizant of the doings of men and gods by his power and universal dominion (vii. 46, 2); as putting the waters in motion (x. 92, 5); as self-dependent (vii. 46, 1), and as deriving his renown from himself (i. 129, 3; x. 92, 9); as the lord of heroes (i. 114, 1, 3, 10; x. 92, 9); as the lord of songs and sacrifices (i. 43, 4), the fulfiller of sacrifices (i. 114, 4); brilliant as the sun, and as gold (i. 43, 5), tawny-coloured (this epithet is frequently applied), with beautiful chin (ii. 33, 5), fair-complexioned (*ibid.* 8), multiform, fierce, arrayed in golden ornaments (*ibid.* 9), youthful (v. 60, 5), terrible as a wild beast, destructive (ii. 33, 11), wearing braided hair (i. 114, 1, 5); and as the celestial boar (*ibid.* 5). He is frequently represented as the father of the Maruts or Rudras (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1; i. 114, 6, 9; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2; v. 52, 16; v. 60, 5

<sup>311</sup> Compare the similar epithets applied to Vishnu and Indra above: see pp. 84, 85. And yet in R. V. ii. 38, 9, Rudra is described in common with Indra, Varuna, Mitra, and Aryaman, as unable to resist the will of Savitri.

<sup>312</sup> Compare Raghuvansa i. 1, where Paramesvara (S'iva) and Pârvatî are styled the "parents of the world" (*jagataḥ pitaraū*).

vi. 50, 4; vi. 66, 3; vii. 56, 1; viii. 20, 17). He is once identified with Agni (ii. 1, 6). He is described as seated on a chariot (ii. 33, 11), as wielding the thunderbolt (ii. 33, 3), as armed with a bow and arrows (*ibid.* 10, 14; v. 42, 11; x. 125, 6), with a strong bow and fleet arrows, with sharp weapons (vi. 74, 4; vii. 46, 1; viii. 29, 5). His shafts are discharged from the sky, and traverse the earth (vii. 46, 3). He is called the slayer of men, *nri-ghne* (iv. 3, 6). His anger, ill-will, and destructive shafts are deprecated (i. 114, 7, 8; ii. 33, 1, 11, 14; vi. 28, 7; vii. 46, 3, 4). But he is also represented as benevolent (i. 114, 9), as mild, and easily-invoked (ii. 33, 5), beneficent (*ibid.* 7), gracious (*siva*, x. 92, 9), as the cause or condition of health and prosperity to man and beast (i. 114, 1). He is frequently described as the possessor of healing remedies, and is once characterized as the greatest of physicians (i. 43, 4; i. 114, 5; ii. 33, 2, 4, 7, 12, 13; v. 42, 11; vi. 74, 3;<sup>313</sup> vii. 35, 6; vii. 46, 3; viii. 29, 5). He is supplicated for blessings (i. 114, 1, 2; ii. 33, 6), and represented as averting the anger of the gods (i. 114, 4; ii. 33, 7). In R. V. vi. 74, 1 ff. he is connected with Soma in the dual, and entreated along with the latter to bestow good and avert evil.

On a review of these passages and the hymns from which they are drawn, it appears that in most places Rudra has no very clearly defined function (such, for instance, as is ascribed to Indra and Agni, or even to Vishnu) as an agent in producing the great phenomena of the physical world. It would be difficult to make out from the larger portion of the texts which I have cited to what region of the universe the activity of this god should be referred. It is true that he is repeatedly declared to be the father of the Maruts or Rudras (the winds or storms); and from this relation we might anticipate that he would be described as, still more eminently than they, the generator of tempests, and chaser of clouds. Except, however, in a small number of texts, as R. V. i. 114, 5; ii. 33, 3; and x. 92, 5, there are few distinct traces of any such agency being ascribed to him. The numerous vague epithets which are constantly applied to him would not suffice to fix the particular sphere of his operation, or even to define his personality, as most of them are equally applied to other deities. This is the case with the terms "fierce," "tawny-coloured," "with beautiful chin;" and even the word *kaparddin* ("with braided hair"), which at a later period

<sup>313</sup> In this passage Soma is associated with Rudra as the dispenser of remedies.

became a common, if not distinctive, epithet of Mahādeva, is in the R. V. applied also to Pūshan (see above, p. 254, note 224). While, however, the cosmical function of Rudra is thus but obscurely represented, he is described as possessing other marked and peculiar characteristics. It is, however, principally in his relation to the good and evil which beset the persons and property of men that he is depicted. And here there can be little doubt that, though he is frequently supplicated to bestow prosperity, and though he is constantly addressed as the possessor of healing remedies, he is principally regarded as a malevolent deity, whose destructive shafts, the source of disease and death to man and beast, the worshipper strives by his entreaties to avert. If this view be correct, the remedies of which Rudra is the dispenser, may be considered as signifying little more than the cessation of his destroying agency, and the consequent restoration to health and vigour of those victims of his ill-will who had been in danger of perishing. It may appear strange that opposite functions should thus be assigned to the same god: but evil and good, sickness and health, death and life are naturally associated as contraries, the presence of the one implying the absence of the other, and *vice versa*; and in later times Mahādeva is in a somewhat similar manner regarded as the generator as well as the \*destroyer. We may add to this that, while it is natural to deprecate the wrath of a deity supposed to be the destroyer, the suppliant may fear to provoke his displeasure, and to awaken his jealousy, by calling on any *other deity* to provide a remedy. When the destructive god has been induced to relent, to withdraw his visitation, or remove its effects, it is natural for his worshippers to represent him as gracious and benevolent, as we see done in some of the hymns to Rudra.

From the above description, however, it will be apparent that the elder Rudra, though different in many respects from the later Mahādeva, is yet, like him, a terrible and destructive deity; while, on the other hand, the ancient Vishnu, like the modern god of the same name, is represented to us as a preserver, of a benignant, or, at least, of an innocuous, character (R. V. i. 22, 18; i. 155, 4; i. 186, 10; viii. 25, 12).

In the Yajur-veda we find the same characteristics assigned to Rudra as in the Rig-veda. Thus both a healing virtue (iii. 59; xvi. 5, 49) and a destructive efficacy are ascribed to him, the latter being depicted in the liveliest colours, and deprecated in every variety of expression.

Thus he is represented (iii. 61; xvi. 1, and elsewhere) as carrying a bow and arrows, and is earnestly supplicated (xvi. 9 ff., 51 ff.) to avert his shafts from the worshipper. Many of the epithets which are applied to him in the Rig-veda occur again here, such as "brown" or "tawny" (xvi. 6), the god "with braided hair" (*ibid.* 10), the "fierce" (*ibid.* 40), the "bountiful," the "gracious" (51), etc.; while a multitude of new appellations are heaped upon him (and his attendants), such as "blue-necked," "thousand-eyed" (*ibid.* 7), "thousand-quivered" (13), "clad in a skin" (iii. 61; xvi. 51), "the dweller in the mountains" (xvi. 2, 3, 4), and others far too numerous to repeat (xvi. 17-46). The imagination of the rishi runs riot in the invention of these epithets, which are of the most heterogeneous description. Some of the characteristics here attributed to Rudra are of a disgraceful nature, as where he is styled the "lord of thieves, the robber, the cheater, the deceiver, the lord of pilferers and robbers," etc. (vv. 20, 21). Several new names are ascribed to Rudra in this Veda, as Bhava, Sarva, Paśupati, etc. etc. (vv. 18, 28). Altogether an approximation is discernible in the epithets which occur in the Satarudriya to the fierce, terrific, impure, and repulsive character of the later Mahādeva. Ambikā is mentioned for the first time in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (iii. 5), and is described not as the wife, but as the sister of Rudra.

In the Atharva-veda also reference is made both to the therapeutic character of Rudra and to the destructive arrows and lightnings of Bhava and Sarva (ii. 27, 6; vi. 93, 1; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1, 12, etc.). Rudra is identified with Agni (vii. 87, 1); and again with Savitṛi (xiii. 4, 4). On the other hand Bhava and Sarva, and again Bhava and Rudra, are spoken of in the dual (viii. 2, 7; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1; xi. 2, 14, 16; xi. 6, 9; xii. 4, 17); and would thus appear to have been regarded by the rishi as distinct gods. Sarva is described as an archer, Bhava as a king (vi. 93, 2); and they, as well as Rudra, are said to have poisons and consumption at their command (vi. 93, 2; xi. 2, 26). In A. V. xi. 2, 2, 30, the devouring birds and dogs of Rudra are alluded to (compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 28). In another verse Bhava is said to rule over the sky and the earth, and to fill the vast atmosphere (A. V. xi. 2, 27).<sup>314</sup>

<sup>314</sup> The Nirukta i. 15 contains a text relating to Rudra which, as given at length by the commentator Durga (cited by Roth, Illust. of Nir. p. 12, note 4), is as follows:

In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (i. 7, 3, 8) Sarva, Bhava, Paśupati, and Rudra are said to be all names of Agni; and of these appellations Sarva is said to be in use among the people of the east, and Bhava among the western tribe of the Bāhikas. Another passage (vi. 1, 3, 7 ff.) of the same Brāhmaṇa describes the birth of a boy (*kumāra*, a word applied to Agni in the Rig-veda, v. 2, 1) to whom the names of Rudra, Sarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahān-deva, and Īśāna were successively given, all of them, according to the writer, representing different forms of Agni. In the somewhat different version of the same story given in the Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa (see above, pp. 286 ff.) the newly-born deity is not identified with Agni. But the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa in another passage (ix. 1, 1, 1 ff.) referred to by Professor Weber (see above, pp. 289 f. and 334) appears again clearly to make this identification. Finally, traces of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni are discoverable, as I have already remarked (p. 291), in the legend of the birth of Kārttikeya which I have quoted from the Mahābhārata.

Though, however, these deities may have at one time come to be thus identified, the distinctive epithets applied to Rudra in the Rig-veda appear sufficiently to prove that he was generally discriminated from Agni by his early worshippers. The tendency visible both in the hymns of the Veda and in the Brāhmaṇas (see above, R. V. ii. 1, 6, p. 25; A. V. vii. 87, 1, and xiii. 4, 4, pp. 277 and 281; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, as quoted in p. 284; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 5, p. 20) to identify the different deities with one another appears to have arisen from a vague conception of the unity of the divine principle by which all these several divinities were supposed to be diversely animated.

Between the texts which I have cited from the Brāhmaṇas relative to Rudra, and the earliest descriptions of the same deity which we discover in the Epic poems, a wide chasm intervenes, which, as far as I am aware, no genuine ancient materials exist (for the Upanishads are of uncertain date) for bridging over. The Rudra of the Mahā-

*Eka eva Rudro 'vatasithe na dvitīyo rāye vighnan pritanāsu śatrūn | saṁśrijya visvā bhuvanānī goptā pralyan janān sañchukorhāntakyle |* “One Rudra has existed and no second; slaying his enemies in the conflicts of the battle: having created all worlds, a preserver, he afterwards annihilates all beings at the time of the end.” Durga does not inform us whence this verse is derived, and I cannot say (see above, p. 297, note). After ascribing a martial character to Rudra in the first line, it appears to assign to him, in the second, the threefold function of universal creator, preserver, and destroyer.

bhārata is not indeed very different in his general character from the god of the same name who is pourtrayed in the Satarudriya; but in the later literature his importance is immensely increased, his attributes are more clearly defined, and the conceptions entertained of his person are rendered more distinct by the addition of various additional features, and illustrated by numerous legends. Instead of remaining a subordinate deity, as he was in the Vedic era, Rudra has thrown Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Mitra, and Varuna completely into the shade; and although Indra still occupies a prominent place in the Epic legends, he has sunk down into a subordinate position, and is quite unable to compete in power and dignity with Rudra, who, together with Vishṇu, now engrosses the almost exclusive worship of the Brahmanical world. Ambikā, who was subsequently identified with the spouse of Rudra, is in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (above, p. 267) spoken of as his sister. Umā or Parvatī, with whom he was unconnected in the Vedic period, and of whom the earliest mention, as far as I know, occurs in the Kena Upanishad, and the Taitt. Ār.,<sup>315</sup> is now his acknowledged consort.<sup>316</sup> In systematic mythology the function of destroyer is assigned to him, as that of creator is to Brahmā, and that of preserver to Vishṇu; but he is also worshipped under the emblem of the *linga* as the great generative power.

Lassen asserts (Indian Antiquities, i. 783) that no mention of the *linga* occurs in the Epic poems. I have, however (above, p. 161), quoted a passage from the Mahābhārata in which it is dwelt upon at length, though it is difficult to say to what age this passage may be referable. Comp. also the epithet *mahāsepha* in p. 160, which points to the same idea.

In the following passage of the same book, the *linga* is again mentioned in verses which follow the last of those quoted above in p. 167:

Anusāsana-parva, v. 7510.—*Dahaty ūrddhraṁ sthito yach cha prānān*

<sup>315</sup> These passages will be quoted in the next section.

<sup>316</sup> It appears (see Westergaard's Dissertation on the oldest Period of Indian History, p. 82, note) that Pāṇini (4, 1, 49) gives a rule whereby, in addition to the names of the goddesses Indrāṇī and Varuṇāṇī, which are found in the Rig-veda, the names of four others who are not found there, and who are all wives of Siva (under his different appellations of Bhava, Sāiva, Rudra, and Mṛida)—viz., Bhavāṇī, Sarvāṇī, Rudrāṇī, and Mṛidāṇī—may be formed. (The rule is this: *Indra-Varuṇa-Bhava-Sarva-Rudra-Mṛida-himāranya-yava-yavana-mātulāchāryyāṇām ānuk.*) It does not, however, follow that these last-named goddesses had risen into any importance in the time of Pāṇini. Indrāṇī and Varuṇāṇī were never of any significance.

*nṛīnāṁ sthiraś cha yat | sthira-lingas cha yan nityaṁ tasmāt Sthānur iti smritah | . . . . v. 7516: Nityañcha brahmacharyyeṇa lingam asya yadā sthitam | mahayanty asya lokāś cha priyaṁ hy etad mahātmanah | vigraham pūjayed yo vai lingaṁ rā pi mahātmanah | linga-pūjyatā nit-yam mahatīm śriyam aśnute | rishayas chāpi devāś cha gandharvāpsarasas tathā | lingam evārchayanti sma yat tad ūrddhraṁ samāsthitam | ityādi |*  
 “And since, standing aloft, he consumes the lives of men, and since he is fixed, and since his *linga* is perpetually fixed, he is therefore called *Sthānu*. . . . 7516: And when his *linga* remains constantly in a state of chastity, and people reverence it, this is agreeable to the great [god]. The constant worshipper of the *linga*, who shall worship the image (*vigraha*), or the *linga*, of the great [god], enjoys great prosperity. It is the *linga*, raised up, which the rishis, gods, Gandharvas, and Apsarases worship.”

The *linga* is also mentioned in the list of Siva’s names in another part of the same Anuśāsana-parva, v. 1160 :

*Ūrddha-retā ūrddhra-linga ūrddhra-sāyi nabhaḥ-sthitah | v. 1191 : Lingādhyaxah surādhyaxah . . . . rījādhyaxo rīja-karttā . . . .* “He whose seed is raised up, whose *linga* is raised up, who sleeps aloft, who abides in the sky.” . . . . v. 1191 : “The lord of the *linga*, the lord of the *suras* (gods) . . . . the lord of seed, the former of seed.”

We possess no records to shew how this phallic emblem became connected with Rudra. But, as Stevenson (Journal R. A. S. viii. 330<sup>317</sup>)

<sup>317</sup> In this paper on “the Ante-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus,” the Rev Dr. Stevenson asserts that the “worship of Siva, especially under the form of the *Linga*,” is one of the practices for which he considers modern Hinduism is indebted to the ante-Brahmanical religion of India, i.e. to local superstitions prevalent among the aboriginal tribes anterior to the development of the existing Brahmanical system. This opinion in regard to Siva is grounded by Dr. Stevenson on the facts (1) that Siva is not named in the ancient Vedic hymns; (2) that Rudra does not occupy in those hymns the high position which the later Siva holds; (3) that various particulars in the legend of Daxa, such as the general indisposition to acknowledge Siva’s right to share in the sacrifice, and the circumstance that his rites required no Brahmanical priest (see above, p. 317, note), point to a recent introduction of Siva’s worship (comp. Mahābhārata, Vana-parva, vv. 11001 ff., cited in p. 241 of this volume); (4) that there is no connection between the *Linga* and any of the ancient Brahmanical emblems; (5) that the principal seats of the *Linga* worship are to be found in the south and north-east of India, at a distance from the original Brahmanical settlements; (6) that in the Mahratta country no Brahman officiates as priest in a *Linga* temple, while, on the contrary, in the temples of Vishṇu Brahmins alone officiate. [This distinction does not, I think, exist in Northern India. In the temple of Viśveśvara, at Benares, the officiating priests, if I am not mistaken, are Brahmins. The same is the impression of Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall, with whom I have communicated on the subject.—J. M.]

and Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 783) imagine, it is not impossible that it may have been at first an object of veneration among the aboriginal or non-Arian Indians; and that it was subsequently adopted by the Brahmans from them, and associated with the worship of Rudra.

This conjecture would acquire additional probability if we were justified in supposing that the word *śiśnadera* which occurs in two passages of the Rig-veda had any reference to a worship of this sort existing among the barbarous tribes towards whom the authors of the hymns so often express hostility, as the followers of a different religion from their own. The texts in which the word in question is found have been already adduced and translated in the Second Volume of this work (p. 407 and note 65). But I shall quote them again here with the contexts, and endeavour to elucidate them further. The first passage is as follows :

R. V. vii. 21, 3 ff.—*Tram Indra sravitarā apas kah parish̄hitā Ahinā śūra pūrcih | trad vānakre rathyo na dhenā rejante riśrā kritrimāṇi bhishā | 4. Bhīmo vivesha āyuḍhebhīr eshām apāṁsi viścā naryāṇi rideān | Indrah puro jarhīshāṇo’ri dūdhod ri rajra-hasto mahinā jaghāna | 5 Na yālara Indra jūjurur no na candanā śai ishṭha vedyābhīḥ | sa śardhad uryo rishuṇasya jantor mā śiśna-devā api gur ritāñ naḥ | 6. Abhi kratrā Indra bhūr adha jman na te viryaṇ mahimānāñ rajāñsi | srenā hi Tṛit traṁ śarasā jaghantha na śatrur antāñ rividā yudhā te | 7. Derāś chit te asuryāya pūrre anu xatrāya mumire sahāṁsi | Indro maghāni dayate rishahya Indram vājasya joharantu sūtāu | 8. Kīris chid hi trām avas juhāva iśānam Indra saubhagasya bhūreḥ | aro babhūtha śatam-ūte asme abhixattus trārato varūtā |*

“ 3. Thou, heroic Indra, hast caused to flow the abundant waters which had been obstructed by Ahi. Before thee the cows (waters) have turned their course, like warriors in chariots. All created things tremble for fear. 4. The terrible [god], knowing all things salutary to men, has with his weapons pierced the works of these [cloud-demons]. Indra, exulting, has shattered their cities; armed with the thunderbolt he has destroyed them by his might. 5. Neither demons impel us, Indra, nor, o puissant [deity], adorations with ordinances (?). May the glorious [Indra] triumph over the hostile beings : let not those whose god is the *śiśna* (membrum virile) approach our sacred ceremony. 6. Thou, o Indra, hast surpassed in power. When thou runnest thy

course, the worlds have not comprehended thy greatness. By thine own might thou hast slain Vritra. No enemy hath attained the end of thee in battle. 7. The earlier gods have imparted (?) to thee powers to [augment] thy divine glory and energy. Indra having conquered, dispenses wealth. Let men invoke Indra to bestow food. 8. Indra, the bard hath invoked for protection thee, the lord of great prosperity. O thou who bringest a hundred succours, thou hast been a defence to us, the protector of the warrior who serves thee."

R. V. x. 99, 1 ff.—*Kañ naś chitram ishanyasi chikivān prithu-gmānañ vāśrañ vārvidhudhyai | kat tasya dātu śavaso ryushṭau taxad eajrañ Vrittra-turam apinrat | 2. Sa hi dyutā vidyutā reti sāma pṛithuñ yonim asuratvā "sasāda | sa sanilebhīḥ prasahāno asya bhrātūr na rite saptathasya māyāḥ | 3. sa rājāñ yātā apadushpadā yan svarshātā parishadat sanishyan | anarvā yat śata-durasya vedo ghanā śiśnadevān abhi varpasā 'bhūt | 4. Sa yahyo aranīr goshu arvā ā juhoti pradhanyāsu sasriḥ | apādo yatra yujyāso 'rathā drony-aśvāsaḥ irate ghritāñ vāḥ | 5. Sa Rudre�hir aśasta-vārah ribhvā hitvī gayam āre-avadyāḥ ā agāt | vanrasya manye mithunā vivavrī annam abhītya arodayat mushāyan | 6. Sa id dāsañ tuvi-ravam patir dan shad-axañ tri-sīrshānañ damanyat | asya Tritu nu ojasā vridhāno vipā varāham ayo-agrayā han | 7. Sa druhvane manushe īrddhvasānāḥ ā sāvishad arśasānāya śarum | sa nrīta-mo nahusho 'smat sujātaḥ puro 'bhīnad arhan dasyu-hatye | "What wonderful, wide-travelling bull dost thou, the wise, send to us for our increase! What a share of power does he display at the dawn! He has formed the Vrittra-slaying thunderbolt, and has strengthened thee. 2. With gleaming light he comes to the goal; in his divine glory he hath seated himself on our broad place of sacrifice; with his allies he overcomes the delusions of him who pretends to be his seventh brother. 3. Desiring to bestow strength in the struggle, that warrior has besieged inaccessible places, at the time when, irresistible, slaying those whose god is the śisna, he by his force conquered the riches of the city with a hundred gates. 4. The noble steed, coming among the cows conquered in battle, pours out the rivers [in the place] where the allies, without feet or chariots, employing the clouds as their horses, send forth flowing water. 5. The great [Indra], who has indescribable treasures, and from whom evil is far removed, forsaking his house, has arrived with the Rudras. To the liberal [god] belong, I believe, two*

varied horses. Having approached the food, he roars, desiring to appropriate it. 6. This lord subjugated the loud-voiced Dūsa with six eyes and three heads. Trita, increasing through his strength, struck the boar with his iron-tipped finger. 7. Rising up, he has launched his arrow against the malignant and destructive man. He, the noble and potent hero, has shattered for us the cities of the enemy (or of Nahush) in the conflict with the destroyers (Dasyus)."<sup>314</sup>

The following is Sāyana's explanation of the word *śiśnадера* in the first of the preceding passages, R. V. vii. 21, 5, and repeated briefly in his note on the second passage: *Śiśna-derāḥ | śiśnena dīvyanṭi kridānti iti śiśna-devāḥ | abrahmachaṛayyāḥ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha Yāskāḥ | . . . . “śiśna-devā abrahmachaṛayyāḥ” | . . . .* “*Śiśnaderāḥ* are those who sport with the *śiśna* (membrum virile), i.e. unchaste men; as Yāskā says, ‘*Śiśnadevāḥ* means the unchaste.’” Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 47), gives the same explanation as Sāyana. He says that those men are called *śiśnadeva* who “are always dallying carnally with prostitutes, forsaking Vedic observances,” (*śiśnena nityam eva prakīrṇābhīḥ strībhīḥ sākāṁ kridanta āsute śrautāni karmāny utṣrijya |*). Roth, in the place I have cited, thinks the word is a sarcastic appellation for priapic or lustful demons, and translates it by *Schwanz-götter*.

It does not appear to me that Sāyana's interpretation has much to recommend it. There are some other words in the Veda in which the word *deva* forms the last member of the compound, as *anrita-deva* (vii. 104, 14) and *mūra-deva* (vii. 104, 24). Sāyana explains *mūra-devāḥ* as ==*māraṇa-kridāḥ*, “those who make a sport of killing;” and he therefore takes *deva* there in the same sense as he does in *śiśna-deva*. But in the other word, *anrita-dera*, he takes *deva* in the usual sense of “god,” and interprets it as “he whose gods are false” (*anritā asatya-bhūtā devā yasya tadṛiśāḥ*). In the same way he understands *anil-devam* in R. V. i. 180, 7, as meaning “near the gods.” And though in Boethlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word *anrita-deva* is explained as signifying a “false player,” this interpretation is afterwards withdrawn (in favour of that which Sāyana gives of this word) at the close of the article on the word *dera*. Nor does the sense assigned by Sāyana to *śiśna-deva* appear to be in itself a very probable one.

<sup>314</sup> Prof. Aufrecht has given me much assistance in translating these two passages

For the epithet "lascivious" would not necessarily be a term of reproach in the mouth of an Indian poet of the Vedic age, when, though the institution of marriage was recognized and honoured, no great amount of reprobation could have been attached to unchastity in the case of men (compare R. V. i. 167, 4; ix. 112, 4, and x. 86, 16, 17). On the other hand, if the word *śiśna-dera* is to be understood of human beings, and if it could be taken as describing any deviation from the contemporaneous Arian worship, it would find many parallels in the Rig-veda, as may be seen by a comparison of the words *akarman*, *aderayu*, *anrich*, *anindra*, *anya-rrata*, *aparrata*, *arrata*, *abrahman*, *ayajran* | "without ceremonies, no worshippers of the gods, without hymns, without Indra, following other rites, averse to rites, without rites, without priests, or prayers, offering no sacrifices," in the passages quoted in the Second Vol. of this work, pp. 374, 375, and 387-391.

It is, however, objected that *śiśna* cannot be taken as equivalent to *linga*, which means a sign, the phallus, and is therefore emblematic, while the *śiśna* denotes not an image, but the male organ itself. *Śiśna* has also the sense of "tail," as in R. V. i. 105, 8, pointed out to me by Professor Aufrecht, where the words *mūsho na śiśnā ryadanti mā ādhyuḥ* mean "cares worry me, like mice gnawing their tails." The word *śiśnadevāḥ*, if understood of demons, may therefore mean, as Roth suggests, "tailed (or priapic) demons," and not "worshippers of the *śiśna*." The same difficulty which we encounter in fixing the meaning of the word *dasyu*, viz. whether it is to be understood of men or demons (see the Second Vol. of this work, pp. 380 ff.; 404 ff.) recurs here. In the first of the passages quoted above (vii. 21, 5) it appears, so long as we are ignorant of the real sense of *śiśna-dera*, that it might be understood either of men or demons, either of whom would have been unwelcome visitors at an Arian ceremonial. Perhaps, as the word *yātavāḥ* (demons) precedes, it is most likely that the latter are intended: and the same remark may be held to apply to the second passage (x. 99, 3).

However interesting, therefore, it would be to find a proof of the existence of a phallic worship among the aboriginal tribes contemporary with the Vedic rishis, it must be confessed that the word *śiśnadeva* does not supply this evidence.

In a passage (in the Preface to the Tenth Vol. of his *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. ix.) which I have adduced in the Second Part of this work (pp. 436 f.),

Signor Gorresio expresses the opinion that the Southern race, whom he supposes to be symbolized under the appellation of Rākshasas, were specially addicted to the worship of "Rudra, or a terrible" and, as he believes, "a Hamitic deity." In note 35 (p. 291 of the same volume) on the destruction of Daxa's sacrifice, he says: "It appears to me that in this fact the struggle of the ancient religions of India is represented under a mythical veil. Siva (a deity, as I believe, of the Cushite or Hamitic tribes which preceded on the soil of India the Arian or Indo-Sanskrit races) wished to have a part in the worship of the conquerors, and in their sacrifices, from which he was excluded; and by disturbing their rites, and by a display of violence at their sacrifices, he succeeded in being admitted to participate in them." Signor Gorresio, however, offers very little proof of this assertion in regard to the worship of Siva being specially prevalent among the savage tribes of the South. In note 116, p. 370, of his Ninth Vol., indeed, he remarks as follows on a passage (*Rāmāyaṇa* vi. 19, 50 f.) where it is said that Indrajit, son of Rāvana, had a golden serpent for his banner: "The serpent was the special symbol in the worship of the Hamite races, and hence therefore Indrajit, the black Rāxasa, the Hamite, sets it up as his banner. Thus in the seventy-eighth chapter of the Sundara Kānda it is said that Indrajit was in the habit of sacrificing especially to Siva, the Hamitic deity, who possesses all the attributes of the Hamitic religion, and who entered into the Indo-Sanskrit Olympus by one of those religious syncretisms of which traces are so frequently to be found in the ancient systems of worship."

The passage of the Sundara Kānda to which Gorresio refers, occurs, in the Calcutta edition, in the seventh section of the Yuddha Kānda, vv. 18 f., as follows:

*Tishṭha tvāṁ kim mahārāja śramena tava rānarān | ayam eko mahārāja Indrajit pramathishyati | anena cha mahārāja Māheśvaram anuttamam | iṣhvā yajñān varo labdho loke parama-durlabhaḥ |* "Stay, great king, what need is there of thy exertions? This one Indrajit will destroy the monkeys. For by him a boon, hard to be gotten, was obtained after he had offered the unequalled sacrifice to Mahādeva."

This passage is not sufficient to prove that Mahādeva was in a special degree the god of the savages of the South. We have already seen (pp. 243 ff.) by the cases of Arjuna, Jayadratha, Paraśurāma, and above all, of Jarāsandha, as recorded in the Mahābhārata, that the worship

of Mahādeva (frequently for the purpose of obtaining some boon) was practised by the warriors of Northern India, just as it is here said to have been by Indrajit. Further, it is not Siva alone whom the Rāxasas worshipped for their own purposes. It appears from the passage of the Rāmāyana (cited above in p. 140) that Rāvana had obtained the gift of invincibility from Brahmā.

The same is related in regard to Atikāya, one of Rāvana's sons, in Rāmāyana vi. 71, 31 f. (Calc. ed.):

*Etenārādhito Brahmā tapasā bhāvitātmanā | astrāṇi chāpy arāptāṇi  
ripavaś cha parājītāḥ | surāsurair abadhyatvāṁ dattam asmai Svayam-  
bhūrā |* By this contemplative (Rāxasa) Brahmā had been worshipped with austerities, and he had obtained weapons, and conquered his enemies. [The privilege] had been bestowed on him by Svayambhū that he should be indestructible by gods or Asuras."

In verse 26 he is described as "reverent to the aged, and an observer of the Vedas" (*vridḍha-servi śruti-dharah*). Rāvana himself is represented in the Rāmāyana as an observer of the Vedic ritual. Thus in Book vi. 93, 58 (Calc. ed.=vi. 72, 62 ff. of Gorr.) his minister, Su-pārśva (Avindhya<sup>319</sup> in Gorr.), who is described as "virtuous and pure," is introduced as saying to him: *Veda-vidyā-rrata-snātās sva-karma-niratas tathā | striyāḥ kasmād badham vīra manyase Rāxaseśvara |* "Why dost thou, heroic Rāvana, lord of the Rāxasas, who art initiated in the knowledge and practices of the Veda, and devoted to thy duty, meditate the slaughter of a woman?" And Vibhishana, in his eulogy on his brother after his death, says (vi. 111, 24, Calc. ed.=vi. 93, 30 of Gorr.): *Esho hitāgnīś<sup>320</sup> cha mahātapūś cha vedānta-gaḥ karmasu chāgrya-  
śurāḥ |* "He had placed the sacrificial fire, was very austere, had read to the end of the Veda, and was eminently heroic in action."<sup>321</sup>

Again, it is related in the hundred and thirteenth section (Calc. ed.), that Rāvana was buried with the usual Brahmanical ceremonies, though the commentator says that the Brahmans who were concerned in them were Rāxasa-brahmans (*Rāxasa-dvijāḥ*).

Rāmāyana vi. 113, vv. 112 ff. (Calc. ed.)—*Chitāṁ ohandana-kāsthaiś*

<sup>319</sup> He is called Avindhya in the Rāmopākhyāna in the Vana-parva of the Mahābhārata also, vv. 16148, 16492-6, and elsewhere.

<sup>320</sup> *Esho hitāgnir ity ārshāḥ sandhiḥ* | Comm.

<sup>321</sup> And yet Vibhishana abuses his dead brother in the hundred and thirteenth section (Calc. ed.), vv. 93 ff.

*cha padmakośira-chandanaiḥ | brāhmaṇyā<sup>322</sup> saṁvarttayāmāsū rāṅkavāstā-  
ranāvritām | prachakrū Rāxasendrasya pitṛimedham anuttamam | vedīṁcha  
daxināprāchi(m?) yathā-sthānañcha pāvakam | priṣhadājyena sampūrṇām  
sruvām skandhe prachixipuh | pādayoḥ śakaṭam prādūd (?) antar ūvor  
udūkhalaṁ | dāru-pātrāni sarvāni aranīm chottarāraṇīm | dattvā tu  
musalaṁ chānyām yathā-sthānaṁ richakramuḥ | sāstra-dṛishṭena vidhinā  
maharshi-vihitena<sup>323</sup> cha | tatra medhyam paśūm hatva Rāxasendrasya  
Rāxasāḥ | paristarānikām<sup>324</sup> rājño ghrītāktām samaveśayan | gandhai  
mālyair alaṅkritya Rāvanām dīna-mānasāḥ | Vibhīshana-sahāyās te vas-  
traiś cha vibidhair api | lājair avakiranti sma vāshpa-pūrṇa-mukhā-  
tadā | sa dadau pāvakaṁ tasya vidhi-yuktaṁ Vibhīshhaṇāḥ | snātv  
chaivārdra-vastrena tilān darbha-vimisritān | udakena cha sammiśrān  
pradāya vidhi-pūrvakam |<sup>325</sup> “They formed, with Vedic rites, a funeral  
pile of faggots of sandalwood, with *padmaka* wood, *uśīra* grass, and  
sandal, and covered with a quilt of deer’s hair. They then performed  
an unrivalled obsequial ceremony for the Rāxasa prince, placing the  
sacrificial ground to the S.E. and the fire in the proper situation. They  
cast the ladle filled with curds and ghee on the shoulder<sup>326</sup> (of the  
deceased); he (?) placed the car on the feet, and the mortar between  
the thighs. Having deposited all the wooden vessels, the [upper] and*

<sup>322</sup> *Veda-mārgānugata-kriyayā* | Comm.

<sup>323</sup> *Kalpa-sūtra-krid-rishi-vihitena* | Comm.

<sup>324</sup> *Paristarāyata mukham anayā iti paristarānikā vapā* | tām rāxasendrasya mukho  
samaveśayan | “*vapā* ‘sya mukham prastīrnoti” iti sūtrāt | Comm.; who seems  
therefore to understand *paristarānikā* of fat (see Müller as cited in the article referred  
to in note 325). The commentator, however, gives also another reading and explana-  
tion which the reader may consult for himself.

<sup>325</sup> I insert here part of Gorresio’s text for comparison (vi. 96, 10 ff.): *Tatas te*  
*veda-vidvān̄as tām rājñāḥ paśchimām kriyām* | *chakrire rāxasendrasya pretā-*  
*medham anuttamam* | *vedīñcha daxiṇā-prāchyām yathā-sthānaṁ cha pāvakam* |  
*Vibhīshayas tu samprāpya tūshṇīm samasrijat sruvām* | *priṣhadājyasya sampūrṇām*  
*sruvān sarvān yathāvidhi* | *Rāvanasya tadā sarve vāshpa-pūrṇa-mukhā dvijāḥ* |  
*pādayoḥ śakaṭam chakrur antarorāv udūkhalaṁ* | *vānaspatyāni chānyāni antare ‘pi*  
*ryadāhāpayan* | *dattvā tu mushalaṁ chaiva yathāsthānam mahūtmanāḥ* | *sāstra-*  
*dṛishṭena vidhinā maharshi-vihitena cha* | *tataḥ paśchāt paśūm hatvā rāxasendrasya*  
*rāxasāḥ* | *athāstarānikām sarvām ghrītāktām samaveśayan* |

<sup>326</sup> “According to Āpastamba (says the commentator) it should have been placed  
on the nose; this must therefore have been done in conformity with some other  
sūtras” (*yadyapi “nāsike sruvām” ity Āpastambenoktaṁ tathāpi sūtrāntarāt skandha-*  
*panīxepah sruvasya bodhyāḥ*). Compare Professor Müller’s article on the funeral  
ceremonies of the Brahmins in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for  
1855, pp. vi. ff.

lower firewood (*arani*), and the other pestle, in their proper places, they departed. The Rāxasas having then slain a victim to their prince in the manner prescribed in the Sāstras, and enjoined by great rishis, cast [into the fire] the coverlet of the king saturated with ghee. They then, Vibhīshana included, with afflicted hearts, adorned Rāvana with perfumes and garlands, and with various vestments, and besprinkled him with fried grain. Vibhīshana having bathed, and having, with his clothes wet, scattered in proper form *tila* seeds mixed with *darbha* grass, and moistened with water, applied the fire [to the pile].”<sup>327</sup>

Gorresio remarks (note 94, p. 310, vol. x) that the funeral rites of the Arian Brahmans are here introduced as practised among the Rāxasas, a race of different origin and worship, in the same way as Homer represents Grecian ceremonies as having been celebrated in Troy.

Nor does it appear that in the rites described in the following passage (of Gorresio’s edition) which are said to have been performed by Indrajit, the son of Rāvana, there is anything, except the “Rāxasa texts,” contrary to Brahmanical usages. As, however, the commentator (in the Calc. ed) in his note on another passage, represents the worship at the *Nikumbhilā* as being offered to Kāli, and as the description is of some interest, I will quote it at length :<sup>328</sup>

<sup>327</sup> On this whole passage the commentator remarks : “*Tatyajus tam mahābhāgam pañcha-bhūtāni Rāvanam | sarīra-dhātavo hy asya māṁsa-tvag-rudhirūsu cha | brahmāstra-nirdagdhasya* (sic) *na cha bhasmāpy adrisyata*” iti Mahābhāratoktatrena karya Vālmīkinā īmaśānānayana-pūrvaka-dāha uktah iti chenna | *tasya Rāma-vāṇa-varṇana-vishaye ‘tyukty-alankāra-paratvād iti vadati* | “Since it is said in the Mahābhārata (Rāmopākhyāna, in Vana-parva 16529 f., where the readings differ somewhat from those here given) that ‘the five elements and the constituents of his body, flesh, skin, blood, and breath, forsook the great Rāvana, when he was burnt up by the divine weapon (*brahmāstra*), and not even any ashes were seen;—who is it that is here alleged by Vālmīki to have been brought to the cemetery and then burnt? If any one raises this objection, I deny that there is any difficulty, as in the description of Rāma’s arrow the Mahābhārata makes use of ornament and exaggeration.”

<sup>328</sup> The Calcutta edition gives the first verse and the first half of the second nearly as they stand in Gorresio’s edition, and the second half of the second, with its sequel, as follows : *Brahma-datta-varo vīro Rāvanih krodha-mūrchihitah | adrīyo nīśitān vāṇān mumochāsani-sannibhān* | “The son of Rāvana, to whom a boon had been given by Brahmā, mad with rage, discharged sharp arrows, piercing as lightnings.” No mention is made of the sacrifice in the Calcutta text. In Rāmāyana, book v. sect. 24 (Calc. ed.), it is related that the female Rāxasas had been threatening Sīta after her capture by Rāvana, because she would not yield to his desires, and one of

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 38 ff. (Gorr.).—*Indrajit tu tatas tena sañyuge*  
*'dbhuta-kārinā | nirjito Bāli-putreṇa krodhaṁ ohakre sudāruṇam | so*  
*'ntardhāna-gataḥ pāpo Rāvaṇī rāṇa-karkaśaḥ | nikumbhilāyām ridhi-rat*  
*Pāvakaṁ juhuve 'stra-vit | juhvatas tasya tatrāgnau raktosñiṣhāmbara-*  
*rajaḥ | ājahrus tatra sambhrāntā Rāxasā yatra Rāvaṇīḥ | śastrāṇi śita-*  
*dhārāṇi samidho 'tha vibhītakan | lohitāni cha vāsānīsi srūvaṁ kārshāya-*  
*sām tataḥ | sarvato 'gniṁ samāstīryya śaraiḥ sa-prāsa-tomaraiḥ | chhāgala-*  
*syāpi kṛishṇasya kaṇṭhād ādāya jīvataḥ | sonītaṁ tena vidhīrat sa juhāra*  
*raṇotrukāḥ | sakrid era samiddhasyū vidhūmasya mahārchiṣhāḥ | babhūruh*  
*sañinimittāni vijayaṁ yāny avedayan | pradaxināvartta-śikhas tapta-*  
*hāṭaka-sannibhaḥ | havis tat pratijagrāha Pārakah sravay utthītaḥ |*  
*tato 'gnimadhyād uttasthau kāṇchanaḥ syandanottamāḥ | chaturbhīḥ kāñ-*  
*chanāpīḍair aśvair yuktaḥ prabhadrakaiḥ | antardhāna-gataḥ śrīmān*  
*dīpta-pāvaka-saprabhaḥ | huṭāgnim turpayitrā cha daitya-dānava-rāxa-*  
*sān | vāchayitvā tataḥ srasti prayuktāśīr drijāti�hīḥ | āruroha rathām*  
*śreshṭham antar-dhāna-charaṇ śubham | sra-raśyair vājibhir yuktaṁ*  
*śastraīś cha viridhair yutam . . . 50. Jāmbūnadamayo nāgas taruṇāditya-*  
*sannibhaḥ | babhūrendrajiṭaḥ ketur vaidūryyya-samalan̄kṛitaḥ | Hutrā*  
*'gniṁ Rāxasair mantrais tato rachunam abravīt |*

“ But Indrajit, being conquered in the conflict by the miracle-working son of Bāli, became inflamed with terrific anger. This wicked son of Rāvaṇa, fierce in battle, having become invisible, made an oblation to Pāvaka (Fire) in due form, on the sacrificial ground. When he was there throwing his oblation into the fire, wearing a red turban, gar-

them, Sūrpanakhā, acceding to a proposal to eat her, says (v. 46 ff.) *Surā chāñiyā-*  
*tām xiप्राम् sarra-śoka-viñāsiu | mānusham māñusam ūsvādyā nrityāmō 'tha nikum-*  
*bhilām |* “And let wine be quickly brought, which annihilates all griefs. Enjoying  
 human flesh, let us dance at the Nikumbhilā.” The comment on this passage states  
 that the *Nikumbhilā* was an image of Bhadrakālī on the west side of Laṅkā (*Nikum-*  
*bhilā nāma Laṅkāyāḥ paśchima-bhāga-varttimi Bhadrakālī | tām nrityāmāḥ tat-sani-*  
*paṁ gatrā nrityāmāḥ*). In the Uttara Kānda (sect. 30, v. 2) we are told that Rāvana,  
 with his attendants, entered “the Nikumbhilā, a grove in Laṅkā” (*tato nīkumbhilā*  
*nāma Laṅkopavamam uttamam*). The commentator says it was “a wood situated at  
 the western gate of Laṅkā for the performance of rites” (*Laṅkā-paśchima-dvara-*  
*desa-vartti-karma-siddhi-hetu-bhutañ-kānanam |*). His son Indrajit, with the aid  
 of the Brahman Uśanas, had been celebrating there the seven sacrifices, the *agniṣṭoma*,  
*āśvamedha*, *rājasūya*, *gomedha* (cow-sacrifice), the *Vaishyāra* ceremonial, etc. When  
 he had performed the *Māheśvara* offering, he obtained boons from Mahādeva, who  
 appeared to him. This is the ceremony alluded to above, in p. 349. But he had  
 also been performing the *Vaishṇava* rite.

ments, and garland, the reverent Rāxasas brought thither sharp-edged weapons, logs of wood, and myrobalan, blood-red vestments, and a ladle of black iron. Having heaped the fire all over with arrows, darts, and iron maces, and having drawn blood from the throat of a live black goat, he offered it as an oblation, being eager for battle. At the same time there appeared from the brightly-burning and smokeless fire omens which portended victory. Pāvaka himself rising with his flame sweeping round to the right, and luminous as refined gold, received the oblation. Then from the midst of the fire there arose a magnificent golden chariot, drawn by four lucky horses with golden head-ornaments. The glorious [Indrajit], lustrous as burning fire, becoming invisible, having satiated the sacrificial fire, the Daityas, Dānavas, and Rāxasas, having caused a benediction (*svasti*) to be pronounced, and been blessed by the Brahmans, ascended the beautiful chariot, drawn by self-directed horses, and furnished with various weapons. . . . . 50. A golden serpent, bright as the rising sun, and adorned with *lapis lazuli*, formed the banner of Indrajit. Having made an oblation to Fire with Rāxasa texts, he then spake," etc.

The ceremony of Indrajit is again alluded to by Vibhishana in vi. 84, 14 ff. (Calc. ed.—vi. 63, 13 of Gorr. ed.):

*Chaityūm nikumbhilām adya prāpya homām karishyati | Itutarān upayāto hi derair api sa-rāsaraīḥ | durādharsho bharaty esha saṅgrāme Rāvanātmajāḥ | . . . . 16. Sa-sainyās tatra gachhāmo yārat tanna samāpyate | . . . . 23. Samāpta-harmā hi sa Rāxasarshabho bharaty adrisyāḥ samare surāsuraiḥ | yugutsatā tena samāpta-karmanā bhavet surāṇām api saṁśayo mahān | "Having to-day resorted to the sacrificial ground, he will offer an oblation (*homa*). When he approaches after making this offering, this son of Rāvana is invincible by gods and Vāsavas. . . . . 16. Let us go thither with our hosts before that ceremony is completed. . . . . 23. For when he has accomplished his rite,<sup>320</sup> that prince of the Rāxasas becomes invisible by either gods or Asuras in battle; and even the gods would hesitate to encounter him if he desired to fight."*

In the following section Vibhishana returns to the subject (vi. 85, 12, Calc. ed.—vi. 64, 11 of Gorr.):

*Tena vireṇa tapasā vara-dānāt srayambhuvaḥ | astram brahma-śirāḥ*

<sup>320</sup> It is related in the Uttara Kānda 35, 12 ff., that after his victory over Indra, Indrajit asked, and obtained, this boon as the condition of releasing his captive foe.

*prāptaṁ kāmagāś cha turangamāḥ | sa esha saha sainyena prāptaḥ kila  
nikumbhilām | yady uttishtet kṛitam karma kātān sarvāṁś cha viddhi  
naḥ | nikumbhilām asamprāptam akṛitāgnīm cha yo ripuḥ | trām ātātā-  
yinaḥ hanyāt Indraśat्रo sa te badhaḥ |* “This hero has obtained through  
austerity, and by the gift of Svayambhū, a weapon called *brahmaśiras*,  
and horses that go according to his will. He with his army has  
reached the sacrificial ground. If he rises after completing his cere-  
mony you may regard us all as destroyed. But if any foe slays thee,  
thou cruel tyrant (Indrajit), before thou hast reached that ground,<sup>330</sup>  
and kindled the fire, this, o enemy of Indra, is the manner of thy  
death,” etc.

It is related in the following section (86, 14 f., Calc. ed.=65, 12  
Gorr.) that they arrived before his rite had been completed :

*Seam anīkaṁ rishannām tu dṛishṭrā śatrubhir arditam | udatishtata  
durdharshah sa karmāṇy ananuṣṭhite | rrīxāndhakārād nirgamyā jāta-  
krodhah sa Rāvaṇih | ityādi |* “Hearing that his army was harassed by  
their enemies, and dispirited, the irresistible (Rāxasa) arose while his  
ceremony was unaccomplished. Issuing forth from the gloom of the  
tree, the son of Rāvaṇa, incensed, mounted his chariot,” etc.

Again, in a passage of the Sundara Kānda, or Fifth Book, vv. 12  
ff. (only found in Gorresio's, not in the Calc. ed.), which forms the  
sequel to the one given above, p. 310, Mahādeva is represented as  
receiving Vibhīṣhaṇa with favour, after he had deserted his brother  
Rāvaṇa. Now if the author of the poem had intended to represent  
Śiva as an especial object of adoration to the Rāxasas, he might have  
been expected to have described this deity as repaying their worship  
with an especial favour and affection ; but it is inconsistent with this  
that he should represent Śiva as receiving favourably a deserter from  
the Rāxasa camp.

<sup>330</sup> Explained by the commentator as *nikumbhilām tad-yāga-bhūnim malākallī-  
zetrām tad-ākhya-nyagrodha-mūla-rūpam* | “that sacrificial ground, the sacred pre-  
cinct of the great Kūlī—viz., the root of the nyagrodha tree so called.” This tree  
is mentioned in vi. 87, 1 ff., Calc. ed. (=vi. 66, 2, Gorr. ed.). . . . . *pravīsyā tu  
mahād vanam | adariṣyā tat-karṇa Laxmanāya Viśhīṣhanāḥ | nila-jīmūta-saṅkū-  
śām nyagrodham bhīmadarśanam | tejasvī Rāraṇa-bhrātā Laxmanāya nyavedayat |  
iṣopahāram bhūtānām balavān Rāvaṇātmaṇah | upaṛitiya tataḥ paēchāt saṅgrāmam  
abhiwartate | adriṣyāt sarva-bhūtānām tato bhavati Rāzaṣaḥ | nihanti cha rāṇe  
ēatrūn badhnāti cha sarottamaīḥ | tam apravīṣṭam nyagrodham inam tvām Rāvaṇ-  
ātmajam | vidhvāṁsaya tārais tixnair ityādi |*

There is a section (the forty-first) of the Yudha Kānda, or Sixth Book (which, however, is to be found only in Gorresio's ed.), wherein Rāvaṇa defies Vishṇu at great length. But I do not consider this as any proof that the poet intended to attribute to the speaker any especial hostility to Vishṇu's worship (particularly as Indra, Siva, and Brahmā are also slightly spoken of), but rather as a demonstration called forth by the poetical necessities of the argument. If the poet represented Rāma as the incarnation of Vishṇu, it was of course necessary to make the arrogant Rāvaṇa defy him. The fact is, that the traits ascribed to the Rāxasas in the Rāmāyaṇa must be regarded as poetical far more than historical. The poet assigns to his personages such characteristics as he considered at the moment to be most conducive to the interest, and effective with a view to the action, of his poem. These characteristics are sometimes absolutely contradictory, as when Rāvaṇa is described both as an observer of the Vedas and at the same time as a persecutor of Brahmans and polluter of their sacrifices. I do not therefore see that the Rāmāyaṇa supplies any grounds for regarding the non-Arian tribes of Southern India as being especially addicted to the worship of Siva:<sup>331</sup>

SECT. VIII.—*The earlier and later representations of Umā, the wife of Siva.*

We have already seen (p. 267) that in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (3, 57) Ambikā, who at a later period is identified with the wife of Rudra, is declared to be his sister.

The earliest work, as far as I am aware, in which the name of Umā occurs, is the Talavakāra or Kena Upanishad. In the third section of that Treatise (see Dr. Roer's translation in the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. xv. p. 83 ff.) it is mentioned that on one occasion Brahma gained a victory for the gods. As, however, they were disposed to ascribe the credit of their success to themselves, Brahma appeared for the purpose

<sup>331</sup> It is also related in the Uttara Kānda of the Rāmāyaṇa (sections 4–8, of which I shall give the substance in the Appendix) that a Rāxasa named Sukeśa had formerly received a boon from Mahādeva and Pārvatī, and that his three sons, the lords of Lankā, had made an attack upon the gods, but had been driven back and defeated by Vishṇu, and compelled to take refuge in Pātāla. But neither does this, nor even the Linga-worship attributed to Rāvaṇa in the Uttara Kānda 36, 42 f., suffice to prove any special adoration of Siva among the southern races.

of disabusing them of their mistake. The gods did not know him and commissioned first Agni, and then Vāyu, to ascertain who this object of veneration was. When, in answer to Brahma's enquiry, these two gods represented themselves, the one as having the power to burn, and the other as able to blow away, anything whatever, he desired them to burn and to blow away, respectively, a blade of grass; but they were unable to do this, and returned without ascertaining who he was. Indra was then commissioned (Kena Up. iii. 11, 12; and iv. 1, 2): *Atha Indram abruvan* “*Maghavann etad vijānīhi kim etad yaxam*” iti | “*tathā*” iti *tud abhyadravarat tasmāt tirodadhe* | 12. *Sa tasminn evākāśe striyam ājagāma bahu* *sobhamānām Umām Haimavatī* | *tām hovācha kim etad yaxam* iti | iv. 1. *Sā Brahmeti hovācha Brahmano vā etad-vijaye mahīyadvam* iti | *tato haira vidāñchakāra Brahmeti* | “They then said to Indra, ‘Maghavan, ascertain what this object of adoration is.’ He replied, ‘So be it;’ and approached that being, who vanished from him. In that sky he came to a woman who was very resplendent, Umā Haimavatī. To her he said, ‘What is this object of adoration?’ She said, ‘It is Brahma. In this victory of Brahma, ye became exalted.’ By this he knew Brahma.”<sup>332</sup>

In his remarks<sup>333</sup> on this passage of the Kena Upanishad (Ind. Stud. ii. 186 ff.) Weber supplies an interesting and ingenious contribution to the mythological history of Umā. He says: “The representation in sections 3 and 4 indicates that the Kena Upanishad was produced at a time when,—in place of the three principal gods, Agni, Vāyu, and

<sup>332</sup> This is explained by the commentator: *Tasyendrasya yaxre bhaktim buddhvā Vidyā Umā-rūpiṇī prādūrābhūt strī-rūpā* | *sa Indras tām Umām bahu* *sobhamānām sarveshānām hi* *sobhamānānām sobhanatamānām* *Vidyām tada bahu* *sobhanānām* iti *viśeshanām upapannam bhavati* | *Haimavatīn hema-kṛitābharaṇavatīm* iva *bahu* *sobhamānām* *ityarthah* | *atharāvā Umāva* *Himavat* *duhitī* *Haimavatī* *nityam* *eva* *sarvajñena* *Īsvareṇa saha varttate* iti *jñātum samarthā* iti *kṛitvā tām upājagāma* *Indras tām* *ha Umām kilovācha paprachha* *kim etad darśayitvā tirobhūtam yaxam* | “Knowing Indra's devotion to this object of adoration, Knowledge, in the form of a woman, Umā, appeared. Indra [came] to her who was very resplendent, to Knowledge who is the most resplendent of all the resplendent beings, and whose epithet ‘very resplendent’ is then established. ‘Haimavatī’ means that she was very resplendent like a female with ornaments made of gold. Or, it was Umā Haimavatī, the daughter of Himavat, who from continually dwelling with the omniscient Īsvāra (Mahādeva) is able to know. Thus Indra approached Umā, and said to her, ‘What is this object of adoration which appeared and vanished?’”

<sup>333</sup> Already translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 84 ff.).

Sūrya,<sup>334</sup> who had come to be regarded as the representatives of the divine principle on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven,—Agni, Vāyu, and Indra were regarded as such. These are properly only two, since Indra is essentially identical with Vāyu. Though I have found numerous examples of the first triad, especially in the two Yajur-vedas, I have noticed only one other of the second triad, which is properly only a duad, viz. in the Rik-text of the Purusha Sukta (R. V. x. 99, 13). Nor am I able to give a satisfactory explanation of it. On the other hand, the totality of the divine was already comprehended in Brahma (neuter), and it is the object of the legend here to make clear and to enforce the supremacy of Brahma over all temporary divine manifestations, and even over the triad of such.'

"But how shall we explain the position of Umā Haimavatī, who comes forward as mediatrix between the eternal Brahmā and the gods? According to Sankara, she is Vidyā (knowledge) who appears Umārupinī (in the form of Umā) to Indra. The same explanation is found in Sāyana, who (on Taitt. Ār. x. 1, 150) when interpreting the word *soma*, cites this passage, and remarks : *Himavat-putryā Gauryyā brahma-vidyābhīmāni-rūpatrād Guuri-vāchaka Umā-śabho brahma-vidyām upalaxayati | ata eva Talavakāropanishadi brahma-vidyā-mūrtti-prastāre brahma-vidyā-mūrttih pathyate "bahu śobhamānām Umām Haimavatīm tām hovācha" iti | tad-vishayah tayā Umāyā saha varttamānatvāt Somaḥ |* "Since Gaurī, the daughter of Himavat, is the impersonation of divine knowledge, the word Umā, which denotes Gaurī, indicates divine knowledge. Hence in the Talavakāra Upanishad, in the passage on the impersonation of divine knowledge, the impersonation of divine knowledge is introduced in these words: 'He said to the very resplendent Umā Haimavatī.' Soma is he who has reference to her from his existing together with her. And again in the same commentary on Anuvāka 38, it is said: *Umā brahma-vidyā tayā saha varttamāna Soma paramātman |* 'Umā is divine knowledge: thou who existest with her, o Soma, supreme spirit,' etc. Further in the same commentary on Anuvāka 18, in explanation of the term *Ambikā-pataye*, we have the words: *Ambikā jaganmātā Pārvatī tasyāḥ bhartre |* 'Ambikā is Pārvatī, the mother of the world,—to her husband,' etc.; and the word *Umāpataye* (which stands in the Draviḍa, but not in the Āndhra, text

<sup>334</sup> See above, p. 134.

of the Taitt. Âr.) is thus interpreted: *Tasyā eva brahma-vidyātmako deha Umā-śabdenochyate tasyāḥ svāmine* | ‘Her (Ambikā’s) body representing divine knowledge is designated by the word Umā—to her (Uma’s) husband,’ etc. This last passage is the only one in the circle of the Vedic writings in which,—with the exception of that in the Kena Upanishad,—I have as yet directly met with the name Umā; for the expression *Umā-sahāya* in the Kaivalya Upanishad (see above, p. 304) no longer belongs to the Vedic period; and further, though the Commentaries in other places also<sup>335</sup> explain *soma* by *Umayā sahitā*, ‘accompanied by Umā’ (as Sāyaṇa has done in the passage above cited), such an interpretation is just as groundless as in the texts commented on by Sāyaṇa, where the word signifies simply the Soma-libation. From the considerations just stated, therefore (*i.e.* partly from the unanimity of the Commentaries, and partly from the very position which Umā here assumes in the Kena Upanishad), the signification of this word might seem to be fixed with tolerable certainty as denoting *brahma-vidyā*, ‘divine knowledge,’ and Umā might appear to be directly related to Sarasvatī, the divine word, and we might even be tempted to bring her into etymological connection with the sacred word *om*. There are, however, some additional points which seem to place the original signification of Umā in quite a different light. First of all, why is she called Haimavatī? What has she to do with Himavat? Is it that the *brahma-vidyā* (divine knowledge) came originally from the Himavat to the Arians dwelling in Madhyadeśa (the central region of Hindustan)? We have learnt from the Kaushitakī Brāhmaṇa (Ind. Stud. i. 153) that the north of India was distinguished by greater purity of speech, and that students travelled thither to learn the language (*vāchañ śixitum*) and on their return thence enjoyed great consideration and authority. Now it would have been quite natural if this state of things had not been confined to language, but had become extended to speculation also, and if the knowledge of the one, eternal Brahma, had been sooner attained in the peaceful vallies of the Himalaya, than was possible for men living in Madhyadeśa, where their minds were more occupied by the practical concerns of life. Such a view of Umā Haimavatī appears to me, however, to be very hazardous. For,—not to say that

<sup>335</sup> e.g. Mahidhara on Vaj. S. 16, 39, and Bhatṭa Bhāskara Miśra on the corresponding part of the Taitt. Saṅhitā.

in our explanations of the ancient Indian deities we act wisely when we attach greater importance to the physical than to the speculative element,—we are by no means certain that Umā actually does signify divine knowledge (*brahma-vidyā*); and moreover, her subsequent position as Rudra's wife (in the Taitt. Ār.) would thus be quite inexplicable. Now there is among the epithets of this latter goddess a similar one, viz. Pārvatī, which would lead us in interpreting the word Haimavatī, to place the emphasis not upon the *Himavat*, but upon the mountain (*parvata*): and with this I might connect the epithets of Rudra which we have learnt from the Satarudriya (see above, p. 268), *Giriśa*, *Giriśanta*, *Giriśaya*, *Giritra*, in which we recognize the germ of the conception of Siva's dwelling on Kailāsa. He is the tempest, which rages in the mountains, and his wife is therefore properly called Pārvatī, Haimavatī, 'the mountaineer,' 'the daughter of Himavat.' At the same time it is not clear what we have to understand by his wife;<sup>336</sup> and further she is, perhaps, originally not his wife, but his sister, for Umā and Ambikā are at a later period evidently identical, and Ambikā is Rudra's sister (Ind. Stud. i. 183). Besides, this identification of Umā with Ambikā leads us to a new etymology of the former. For as Ambikā, 'mother,' appears to be merely an euphemistic and flattering epithet, employed to propitiate the cruel goddess (see Mahidhara on Vaj. S. 3, 5,—just as Rudra was called Siva), in the same way it appears that we must derive Umā from the root *u*, *uv*, 'to protect.' It

<sup>336</sup> Indian mythology, however, assigns wives to the gods, without always, or even generally, ascribing to the wives any specific cosmical function. Weber adds in a note: "Does she perhaps denote the streams and torrents, poured forth by Rudra, the Storm, from the mountains and clouds? and does the name Ambikā stand in direct relation thereto? In the same way Sarasvatī also, the goddess of streams and of speech, is called Ambitamā, is addressed with the word 'Ambe,' and is said to be 'produced on the highest peak on the mountain top' (*uttame śikhare jātā pareata-mūrdhani*). According to this view, Umā and Sarasvatī, Ambikā and Ambitamā, Pārvatī and the *parvata-mūrdhani jātā*, would perhaps have been originally identical, and have only become gradually separated, in such a way that in the one the violent and destructive energy of nature had become concentrated, and in the other the harmonious music of the streaming waters? And should we thus have to seek in the Umā of the Kena Upanishad and, on the other hand, in the Varadā of the Taitt. Ar. two examples of the original identity of both? Kuhn, at least, as he has informed me, holds Ambikā to be decidedly identical with Sarasvatī." [Is not a certain confirmation of this supposed original connection of Umā and Sarasvatī to be found in the fact that in the mythology of the Rāmā�ana i. 36, 13 (quoted below in p. 366) Umā is the younger, while the river Gangā is the elder daughter of Himavat?—J. M.]

is true that a final vowel before *ma* commonly takes *guna*, or is lengthened, but the words *sīma* and *hma* shew that this is not necessary, and the name of Rūmā is perhaps (unless we derive it from *ram*) a perfectly analogous formation. It certainly remains a mystery how we are to conceive the cruel wife of Rudra coming forward here in the Kena Upanishad as the mediatrix between the supreme Brahma and Indra, for on that supposition this Upanishad would have to be referred to a period when her husband, Rudra, was regarded as the highest god, the Iśvara, and thus also as Brahma; *i.e.* it would belong to the period of some Saiva sect. But since this remains questionable and improbable, we must first of all hold to the view that the conception entertained by the commentators of Umā as representing ‘divine knowledge’ rests solely upon this passage of the Kena Upanishad, unless indeed the original identity of Umā with Sarasvatī, which in the last note was regarded as possible, is here again visible.

“I consider the present opportunity a favourable one for speaking of some other names of Siva’s spouse. As in Siva, first of all two gods, Agni and Rudra, are combined, so too his wife is to be regarded as a compound of several divine forms,<sup>337</sup> and this becomes quite evident if we look over the mass of her epithets. While one set of these, as Umā, Ambikā, Pārvatī, Haimavatī, belong to the wife of Rudra, others, as Kālī, Karālī (see Ind. Stud. i. 287) carry us back to the wife of Agni, while Gaurī and others perhaps refer to Nirṛiti, the goddess of all evil.

“The Tenth Book of the Taittirīya Aranyaka, in which she is several times invoked under different names, is particularly important for a knowledge of her character. The principal passage in which these invocations occur has been already noticed above (Ind. Stud. i. pp. 75 and 228<sup>338</sup>). It is, like the prayers which precede it, an imitation of

<sup>337</sup> “The most remarkable instance of this is to be found in Mahābhārata iv. 178 ff., in the hymn of Yudhiṣṭhīra to Durgā, where he calls her *Yaśodā*, *Krishnā*, ‘born in the cowherd family of Nanda,’ ‘sister of Vīśudeva,’ ‘enemy of Kansa,’ and ‘having the same features as Sankarshana,’ etc. etc. However late the date of this hymn may be, it is still in the highest degree remarkable.”

<sup>338</sup> In the first of these passages (Ind. Stud. i. 75) the author remarks that the Nārāyaṇīya Upanishad (the part of the Taitt. Ar. in which the verse in question occurs) is also found among the Upanishads of the Atharva-veda, “but with remarkable variations, which indicate a later period. Thus the words quoted above according to the reading in the Taitt. Ar., viz. *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyākumāriṁ*

the Gāyatrī, and runs thus: *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyakumāri*<sup>339</sup> *dhīmahi | tan no Durgih prachodayāt |* “We think on Kātyāyana (nī?) and meditate on Kanyakumāri; may Durgi advance us.”

. . . Now it is certainly difficult grammatically to find in this text the sense which Sāyaṇa puts into it,<sup>340</sup> and which must have been traditionally connected with it, as that sense is the basis of the modification of the passage as found in the Atharva collection of Upanishads. All the other gods who are invoked are male—viz., Rudra, Mahādeva, Danti, Nandi, Shaṅmukha, Garuḍa, Brahman, Viṣṇu, Nārasinha, Aditya, Agni; and it must therefore surprise us if we are to regard the twelfth deity as feminine, especially as the form is masculine. On the other hand, the sense of the words seems to compel us to adopt the traditional explanation. . . . . Moreover, Kātyāyanī, Kanyākumārī, and Durgū, are already well known to us as names of Siva’s consort: and, indeed, they all appear to carry us back to the flame of fire. It is true that as regards Kātyāyanī this is somewhat difficult; though when we consider the great importance of the Kātya family in reference to the sacrificial system of the Brahmans, it does not seem very improbable that a particular kind of fire, which perhaps was introduced by one of

*dhīmahi tan no Durgih prachodayāt*, are, in the Upanishad as it is given in the Atharva collection, changed into *Kātyāyanāyai vidmahe Kanyākumārīñ dhīmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |* This agrees with the sense which Sāyaṇa, in his interpretation, puts on the words.” In the passage of the Linga Purāṇa ii. 48, of which the commencement is given in the Third Vol. of this work, p. 161, this invocation of Durgā occurs as follows in verse 26. *Kātyāyanāyai vidmahe Kanyākumārīñ yai dhīmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |*

<sup>339</sup> The author observes here that in Ind. Stud. i. 75, he had incorrectly given *Kanyakumarīm* as the proper reading.

<sup>340</sup> Sāyaṇa’s interpretation, as given by Weber i. 228, note, and here, is as follows: *Paschād Durgā-gāyatrī | “Hema-prakhyām indu-khaṇḍīṇka-maulim” ity āgama-prasiddha-mūrtti-dharāñ Durgām prārthayate “Kātyāyanāya” iti | kṛitiṁ vaste iti Kātyo Rudrah | . . . sa evayānam adhiṣṭhānam yasyāḥ sā Kātyāyanī athavā Kātyasya rishi-viseshasya apatyām Kātyah | . . . . Kutsitam anishtam mūrayati iti kumārī kanyā dīpyamānā chāsau kumārī cha Kanyakumārī | Durgih Durgā | lip-gādi-vyatayāḥ savatra chhāndaso drashṭavyāḥ | . . . .* “Then follows Durgā’s gayatrī. In the words ‘Kātyāyanāya,’ etc., he supplicates Durgā, bearing the form celebrated in the sāstras ‘as having for a diadem the ornament of a section of the moon.’ Rudra is Kātya, he who wears a skin . . . and Kātyāyani is she whose path, support, is Kātya. Or, Kātya is the offspring of Kata, a particular rishi. . . . Kumārī is she who destroys what is bad, undesirable. She who is both Kanyā, ‘shining,’ and Kumārī, is Kanyakumārī. Durgi is Durgā. Diversity in forms is to be seen everywhere in the Vedas.

the Kātyas, was called after him, and that this name was then associated with Kālī, Karālī, and Durgā, which are originally mere appellations of fire. *Kunyākumāri*, or ‘the maidenly,’ is a very fitting epithet of the holy, pure, sacrificial flame; and even at the time of the Periplus, i.e. of Pliny, we find her worship extended to the southernmost point of India, to the Cape which was then, as now, called after her Cape Comorin: but does it not appear that she was then no longer worshipped as the sacrificial flame, but as the wife of Siva? The hymn to Agni in the second anuvāka of the Taitt. Ār. (Andhra recension) seems pretty decisive in favour of our connecting *Durgā* with the sacrificial fire. “It is there said<sup>341</sup> in the second verse: *Tām agnivarṇāṁ tapasā jvalantīṁ vairochanīṁ karma-phaleshu jushṭām | Durgāṁ devīṁ śaranāṁ aham prapadye sutarasi turase namah* | (“I seek as my refuge the goddess Durgā, who is of the colour of fire, burning with austerity (or heat), daughter of the sun (or of fire), who delights to [bestow?] the rewards of rites: adoration be to thy energy, o impetuous [goddess]”). The five following verses repeat (as does also the *Durgā-ślava* in the Pariśiṣṭā) the same thought, which is also expressed in R. V. i. 99,<sup>342</sup> that Agni would help the suppliant over all *durga* and *durita* (difficulties and evils). Verse second could certainly be understood as if the worshipper turned to the personified *Durgati* (Evil) herself, and sought her protection, so that thus Durgā would have arisen out of Nirṛiti. But it appears to me better to understand the passage of the violent flame of the fire, which, like the fire itself, delivers, atones, and frees from all *durga* and *durita*, is a *durgā*, a protecting fortress, against them; so that this name would belong to the same class as Ambikā, Siva, Umā. If at a later period Durgā decidedly appears to have taken the place of the evil goddess Nirṛiti, this is no proof that the case was so from the beginning, but only shews that the original signification had been lost; which is in so far quite natural, as the consort of Siva bore a terrific character both from her connection with Rudra and also with Agni (compare Karālī).

“The last name of Siva’s consort which I find in the Taittirīya

<sup>341</sup> “This verse is also found in the *Durgā-ślava* of the *Rātripariśiṣṭā* between the fourteenth and fifteenth divisions of the seventh section of the eighth Ashtaka of the R. V” (i.e. between Maṇḍala x. 127 and 128). See note in the Appendix.

<sup>342</sup> This verse is as follows: *Jātavedase sunavāma somam arātiyato nidadāti vedah | sa nah parshad ati durgāṇi viśvā nāveva sindhum duritā 'ti Agnih |*

Āranyaka x. is Varadā, in anuv. 34 (=Drāv. 26) and 36 (=Drāv. 30). It is true that there it appears rather to be the name of Sarasvatī, not of Durgā, when it is said : *Āyatū varadā devī axaram brahma-sammītam | gāyatrīm chandasām mātā idam (?) brahma jushasva me | . . . saravarne mahādevi sandhyā-vidye Sarasvatī |*<sup>343</sup> But the words in anuv. 36 are not so clear : *Uttame śikhare jātā bhūmyām parrata-mūrdhani | brāhmaṇebhyo 'bhyanujñatā gachha devi yathāsukham | stuto (==stutā u) mayā varadā reda-mātā prachodayantī parane dvijātā,*<sup>344</sup> etc.; where especially the first strophe reminds us of Pārvatī and Haimavatī, and one does not rightly comprehend how Sarasvatī obtains such an epithet (unless we are to understand the waters streaming from the hills, since Sarasvatī is, as is well known, at once a river goddess and the goddess of speech). In the same way the names Mahādevī and Sandhyāvidyā (see Wilson under Sandhyā) belong at a later period exclusively to the consort of Śiva. The other names, however, *sarva-varṇā, chandasām mātā, reda-mātā*, and finally *Sarasvatī* itself conduct us to Sarasvatī; and so does also the liturgical usage, and the sense itself of anuvākas 34–36. Thus there only remains to us the possibility of assuming here a blending (and so a reminiscence of the possible original identity) of both goddesses; as we may perhaps also assume in the case of Umā Haimavatī in the Kena Upanishad, agreeably to the conjecture intimated above, p. 360, note 336."

Two of the names alluded to in the above extract, which were afterwards applied to the consort of Śiva, viz. Kālī and Karālī, occur in an important passage of another of the Upanishads (the Mundaka i. 2, 4), but they are there appellations of two of the different tongues of fire : *Kālī Karālī cha Manojavā cha Sulohitā yā cha Sudhūmravarṇā | Sphulinginī Viśvarūpī cha deri lelāyamānā iti saptajihvāḥ |* which is thus translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 153): "The seven flickering tongues [of the fire] are—Kālī (the black one),

<sup>343</sup> The sense of these words is : "May the boon-bestowing goddess (or the goddess Varadā) come : do thou, mother of the Vedas, receive with favour the letter equivalent to the Veda, the gāyatrī, this my prayer, o thou who hast all letters, great goddess, Twilight-science, Sarasvatī."

<sup>344</sup> The sense is : "Born on the highest peak, on the earth, on the summit of the mountain, dismissed from the Brahmins, go, goddess, wherever thou wilt. Praised by me, the boon-bestowing goddess, the mother of the Veda, twice born in the air, stimulating us," etc.

Karālī (the terrific one), Manojavā (swift as the mind), Sulohitā (the very red one), Sudhūmravarṇā (of purple colour), Sphulinginī (emitting sparks), and the Viśvarūpī (all-shaped) goddess." The words "of the fire" are not in the original. The commentator, however, briefly remarks : *Kālī Karālī Manojavā cha Sulohitā cha yā cha Sudhūmra-varṇā Sphulinginī Viśvarūpī cha devī lelāyamānā dahanaasya jihvāḥ | Agner havir-āhuti-grasanārthā etāḥ sapta jihvāḥ |* "Kālī, Karālī, Manojavā, Sulohitā, Sudhūmravarṇā, Sphulinginī, and the goddess Viśvarūpī, are the seven flickering tongues of fire. These are the seven tongues which Agni has for devouring oblations of butter."

On this passage Weber remarks (Ind. Stud. i, 286 f.) : "The first two of these names were at a later period personified, and came to represent Durgā (the consort of Śiva, who was developed out of Agni), who (Durgā), as is well known, became the object of a bloody sacrificial-worship under the names Kālī (the dark, black), Karālā, Karālavadanā, Karālānanā, Karālamukhī. It is evident that a considerable time was required for the sense of the word to become developed from that of the 'dark, terrific, tongue of fire' to that of a goddess Kālī, Karālā, worshipped with bloody sacrifices : and since we find the latter in the drama of 'Mālati-Mādhava,' by Bhavabhūti, who is assigned by Wilson to the eighth century, the Muṇḍaka Upanishad must be considerably older ; unless, indeed, the ancient signification of these names maintained itself at a later period alongside of the popular one. The worship of Durgā, Umā, and Pārvatī, may be shewn in its beginnings, if not from this passage, at all events from the Upanishads of the Yajus, see Ind. Stud. i. p. 78." In a note Weber adds : "The third name (Manojavā) reminds us of Manojavas, the appellation of Yama, the god of death, in the Vāj. S. 5, 11. Does it at a later period denote his wife ? for Yama too, like Śiva, is one stage of Agni, the older, certainly, while Śiva is the more recent."

In the passages quoted from the Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu Purāṇas in section vi. (pp. 317, 324), the spouse of Mahādeva is said to have been originally the daughter of Daxa, and to have become the daughter of Himavat only when she was born the second time after her voluntary death at Daxa's sacrifice. The following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa says nothing of this double birth and parentage :

Rāmāyaṇa i. 36, 13 ff. (ed. Schl.)—*Sailendro Himavān nāma dhātūnām ākaro mahān | tasya kanyā-dvayaṁ jātāṁ rūpenāpratimam bhuvi | yā Meruduhitā Rāma taylor mātā sumadhyamā | nāmnā Menā manojñā vai patnī Himavataḥ priyā | tasyāṁ Gangeyam abhavaj jyeshṭhā Hīmarataḥ sutā | Umā nāma dvitīyā 'bhūt kanyā tasyaiva Rāghava | . . . . 19. Yā chānyā Saila-duhitā kanyāśid Raghu-nandana | ugraṁ sā vrataṁ āsthāya tapas tepe tapo-dhanā | ugraṇa tapasā yuktāṁ dadau Saila-varaḥ sutāṁ | Rudrāyāpratirūpāya Umāṁ loka-namaskritām | Ity ete Saila-rājasya sute Rāma babhūratuh | Gāṅgā cha saritāṁ śreshṭhā devināṁ chāpy Umā rarā |* “To Himavat, the chief of mountains, the great mine of metals, two daughters were born, in beauty unequalled upon earth. The daughter of Meru, Menā by name, the pleasing and beloved wife of Himavat, was their slender-waisted mother. Of her was born Gāṅgā, the eldest daughter of Himavat; and his second daughter was called Umā. . . . . 19. The other daughter of the mountain, rich in austere observances, having undertaken an arduous rite, fulfilled a course of severe austerity. This daughter, Umā, distinguished by severe austerity, adored by the worlds, the Chief of mountains gave to the matchless Rudra. These, Rāma, were the two daughters of the king of mountains, Gāṅgā, the most eminent of rivers, and Umā, the most excellent of goddesses.”

The Harivāṁsa (vv. 940 ff.) gives the following history of Umā, which differs in some points from that of the Rāmāyaṇa, as it assigns three daughters to Himavat and Menā, among whom the Gāṅgā is not included :

*Eteshām mānasī kanyā Menā nāma mahāgireḥ | patnī Hīmarataḥ śreshṭhā . . . . 943. Tisrah kanyās tu Menāyāṁ janayāmāsa Saila-rāṭ | Aparnām Ekaparnām cha tritīyām Ekapāṭalām | tapaś charantyah su-mahad duścharām Deva-Dānavaiḥ | lokān samtāpayāmāsus tās tisrah sthānu-jangamān | āhāram eka-parnena Ekaparnā samācharat | pāṭalā-pushpam ekaṁ cha adadhāv Ekapāṭalā | ekā tatra nirāhārā tām mātā pratyashedhayat | “u mā” iti nishedhanti mātṛi-snehena duḥkhitā | sā tathoktā tada mātrā devī duśchara-chārinī | Umety evābhavat khyātā trishu lokeśu sundarī | tathaiva nāmnā teneha viśrutā yogadharminī | etat tu trikumārikaṁ jagat sthāsyati Bhārgava | tapaḥ-śarīrās tāḥ sarvās tiro yoga-balānvitāḥ | sarvāś cha brahma-vādīnyāḥ sarvāś chaivordhvaretasāḥ | Umā tāsāṁ varishṭhā cha jyeshṭhā cha vara-varniṇī | mahāyoga-*

*balopetā Mahādevam upasthitā | Asitasyaikaparnā tu Devalasya mahā-*  
*manah | patnī dattā mahābrahman yogādhāryāya dhīmate | Jaigīshavyāya*  
*tu tathā viddhi tām Ekapātalām |*

940. “Their (the Pitris’) mental daughter was Menā, the eminent wife of the great mountain Himavat. . . . . 943. The king of the mountains begot three daughters upon Menā—viz., Aparṇā, Ekaparṇā, and Ekapātalā. These three, performing very great austerity, such as could not be accomplished by gods or Dānavas, distressed [with alarm] both the stationary and the moving worlds. Ekaparṇā (‘One-leaf’) fed upon one leaf. Ekapātalā took only one pātalā (*Bignonia*) for her food. One (Aparṇā) took no sustenance, but her mother, distressed through maternal affection, forbade her, dissuading her with the words *u mā* (‘o don’t). The beautiful goddess, performing arduous austerity, having been thus addressed by her mother on that occasion, became known in the three worlds as Umā. In this manner the contemplative goddess became renowned under that name. But this world shall remain [distinguished by?] having these three maids. All these three had mortified bodies, were distinguished by the force of contemplation, and were all chaste, and expounders of divine knowledge. Umā was the eldest and most excellent among the three. Distinguished by the force derived from deep contemplation, she obtained Mahādeva [for her husband]. Ekaparṇā was given as a wife to the great Asita Devala, the wise teacher of the *Yoga*. And know that Ekapātalā was in like manner bestowed on Jaigīshavya.”

The following is the commencement of the hymn of Arjuna to Durgā, which, as has been mentioned in p. 170, he uttered at the suggestion of Krishna.<sup>345</sup>

M. Bh. Bhishma p. vv. 796 ff.—*Arjjuna uvacha | namas te Siddha-*  
*senāni āryye mandara-vāsini | Kumāri Kāli Kāpāli Kapile Krishṇa-*  
*pingale | Bhadrakāli namas tubhyam Mahākāli namo 'stu te | Chandi*  
*Chande namas tubhyam Tārinī Varavarṇini | Kātyāyani mahābhāge Karāli*  
*Vijayo Jaye | śikhi-pichha-dhvaja-dhare nānābharaṇa-bhūshite | aṭṭa-śūla-*  
*praharane khaḍga-khetaka-dhārini | gopendrasyānuje jyeshṭhe Nanda-*  
*gopa-kulodbhave | Mahishāsrik-priye nityaṁ Kanṣiki pīta-vāsini | aṭṭa-*  
*hāse koka-mukhe namas te 'stu rāna-priye | Ume Sakambhari Svete Krishne*

<sup>345</sup> The *Bhagavadgītā*, in which Krishna himself is so highly extolled and glorified, begins shortly afterwards in the twenty-fifth section of the Bhishma-parva, vv. 830 ff.

*Kaiṭabha-nāśini | Hiranyāxi Virūpāxi Dhūmrāxi cha namo 'stu te | Veda-śruti mahāpuṇye brahmaṇye Jātavedasi | Jambū-kaṭaka-chaityeshu nityaṁ sannihitālaye | tvam brahma-vidyā vidyānām mahānidrā cha dehinām | Skandha-mātar bhagavati Durge kāntāra-vāsini | . . . . . Svāhākāraḥ Svadhā chaiva kalā kāshṭhā Sarasvatī | Sāritrī Veda-mātā cha tathā Vedānta uchyate (uchyase?) | stutā 'si tvam Mahādēvi viśud-dhenantarātmanā | Jayo bhavaratu me nityaṁ trat-prasādād rāṇājire | kāntāra-bhaya-durgeshu bhaktānām pālaneshu cha.] nityaṁ vasasi pātāle yuddhe jayasi dānavān | traṇaṁ Jambhanī Mṛghinī cha Māya Hriṣī Sris tathaiva cha | Sandhyā prabhāratī chaira Sāritrī Jananī tathā | Tushṭiḥ Pushṭiḥ Dhritir Dīptiḥ chandrāditya-virvardhini | bhūtir bhūtimatām saṅkhye vīxyase siddha-chāraṇaiḥ |*

“ Reverence be to thee, Siddhasenānī (Generalress of the Siddhas), the noble, the dweller on Mandara, Kumārī, Kūlī, Kāpālī, Kapilā, Krishna-pingalā. Reverence to thee, Bhadrakālī; reverence to thee, Mahākālī; reverence to thee, Chāṇḍī, Chāṇḍā; reverence to thee, o Tāriṇī (deliveress), o Varavariṇī (beautiful-coloured), o fortunate Kātyāyanī, o Karālī, o Vijayā, o Jayā (victory), who bearest a peacock’s tail for thy banner, adorned with various jewels, armed with many spears, wielding sword and shield, younger daughter [or sister] of the chief of cowherds, eldest, born in the family of the cowherd Nanda, delighting always in Mahisha’s blood, Kauśikī, wearing yellow garments, loud-laughing, wolf-mouthed, reverence to thee, thou delighter in battle, o Umā, Śākambhari, thou white one, thou black one, o destroyer of Kaitabha. Reverence to thee, o Hiranyāxī, Virūpāxī, Dhūmrāxī (golden-, distorted-, dark-eyed), o Vedaśruti (tradition of the Veda), most pure, devout, Jātavedasī (female Agni), who dwellest continually near to (. . . . ?) mountain-ridges, and places of sacrifice. Of sciences thou art the science of Brahma (or of the Veda), the great sleep of embodied beings, o mother of Skanda, divine Durgā, dweller in wildernesses. Thou art called Svāhā, Svadhā, Kalā, Kāshṭhā (minute divisions of time), Sarasvatī,<sup>346</sup> Sāvitrī, mother of the Vedas, and the Vedānta (or end of the Vedas). Thou, great goddess, art praised with a pure heart. By thy favour let me be ever victorious in battle. In deserts, fears, and difficulties, and in the preservation of thy devout servants, and in Pātāla, thou con-

<sup>346</sup> Compare what has been said by Prof. Weber on the relation of Umā and Sarasvatī, above, p. 360, note, and p. 364.

stantly dwellest, and conquerest the Danavas in battle. Thou art Jam-bhanī (destroyer ?), Mohinī, Māyā, Hrī, Śrī, Sandhyā,<sup>347</sup> the luminous, Sāvitrī, the mother, Tushṭi (contentment), Pushṭi (fatness), Dhṛiti (constancy), Dipti (light), increaser of the sun and moon, the power of the powerful in battle,—[all this] thou art seen by the Siddhas and Chāraṇas [to be].”

In another part of the Mahābhārata, Virāṭa-parva, 178 ff., there is another hymn (already referred to above, p. 361, note) addressed by Yudhiṣṭhīra to Durgā, and very similar to the preceding. Among other things, she is there said to “have her perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountains, and to delight in spirituous liquor, flesh, and sacrificial victims” (*Vindhye chaica naga-śreshṭhe tara sthānaṁ hi śāśratam | Kūli Kāli Mahakāli sidhu-māṁsa-paśu-priye |*).

In the Harivāṁsa, vv. 3236 ff., it is related that with the view of defeating the designs of Kansa in regard to the destruction of Devakī’s offspring, Viṣṇu descended into Pātāla, where he sought the aid of Nidrā Kāla-rūpiṇī (Sleep in the form of time); and promised her in return that through his favour she should be a goddess adored in all the world (v. 3242). He desires her to be born as the ninth child of Yaśodā on the same night on which he was to be born as the eighth child of Devakī (3247), when he would be carried to Yaśodā and she to Devakī. He tells her that she would be taken by the foot, and cast out upon a rock; but would then obtain an eternal place in the sky, becoming assimilated to himself in glory; would be installed by Indra among the gods (3251 ff.), received by him as his sister under the name of Kauśiki, and would obtain from him (Indra) a perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountain, where, thinking upon him (Viṣṇu), she would kill the two demons Sumbha and Niśumbha, and would be worshipped with animal sacrifices (*tatraiva trām bhaginy-arthe grahīshyati sū Vāsaraḥ | Kuśikasya tu gotreṇa Kauśikī trām bhavishhyasi<sup>348</sup> | sa te Vindhye naga-śreshṭhe sthānaṁ dāsyati śāśratam | ityādi |*). Vaiśampāyanā then (vv. 3268 ff.) repeats a hymn to Āryū (Durgā) which had been “uttered by rishis of old,” beginning *Nārāyaṇīnam namasyāmi derīm tribhuvanēśvarīm | “I bow down before the goddess Nārāyanī,*

<sup>347</sup> See above, p. 364.

<sup>348</sup> Kauśika is applied as an epithet to Indra in R. V. i, 10, 11. See the First Vol. of this work, p. 82, note 50.

the mistress of the three worlds.” She is here called by many of the names which we have already met in Arjuna’s hymn (above p. 367 ff.), such as Śrī, Dhṛiti, Kīrtti, Hṛī, Sandhyā, Kātyāyanī, Kauśikī, Jayā, Vijayā, Tushṭi, Pushṭi (3269 f.). She is also called the eldest sister of Yama (*jyeshṭā Yamasya bhagini*, v. 3271); and said to be worshipped by the [savage tribes of] Savaras, Varvaras, and Pulindas (*Savarair Varbaraiś chaiva Pulindaiś cha supūjītā*, v. 3274). She is also said to be fond of wine and flesh (*surā-māñsa-priyā*, v. 3279), the goddess of wine (*surā-devī*, v. 3286), to be Sarasvatī in Vālmīki (comp. p. 360), and Smṛiti (memory) in Dvaiḍāyana, i.e. Vyāsa (*Sarasvatī cha Vālmīke Smṛitir Draipāyane tathā*), and to pervade the entire world (*tvaya vyāptam idam sarvam jagat sthāvara-jāngamam*).

The object of this passage seems to be to take Durgā and her worship (the extensive prevalence of which could not be ignored by the Vaishnavas) under the protection and patronage of Vishṇu.

A hymn addressed to Durgā by Pradyumna, the son of Krishṇa, is also to be found in Harivāṁsa vv. 9423; and another uttered by Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna and grandson of Krishṇa, occurs in vv. 10235 of the same work. The latter hymn is repeated by Vaiśampāyana after he had made obeisance to the “infinite, imperishable, celestial, eternal primeval-god Nārāyana” (*anantam axayaṁ dīryam adi-devaṁ sanātanam | Nārāyaṇaṁ namaskṛitya*, 10232); and he talks of the goddess as being “adored by rishis and gods with flowers of eloquence” (*rishiḥhir daivataiś chaира vāk-pushpair architāṁ śubhām*, 10234). The hymn addresses Durgā as the sister of Indra and Vishṇu (*Mahendra-Viṣṇu-bhaginiṁ*, v. 10235), as Gautamī, and by many of the names which we have already found in the preceding hymns, as well as by many new appellations, and goes on thus (v. 10256 ff.): *Brahmā Viṣṇuś cha Rudrasaḥ cha chandra-suryāgni-mārutāḥ | . . . . kṛtsnaṁ jagat idam proktam deryā nāmānukrittanāt |* “Brahmā, Vishṇu, Rudra, the sun, moon, and wind . . . . all this world is pronounced by uttering the name of this goddess.”

The worship of this goddess reaches its climax in such works as the Devī-māhātmya in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, sections 81 ff.; where it is remarkable that she is connected with Vishṇu, and not with her proper consort, Mahādeva. She is there called Mahāmāyā (the great Illusion), Yoganidrā (the Sleep of meditation), etc.

It is there said of her (v. 47 ff.): *Nityairā sā jagat-mārttīr tayā sarvam idāñ tatam | tathāpi tat-samutpattir bahudhā śrūyatām mama | devānāñ kāryya-siddhy-artham āvirbhavati sā yadā | utpanneti tada loke sā nityā 'py abhidhīyate |* “She is the eternal form (or substance) of the world; by her all this [universe] is stretched out: and yet hear from me her manifold birth. Whenever she is manifested to effect the purposes of the gods, she, though eternal, is said in the world to be born.” The narrative then proceeds, that when Vishnu was sunk in this sleep of contemplation (*Yoganidrā*) at the end of the Kalpa, two demons, Madhu and Kaitabha, sprang from his ear and were about to kill Brahmā; when the latter seeing Vishnu asleep, with the view of arousing him began to celebrate the praises of Yoganidrā, “his divine sleep who was abiding in his eyes, the mistress of the universe, the support of the world, the cause of its continuance and destruction;” (*Hari-nētra-krītālayām | viśrēśvarīm jaguddhātriṁ sthitisaṁhāra-kāriṇīm | nīdrām bhagaratīm Vishnoḥ |*). Some of the functions assigned to her are as follows (v. 56): *Tvayaiva dhāryyate sarvāñ tvayaitat srījyate jagat | trayaitat pālyate devi trām atsy ante cha sarvadā |* “By thee the universe is upheld; by thee the world is created, by thee it is preserved; and thou always devourest it at the end.” Again, it is said of her (v. 63 ff.): *Yachcha kiñchit krachid rāstu sad asad rā 'khilātmake | tasya sarvasya yā śaktih sā trām kiñcī stūyase tada | yayā trayā jagat-srashṭā jagat-pātū 'tti yo jagat | so 'pi nīdrā-vaśāñ nītaḥ kas trām stotum iheśvaraḥ | Vishnoḥ śarīra-grahanam aham Iśāna eva oha | kāritās te yato 'tas trām kah stotum śaktimān bharet |* “Thou art the power (*śakti*) of whatever substance, existent or nonexistent, anywhere is, o thou soul of all things: why art thou, then, lauded [by us who are unequal to the task]? Who is able to magnify thee by whom the Creator of the world, the Preserver of the world, and the Devourer of the world, have been subjected to sleep? Since thou hast caused Vishnu, and me (Brahmā), and Iśāna (Siva) to become incorporate, who has the power to praise thee?”

The following is the beginning of a hymn addressed to her after her destruction of the demon Mahisha:

Märk. Pur. sect. 84, 1 ff.—*Sakrādayah sura-ganā nihate 'tiviryye tasmin durātmani surāribale cha deryā | tūm tushṭuvāḥ prāṇati-namrasirodharāmsū rāgbhiḥ praharsha-pulakodgama-chāru-dehāḥ | deryā yayā*

*tatam idāñ jagad ātma-śaktyā niḥsesha-dera-gaṇa-śakti-samūha-mūrttyā |*  
*tām Ambikām akhila-deva-maharshi-pūjyām bhaktyā natāḥ sma vidadhātu śubhāni sā naḥ | yasyāḥ prabhāram atulam bhagarān Anantō*  
*Brahmā Haraś cha na hi raktum alam balañchu | sā Chandikā 'khilajagat-paripūlanāya nāśaya chāśubha-bhayasya matiñ karotu |* “When the goddess had slain this very powerful and malignant [demon] and the host of the enemies of the gods,—the deities, headed by Indra, with their necks and shoulders bowed down in obeisance, and their bodies beautified by horripilation, delighted, lauded her with [these] words: ‘We bow down with devotion before that goddess Ambikā, who stretched out this world by her own power, in whom are impersonated the various energies (*śakti*) of all the gods, who is to be adored by all the deities and rishis: may she confer upon us blessings. May Chandikā, whose majesty and might neither the divine Ananta (Vishṇu), nor Brahmarā, nor Hara (*Siva*) is competent to express, think upon the preservation of the world, and the destruction of the fear of evil.’”

These specimens may suffice to shew the dignity to which this goddess has eventually been elevated in the estimation of her worshippers; and a comparison of the characteristics which are here assigned to her with the descriptions quoted above from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, etc. (pp. 306, 314 ff., 366 f.), will shew that she has now attained a far higher rank in the Indian pantheon than was originally enjoyed by the daughter of Daxa and Himavat.

## A P P E N D I X.

---

*Page 5, line 1.*

*Ārambhāṇam.* Compare the words *anārambhāṇe tamasi* in R. V. vii. 104, 3.

*Page 10, line 14.*

*Märttāṇḍam.* Compare R. V. ii. 38, 8. . . . *viśro märttāṇḍo vrājam ā paśur gāt . . .* which the commentator explains, “every bird and beast goes to its resting place.”

*Page 19, v. 23.*

The mundane egg is also mentioned in the Chhāndogya Upani-shad (p. 228 ff.): *Ādityo Brahma ity ādeśah | tasyoparyākhyānam | asad evetum agre āsit | tat sad āsit | tat samabharut | tad āṇḍam niravarttata | tat sañvatsarasya mātrām āsayata | tad nirubhid-yata | te āṇḍa-kapālo rajataṁ cha suvarnaṁ cha abhavatām | tad yat rajataṁ sā iyam pṛīthivī yat suvarnaṁ sā dyaur yaj jarāyu<sup>1</sup> te parratā yad ulvaṁ<sup>2</sup> sa megho nihāro<sup>3</sup> yā dhamanayas<sup>4</sup> tā nadyo yad vāsteyam<sup>5</sup> udakaṁ sa samudraḥ | alha yat tad ajāyatu so 'sāv Ādityas tam jāyamānam ghoshā ulūlavo<sup>6</sup> 'nudatishṭhan [<sup>7</sup>'nūdatishṭhan?] sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve cha kāmās tasmāt tasyodayam prati pratyāyanam<sup>7</sup> prati ghoshā ulūlavo 'nutishṭhanti sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve chaiva kāmāḥ | which is thus translated by Babu Rājendralal Mittra : “The*

<sup>1</sup> *Garbha-veshṭanām sthūlam* | Comm.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūxmaṁ garbha-pāriveshṭanam* | Comm.

<sup>3</sup> *Avaśyāyaḥ* (frost) | Comm.

<sup>4</sup> *S'irāḥ* | Comm.

<sup>5</sup> *Vastau bhavam vāsteyam* | Comm. “Abdominal,” Wilson.

<sup>6</sup> *Ururavo vislīrṇa-ravā udatishṭhan utthitarantah* |

<sup>7</sup> *Pratyasta-gamanam . . . athavā punaḥ punaḥ pratyāgamanam*

sun is described as Brahma;—its description. Verily at first this was non-existent; that non-existence became existent; it developed,—it became an egg: it remained [quiet] for a period of one year; it burst into two; thence were formed two halves of gold and silver. Theroof the argentine half is the earth, and the golden half the heaven. The inner thick membrane [of the egg] became mountains, and the thin one cloudy fog; the blood-vessels became rivers, and the fluid became the ocean; and lastly, what was born therefrom is the sun, Āditya. On its birth arose loud shouts [or shouts of ‘ulu-ulū’], as well as all living beings, and their desires. Hence on the rising, and re-rising [day after day] of the sun, arise shouts of ‘ulu-ulū,’ as well as all living beings and their desires.” (Bibl. Ind. No. 78, p. 65.) \*

*Page 23, line 30.*

From Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 78, I find that in the Taitiriya Aranyaka also, the earth is said to have been “raised by a black boar with a hundred arms” (*varāhenā krishnena śata-bāhunā uddhritā*).

*Page 29, line 8.*

In the Uttara Kānda, also, of the Rāmāyaṇa (4, 9, Calc. ed.), it is said: *Prajāpatih purā srishṭvā apaḥ salila-sambhavaḥ | tāśūṁ gopāyano sattrān asrīyat padma-sambhavaḥ |* “The lotus-born Prajapati, sprung from the waters (or, the source of the waters), having formerly created the waters, created beings to protect them;” who from their agreeing to protect the waters, were called Rāxasas (from the root *rax*, “to protect”).

On this verse the commentator remarks: “*Apaḥ srishṭvā*” *bhūmer adho-varttinir apaḥ srishṭvā ity arthaḥ | tatra “salila-sambhavaḥ” Prajāpatir abhūd ity anvayaḥ | . . . . tathā “apo vā idam agre salilam asit tasmin Prajāpatir vāyur bhūtvā ‘charat | sa imām apāyat tāṁ Varāho ‘bhūtvā “harad” iti śruteścha |* “‘Having created the waters:’ the sense is, having created the waters existing beneath the earth. In them the ‘water-born’ Prajapati arose,—such is the connection.” He then quotes Manu i. 8 f. (see p. 26 above), and another text from the Veda, and afterwards goes on: “. . . . and from the Vedic text, ‘this universe was formerly waters, water. In it Prajāpati becoming wind, moved. He beheld this earth: becoming a boar, he raised her.’”

In the Kishk. K. of the Rāmāyaṇa, 43, 54 ff. (Calc. ed.), Brahmā (in the masculine) is identified with the soul of the universe : *Tam atikramya śailendram uttaras toyasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Soma-girir nāma madhye hemamayo mahān |* 55. *Sa tu deśo visūrgyo 'pi tasya bhāsā prakāśate | sūryya-laxmyā 'bhīrijñeyas tapatera vivasvatā |* 56. *Bhagavāṁs tatra viśvātmā Śambhuḥ eko daśātmakah | Brahmā vasati deveśo brahma-marshi-parivāritah | na kathañchana gantaryaṁ Kurūṇāṁ uttareṇa cha | ityādi |* “ Beyond that chief of mountains (in the land of the northern Kurus) is the northern ocean. There in its centre is the great golden Soma-giri (mountain of Soma or the Moon). That region, though sunless, shines by the lustre of that [mountain], and is recognizable by a sun-like splendour, as if the sun were shining. There the divine soul of the world, Śambhu, one, but tenfold, Brahmā, dwells, the god of gods, attended by the rishis. You must by no means go beyond the Kurus.”

The commentator remarks on v. 56: *Viśvāṁ samati ryāpnoti iti viśvātmā ryāpakah | tena Viṣṇu-rūpah | Viṣṇu-ryāptāv ity anusārāt sa eva Śambhuḥ śam bhāvāt asmāt | sa evaikādaśūnuvākārthaikādaśa-rudrātmakah | sa cha Brahmā brāhmaṇatvā jagat-srashtṛtvād evaṁ-rūpa-trayātmā bhagavāṁs tatra Soma-girau kāryya-brahma-lokatvād vasatī arthah |* “ He who pervades all things,—is the soul of all things, the pervader. He is therefore in the form of Viṣṇu. Since Viṣṇu pervades, he is consequently Śambhu, he from whom happiness arises. He is the subject of the eleven anuvākas, and exists in the form of the eleven Rudras. [The commentator must therefore read *ekādaśātmakah* in the text. Gorresio’s edition reads *bahudhātmakah*.] And this divine being, [called] Brahmā, from his character of Brahmā, i.e. from his being the creator of the world, existing in these three forms, dwells on that Soma-giri, from its being the created *Brahma-loka* [?].” I subjoin for comparison the passage as given in Gorresio’s edition :

Kishk. K. 44, 117 ff.—*Kurūṁs tāṁ samatikramya uttare payasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Somagirir nāma hiraṇmaya-samo mahān | Indra-loka-gatā ye cha Brahma-loka-gatās cha ye | sarve te samavaixanta girirājaṁ divāṁ gatāḥ | asūryo 'pi hi deśāḥ sa tasya bhāsāḥ prakāśate | sasūrya iva laxmīvāṁs tapatīva divākare | bhagavāṁs tatra bhūtātmā svayambhūr bahudhātmakah | Brahmā bhavati vaśyātmā sarvātmā sarvabhāvanah |*

## Page 56, line 23.

In the description of the regions to which the monkeys were sent to search for Sītā after she had been carried off by Rāvana, which is given in the Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa or fourth book of the Rāmāyaṇa, the following reference occurs to the three steps of Viṣṇu; and it is of such a character as to preserve some trace of the original meaning of those steps :

Sect. 40, vv. 54 ff. (Calc. ed.)<sup>8</sup>—*Tatāḥ param hemamayaḥ śrīmān Udaya-parvataḥ | tasya koṭir divāñ sprishtvā śūta-yojanam āyatā | jātarūpamayī dīcyā virājati sa-vedikā | . . . . 57. Tatra yojana-vistāram uchhritaṁ daśa-yojanam | śringaiḥ Saumanasam nāma jūtarūpamayoṁ dhruvam | 58. Tatra pūrva-padaṁ kṛtvā purā Viṣṇus trivikrame (trivikramah Gorr.) | dvītyāñ sikhare Meroś chakara purushottamaḥ | 59. Uttareṇa parikramya Jambudvīpañ dirākaraḥ | dṛiṣyo bharati bhūyishṭhañ sikharañ tad mahochhrayam (dṛiṣyo bharati bhūtānāñ sikharañ tam upāśritaḥ | Gorr.) 54. “Beyond that is the glorious, golden, Udaya parvata [mountain over which the sun rises]; the divine and golden peak of which shines, touching the sky, a hundred yojanas long, and supported by a basement. . . . 57. There with its pinnacles stands the firm, golden Saumanasa, a yojana broad and ten yojanas high. When Viṣṇu, the chief of spirits, formerly strode three paces, he planted his first step there, and his second on the summit of Meru. When the sun has circled round Jambudvīpa by the north, he is mostly visible on that lofty peak;” (or, ‘he is visible to living beings, resting upon that peak.’ Gorr.).*

The commentator does not throw much light on the matter in his remarks on v. 58 : *Tatra śūta-yojana-dīrghe Udaya-giri-sikhare tatra Saumanase śringe trivikrame tribhiḥ padais triloky-ākramana-prastāre prathamam padam Meroḥ sikhare chakara | On v. 59 : Athānantaram uttareṇa Jambu-dvīpam parikramya tam mahochhrayāñ sikharam Saumanasākhyam prāpya sthito dirākaro Jambu-dvīpa-varttinām bhūyishṭham dṛiṣṭo bharati Saumanasa-sikhare ity arthaḥ | idam satya-yugābhiprāyāñ tretāyāñ xīra-sāgara-madhya-gasya dvāpare suroda-madhya-gasya kalau Laṅkā-madhya-gasya Jambudvīpa-stha-manushya-dṛiṣyatāyā anyatrotktatrāt | “On this summit of the Udaya-giri, a hundred yojanas*

<sup>8</sup> Gorresio has several various readings in this passage. I have noted those which occur in the most important verses.

lofty, on that peak Saumanasa, in his triple stride, on the occasion of his traversing the three worlds with three steps, [Vishṇu] placed his first step on the summit of Meru." [Some words would seem to be left out here, as the commentator now contradicts the text, and says nothing of the second step.] On v. 59 he remarks: "Afterwards when the sun has circled round Jambudvīpa by the north, he is mostly seen by the inhabitants of that dvīpa standing on the lofty summit called Saumanasa. This refers to the Satya yuga. For it is said in other books that in the Tretā age the sun is beheld by the men of Jambudvīpa to go through the ocean of milk, in the Dvāpara through the ocean of wine, and in the Kali through Lankā."

The three steps of Vishṇu are mentioned in other parts of the Rāmāyāna. Thus in book vi. 39, 22 (Calc. ed.), it is said: *Prasādaiścha vimānaiś cha Lankā parama-bhūshita | ghanair ivālapāpāye madhyamāñ Vaishṇaram padam |* "Lankā was beautifully adorned with temples and palaces, as the middle step (or position) of Vishṇu, with clouds, at the departure of the hot season [and commencement of the rains]." The commentator explains the middle position of Vishṇu by *ākāśa*. This passage may refer either to the original, or to the legendary, sense of Vishṇu's steps.

*Page 146, line 29.*

In this note I shall adduce some further evidence tending to confirm the supposition that Rāma may not have been originally represented in the Rāmāyāna as an incarnation of Vishṇu.

In the summaries of the poem, contained in sections 1 and 3 of the First Book, as given in the Calcutta edition and in Schlegel's, no allusion is made to the divine origin of Rama; and the same is the case in the first and third sections in Gorresio's edition also. In the fourth section, however, of the last-named recension (which the others do not contain), the plan pursued by the gods for the destruction of Rāvaṇa, and the divine fluid through which the sons of Daśaratha were produced, are distinctly referred to (vv. 14, 15). In the first of the two summaries in Rāmāyāna i. 1, 18 (Calc. ed.), Rāma is described as "resembling Vishṇu in vigour, and pleasant to behold, like the Moon." The former epithet would imply that he was not Vishṇu. Otherwise, what necessity for the comparison? The commentator remarks thus

on the expression : *Yadyapi Rāmo Vishṇur eva sarva-rūpaś cha tathāpi mānushopādhi-bhedāt sarratra sādṛiṣyām̄ drasṭvaryam | yadvā Vishṇunā sadṛiṣa ity ananrayālaṅkāraḥ |* “Although Rāma was no other than Vishṇu, still from the seeming distinctness of his humanity, resemblances may be regarded as existing in all points [between the one and the other]. ‘Or, the comparison may be regarded as coming within the class of improper similes (*ananrayālaṅkāra*).’” See Professor Goldstücker’s Dictionary under this word.

In the text, pp. 142–145, following Schlogel and Lassen, I have pointed out that the second sacrifice described in the fourteenth section in Schlegel’s edition, has some appearance of not having formed a portion of the original poem. The edition lately published in Calcutta, which frequently differs in its readings from Schlegel’s, omits vv. 5–11 of the section in question (the fourteenth) as given in Schlegel’s; and passes at once from the fourth to the twelfth verse. In the account which follows of the request preferred by the gods to Vishṇu to become incarnate in the sons of Daśaratha, etc., the two editions differ in their arrangement of details, but not in the substance. In the Calcutta edition the words *pitaraṁ rochayāmāsa tadā Daśaratham nripam* (“he accepted as his father the king Daśaratha”) which occur in section 15, 32, are repeated in section 16, 8.

In the text, pp. 145 f., I have given the account of the birth of Daśaratha’s sons according to Schlegel’s edition. I now subjoin the description of the same event as found in the Calc. ed. and in Gorresio’s :

[Calc. ed., sect. 18, vv. 8 ff.]

[Gorr. ed., sect. 19, vv. 10 ff.]

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>8. <i>Tato yajñe samāpte tu ritū-<br/>naṁ shaṭ samatyayuh   tatas cha<br/>drādaśe māse chaitre nāvamike ti-<br/>thau  </i> 9. <i>Naxatre 'diti-daivatye<br/>svochcha-saṁstheshu pañchasu   grah-<br/>eshu karkate lagne Vākpatāv Indunā-<br/>saha  </i> 10. <i>Prodyamāne jagannā-<br/>thām sarva-loka-namaskṛitam   Kau-<br/>śalyā 'janayad Rāmām divya-lax-<br/>ana-saṁyutam  </i> 11. <i>Vishṇor ardham<br/>mahābhāgam putram Aīavāku-nan-</i></p> | <p>10. <i>Tāsām prajajñire putrāś chat-<br/>vāro'mita-tejasah   Rāma-Laxmaṇa-<br/>Satruघna-Bharatā deva-rūpiṇah  </i><br/>11. <i>Janma-tejo-guna-jyeṣṭham pu-<br/>tram apratimaujasam   Kauśalyā<br/>'janayad Rāmām Vishṇu-tulya-pa-<br/>rākramam  </i> 12. (almost the same<br/>as v. 12 of the Calc. ed.) 13. <i>Bha-<br/>vāya sa hi lokānām Rāvaṇasya ba-<br/>dhāya cha   Vishṇor viryyārdhato<br/>jajñe Rāmo rājīva-lochanap  </i> 14.</p> |
|--|--|

*danam | lohitūxam mahābāhuñ raktoshtham dundubhi-svanam | 12.* Kauśalyā śusubhe tena putrenā-mita-tjusā| yathā vārena<sup>9</sup> devānām Aditir Vajrapāṇinā | 13. Bharato nāma Kaikeyyām jajñe satya-parā-kramah | sāxād Vishnoś chaturbhāgah sarvaih samudito gunaih | 14. Atha Laxmana-Satrughnau Sumitrā'janayat sutau | vīrau sarvāstra-kuśalau Vishnor arddha-samanritau | 15. Pushye jātas tu Bharato mīnalagne prasanna-dhih | Sārpe jatau tu Saumitrī kulire'bhyudite ravau | 16. Rājñāḥ putrā mahātmānaś chatrāro jajñiro prithak | gunavanto 'nurūpāścha ruchyā proshṭhapadopamāḥ |

Tējo-vīryyādhikāḥ śurāḥ śrimān guna-ganākarah | babbhūrānavaraś chaiva Sakrād Vishnoś cha parushe | 15. Tathā Laxmana-Satrughnau Sumitrā'janayat sutau | dridhā-bhakti mahotsāhau Rāma-syārājau gunaih | 16. Tāv apy āstām chatur-bhāgau Vishnoh sampinditāv ubhau | eka eka-chaturbhāgād aparasmād ajāyata | 17. Bharato nāma Kaikeyyāḥ putrah satya-parākramah | dhurmātmā cha mahātmā cha prakhyāta-bala-vikramah | 19. Sa chaturbhīr mahābhāgaih putrair Daśaratho vṛitaḥ | babbhūra parama-prito derair iva Pitāmahāḥ | 20. Teshām ketur ivu śreshtho Rāmo loka-hīte rataḥ | Sravambhūr iva devānām sarveshān sama-darśanah |

[Calcutta edition.]

8 ff. "After the sacrifice had been completed, the six seasons passed; and then in the twelfth month, in Chaitra, on the ninth lunar day, in the lunar mansion of which Aditi is the deity, when five planets were culminating, when Jupiter was rising with the moon in the sign of Cancer,—Kausalyā brought forth Rāma, the lord of the world, adored by all worlds, possessed of celestial marks, (11) a son of high destinies,

[Gorresio's edition.]

After naming Dasaratha's wives, the narrative proceeds :

10. "To them were born four sons, of boundless might, Rāma, Laxmana, Satrughna, and Bharata, in fashion like the gods. Kauśalyā brought forth Rāma, a son of unparalleled vigour, the first in birth, might, and qualities, equal in valour to Vishnu. 12. (=v. 12 of the Calc. ed.) 13. For this lotus-eyed Rāma was born from the half of Vishnu's generative

<sup>9</sup> I do not know what *vārena* means, if this reading be correct. Perhaps we should read *vareṇa* or *avareya*. The other editions have *adhipena*.

the half of Vishṇu, and gladdener of the race of Ixvāku, with red eyes, great-armed, with red lips, and with a voice like a kettle-drum. 12. Kauśalyā received lustre from this son of unbounded might, as Aditi did from the chief of the gods who wields the thunderbolt. 13. [A son] called Bharata, of real valour, possessed of all virtues, was born of Kaikeyī, who was manifestly the fourth part of Vishṇu. 14. Then Sumitrā bore two sons, Laxmaya and Satrughna, heroes, skilled in all weapons, who had [each] the half [of the fourth] of Vishṇu.<sup>11</sup> 15. But Bharata, of tranquil mind, was born under the lunar mansion Pushya and the sign of Pisces; while the sons of Sumitrā were born under Sārsa or (the ninth lunar mansion) when the sun had risen in Cancer. The four great sons of the king were separately born, possessing great qualities, resembling one another, and in brilliancy like the constellation Proshṭhapadā.”

The Calcutta edition has not the verse which is found as the *fifth* in Schlegel’s edition, and the thirteenth in Gorresio’s, but it, equally with the others, asserts in its *eleventh* verse (which is not in Schlegel’s edition) that the half of Vishṇu was incarnate in Rāma. The same remark which in p. 146 I have made on the passage as given in Schlegel’s edition, applies to this recension also—viz., that the verses which refer

<sup>10</sup> This verse though not in the Calcutta edition, is to be found in Schlegel’s as the fifth.

<sup>11</sup> Which had been communicated to their mother. See sect. 15, 21, Schlegel.

power, for the good of the worlds, and the destruction of Rāvana.<sup>10</sup> 14. This glorious hero, a mine of virtues, excelled in fire and energy, and in manly vigour was not inferior to Indra and Vishṇu. 15. So too Sumitrā bore two sons, Laxmaya and Satrughna, firm in devotion, of great energy, second to Rāma in virtues. These two also, combined, were derived from the fourth part of Vishṇu. From the other fourth part there was born to Kaikeyī, one son named Bharata, of real valour, righteous, high-souled, renowned for power and energy. . . . 19. Dasaratha, surrounded by his four sons of high destinies, was highly pleased, like Pitāmaha, attended by the gods. 20. Rāma, devoted to the good of the worlds, was, like a banner, the most eminent among them, like Svayambhū among the gods, and impartial to all.”

to Dasaratha's sons being incarnations of Vishṇu might be omitted with little injury to the connection. The account of Bharata, Laxmaya, and Satrughna, given in vv. 13-15 (as they now stand), has a certain awkwardness, inasmuch as after leaving Bharata, and introducing (v. 14) Laxmaya and Satrughna, the narrator recurs (v. 15) to Bharata, to give further particulars of his birth, and then goes back again to the other brothers. If, however, vv. 13 and 14 have been interpolated, it is possible that some other lines, which seem necessary to complete v. 15, and to tell the name of Bharata's mother, and the names of Sumitrā's sons (which that verse does not contain), may at the same time have been left out. In Gorresio's text of this passage, the verses describing the astrological influences under which Dasaratha's sons were born, are left out; though these are not unlikely to have formed part of the original text of the poem.<sup>12</sup> The *twelfth* verse of this (as well as the corresponding verses of the other two recensions), where Rāma is compared to Indra, and also the *fourteenth* verse (Gorr.) in which he is said to be not inferior to Indra and Vishṇu [these two verses, I say, if original portions of the poem, as is not unlikely], could scarcely have formed part of a work in which the incarnation of Rāma was described, as it would not exalt the reader's conception of the dignity of the hero (supposed to be an incarnation of Vishṇu) to compare his might to that of Indra, an inferior god. On this subject Gorresio remarks, in note 90, p. 423 f. of his sixth vol., as follows: "This is one of the passages in the poem from which it might be inferred that the *aratāra* of Vishṇu in Rāma was an interpolation in the epopee. If Rāma was a corporeal manifestation of Vishṇu, and consequently Vishṇu himself in a human form, the epithet *not inferior to Vishṇu* which is here assigned to him has neither appropriateness nor sense. It would be as if it were said to any one that he was not inferior to himself. But we shall not anticipate the judgment of a question which has need to be maturely considered."

Again, it is related in the Aranya K., or Third Book, 30, 20 ff. of Gorresio's edition, that when the Rāxasas were about to attack Rāma, the gods and other beings became very anxious about his safety: *Tato devarishi-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha saha chāraṇaiḥ | uchuh parana-saṁtrastā guhyakāś cha paraśparam | chatur-duṣṭa sahasrāṇi rāxasām bhīma-karmia-*

<sup>12</sup> Signor Gorresio, on the other hand, thinks they are superfluous (vol. i. Preface, p. lii).

*nām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā kathaṁ yuddham bhavishyati | Rāmo no  
vidito yo 'yaṁ yathā cha vasudhāṁ gataḥ | manushyatram tu matvā 'syā  
kārunyaad ryathitam manah | nardantīra chamūs teshāṁ raxasān kāma-  
rūpiṇām | nānā-vikṛita-reśānām Ramāśramam upāgamat |* “Then the  
gods, rishis, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Chāraṇas, and Guhyakas, being  
greatly terrified, spoke thus among themselves : ‘There are fourteen  
thousands of Rāxasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma  
is but one : how shall they fight together ? We know who this Rāma  
is, and how he went to the earth ; but considering his human nature,  
our minds are distressed from compassion. The army of these Rāxasas,  
who take any shape they will, and who have assumed various disguises,  
has approached the hermitage of Rāma, shouting.’”

In the Calc. ed. iii. 23, 19 ff., however, the words ascribed to the  
gods, etc., are quite different : *Tato devāḥ sa-gandhariāḥ siddhāś cha  
saha chāraṇaiḥ | sameyuścha mahātmāno yuddha-darsana-kāṇḍayā |* 20.  
*Rishayaś mahātmāno loke brahmaṛshi-sattamāḥ | sametya chochuh sahitās  
te 'nyonyam punya-karmanāḥ*<sup>13</sup> | 21. *Si asti go-brāhmaṇānānoha lokā-  
nām cheti saṁsthitāḥ*<sup>14</sup> | *jayatām Rāghavo yuddhe Paustiṣyān rajanī-  
sharān |* 22. *Chakra-hasto yathā yuddhe sarvān asura-pungavān | evam  
uktva puṇāḥ prochur ālokya cha parasparam |* 23. *Chaturdaśa sahaśrāṇi  
rāxasān bhūma-karmanām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā kathaṁ yuddham  
bhavishyati |* 24. *Iti rājarshayaḥ siddhāḥ sa-gaṇāś cha dvijarshabhāḥ |*  
*jīta-kautūhalūs tashthur vimāna-sthāś cha devatāḥ |* 25. *Āviṣṭām tejasū  
Rāmām saṅgrāma-śirasi sthitam | dṛiṣṭrāvī sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhayād  
rīyathire tadā |* 26. *Rūpām apratimaṁ tasya Rāmasyākliṣṭa-  
karmanāḥ | babbhuva rūpām kruddhasya Rudrasyera mahātmanāḥ |*  
..... 35. *Tasya rushṭasya rūpām tu Rāmasya dadriṣe tadā |*  
*Daxasyeva kratuṇi hantum udyatasya Pinākināḥ*<sup>15</sup> | “19. Then the  
great gods, Gandharvas, and Siddhas, with the Chāraṇas, (20) and the  
great rishis, the most excellent Brahman rishis assembled in the world,  
eager to witness the battle : and being assembled, these holy beings  
thus spoke to one another : 21. ‘Blessings be upon cows and Brahmans,  
and upon the worlds ! may Rāma conquer in battle the Rāxasas, the

<sup>13</sup> *Adīrghatvam ārsham* | Comm.

<sup>14</sup> I do not see how these words are to be interpreted ; but they are of no con-  
sequence.

<sup>15</sup> This verse as given in Gorresio's edition will be found above, p. 313, note.

descendants of Pulastya, (22) as the god who bears the discus (Vishṇu) [overcame] the chiefs of the Asuras.' Having thus spoken, and looked at each other, they said again : 23. 'There are fourteen thousands of Rāxasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one : how shall they fight together?' 24. [Having] thus [spoken], the royal rishis, Siddhas, and Brahman rishis, with the [other] hosts, stood in curious expectation, together with the gods in aerial cars. 25. Beholding Rāma, full of might, standing in the front of the battle, all creatures were agitated with fear. 26. The unparalleled form of Rāma, vigorous in action, was like the form of the great Rudra when incensed. . . . 35. The form of Rāma, incensed, was beheld then, like that of Pinākin (Rudra) when prepared to destroy the sacrifice of Daxa."

From a comparison of these passages as given in the two different recensions, it appears probable that the speech which is put into the mouths of the gods and other spectators, in the Calcutta edition, is the most ancient and original, as no mention is there made of the divine nature of Rāma, the reference to Vishṇu in the twenty-second verse being introduced only by way of illustration, in the same way as the allusions to Rudra in the twenty-sixth and thirty-fifth verses. In Gorresio's edition, on the other hand, there is a distinct reference to the divine nature of Rāma; and I therefore conjecture that the short speech which it contains has been substituted for the other somewhat longer one, by a subsequent editor in support of this later conception.

The career of Rāma in his conflicts with the Rāxasas was not entirely unchequered by reverses. In the forty-fifth section of the sixth, or Yuddha Kānda, Calc. ed. (corresponding to section 20 of Gorresio's recension), it is related that both he and his brother Laxmaṇa were severely wounded and rendered senseless by a cloud of serpents transformed into arrows, which were shot by Indrajit, son of Rāvana.

In the following citations I shall use the Calcutta edition only, except when I specially refer to Gorresio's. In vv. 7 ff. (sect. 45) it is said : *Rāma-Laxmanayor eva sarva-deha-bhidah śarān | bhrīśam āreśā-yāmāsa Rāvanīḥ samitiñjayah | nirantara-śarīrau tu tāv ubhau Rāma-Laxmaṇau | kruddhenendrajīta rīrau pannagaiḥ śaratām gataiḥ | tayoḥ xata-ja-mārgena sūsrāvā rudhiram bahu | . . . 16. Baddhau tu śara-bandhena tāv ubhau rāṇa-mārdhani | nimeshāntara-mātrenā na śekatur avexitum | 22. Papāta prathamaṁ Rāmo riddho marmasu mārganaiḥ |*

*krodhad Indrajitā yena purā Sakro 'pi nirjitaḥ* | “The son of Rāvana, victorious in battle, discharged numerous arrows which pierced the whole bodies of Rāma and Laxmāṇa. Both of these two heroes had their bodies [wounded] in every spot by the incensed Indrajit with serpents which had taken the form of arrows. Much blood flowed through the openings formed by their wounds. . . . . 16. Bound by the chain (or, smitten by the stroke ?) of these arrows in the front of the battle, those two could not look up even for a moment.<sup>16</sup> . . . . 22. Rāma first fell, pierced in the most vital parts, in anger, by Indrajit, by whom even Indra had formerly been conquered.”<sup>17</sup> Their allies the monkeys arrive and find the two brothers lying helpless. Sect. 46, 3 ff. . . . .

*Auraśochanta Rāgharau* | *acheshtau manda-niśrāsau śonitena pariplutau* | *śara-jālānvitau stabdhuśayānau śara-talpa-gau* | *niśrasantau yathā sarpaū niścheshṭau dīna-vikramau* | *ityādi* | “They bewailed the two descendants of Raghu incapable of effort, breathing slowly, bathed in blood, wounded with a mass of arrows, stiff, lying on a bed of arrows, breathing like serpents, helpless, their vigour quelled,” etc. Vibhīṣhaya comforts the monkeys by saying that the good fortune of Rāma and Laxmāṇa would not forsake them (vv. 38 ff.):

*Atha rāxyatām Rāmo yārat sañjñā-riparayayaḥ* | *lubha-sañjñāu hi Kākutsthau bhayaṁ nau ryapaneṣyataḥ* | *naitat kiñchana Rāmasya na cha Rāmo munūrshati* | *na hy enām hāsyate Laxmī durlabha yā galāyushām* | “Or, let Rāma be guarded while his insensibility continues. When the two descendants of Kakuttha have recovered their senses, they shall remove our fear. This [mishap] of Rāma is nothing; he is not about to die: for Good Fortune (Laxmī), who is beyond the reach of the dead, will not abandon him.”

It will be observed that nothing is here said of the divine nature of Rāma; and nothing is said of Laxmī being his spouse, though she is regarded in Hindu mythology as the consort of Nārāyaṇa (see the commentator's remark on Uttara Kāṇḍa, 17, 35, which will be quoted below).

<sup>16</sup> On this the commentator remarks: *Na s'ekatur avexitum* | *tādṛisūv iva sthitau manusyatra-naṭanīya iti bodhyam* | “‘Could not look up.’ remained, as it were, in this condition. This is to be understood as done to act (*i.e.* simulate) humanity (*i.e.* that they were mere men).”

<sup>17</sup> Indrajit's victory over Indra is related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, section 34. He was originally called Meghanāda, but after he had taken Indra captive, he received from Brahmā the name of *Indra-jit*, or the “conqueror of Indra,” *ibid.* section 35.

In the next section (the forty-seventh) it is related that Rāvana sent Sītā on his car Pushpaka, with the Raxasī Trijaṭā, to the spot where Rāma and Laxmaṇa were lying wounded and helpless ; and that on seeing these brothers, “powerful as the sons of the gods” (*deva-suta-prabhāvau*, v. 24), she broke out into lamentations, supposing them to be dead. The forty-eighth section contains her lament, in which she alludes to the two brothers having had various divine weapons (but says nothing of their divine nature). Though they resembled Vāsava (Indra), they were slain, she says, by the magic of the invisible foe ; and Fate, she adds, is hard to be overcome (vv. 16 ff. : *Nanu Vārunam Āgneyam Aindram Vāyavyam eva cha | astram Brahma-śiraś chaiva Rāghavau pratyapadyata | adriṣyamānena rane māyayā Vāsavopamau | . . . . . nihatau | . . . . .* 19. *Na Kālasyāti-bhāro 'sti kṛitāntaś cha sudurjayāḥ |*). Sītā is then consoled by the Raxasī Trijaṭā, who tells her (v. 22) that her husband is not dead ; and explains why she thinks so. In vv. 30 f., she says : *Nemau śakyau rane jetum sendrair api surāsuraiḥ | tādriṣaṁ darśanam dṛishṭā mayā chodīritaṁ tara | idāṁ tu sumahach chitrāṁ śāraīḥ paśyasya Maithili | risañjñau patitāv etau naira Laxmīr vimūnchati | prāyena gata-sattrānām purushānām gatā-yushām | dṛiṣyamāneshu raktareshu param bhavati raikritam |* “These two cannot be conquered in battle even by the Suras and Asuras, Indra included. Such a sight (vision?) I have seen, and declared to thee. But behold this great wonder that though they are lying senseless from the arrows, Fortune (Laxmī) does not abandon them. There is generally a great change in the countenances, when beheld, of men who have lost their lives and whose breath has departed.”

While the monkeys were watching Rāma, he recovers his consciousness (sect. 49, v. 3) : *Eitasminn antare Rāmo pratyabudhyata viryyavān | esthiratvāt satya-yogāchcha<sup>18</sup> śāraīḥ sandāmito 'pi san |* “In the meantime the heroic Rāma awoke, owing to his firmness and robustness of frame (?), though he had been overcome by the arrows.” He then begins to lament the loss of his brother Laxmaṇa, whom he supposes to be dead ; and ascribes the misfortune to his own bad generalship (v. 18 : *Imāṁ adya gato 'vasthām mamānāryasya durnayaiḥ*).

In sect. 50, Vibhishana laments the condition of Rāma and his brother, and the disappointment thereby caused to his own hopes of

<sup>18</sup> *Mahā-bala-yuktatvāt* | Comm. Gorresio's edition reads *sattva-yogachcha*.

becoming king of Laṅkā; but is comforted by Sugrīva, who says to him (vv. 21 f.): *Rājyam prāpeyasi dharma-jñā Laṅkāyām neha saṁśayah | Rāvanah saha putrena sva-kāmaṁ neha lapsyate | Garudādhishthitihitāv etāv ubhau Rāghava-Laxmaṇau | tyaktvā moham badhishyete sa-gaṇaṁ Rāvanaṁ rane |* “Thou, o [prince], well-skilled in duty, shalt without doubt obtain sovereignty in Laṅkā; but Rāvana and his son shall not attain the object of their desire.” He adds another prophecy: “Both Rāma and Laxmaṇa are superintended by Garuḍa: having escaped from their swoon, they shall slay Rāvana with his hosts.” Sugrīva, however, proposes to remove Rāma and Laxmaṇa from the scene of action to Kishkindhyā; and promises that he himself will slay Rāvana, and bring back Sītā, as Indra recovered the lost Śrī (24 f. : *Saha śūrair hari-gaṇair labdha-sañjñāv arindamau | gachha tvam bhrātarau grihya Kishkindhyām Rāma-Laxmaṇau | aham tu Rāvanaṁ hatvā sa-putraṁ saha-bāndhavam | Maithilīm ānayishyāmi Sakro nashṭām iva Sriyam |*).<sup>19</sup>

Susheṇa, another of the monkeys, then relates (vv. 26–32) that once when the gods had been wounded with arrows and rendered senseless, in a combat with the Dānavas, they had been cured by Vṛihaspati by herbs aided by sacred texts; and suggests that some of the monkeys should be sent to the ocean of milk to bring those herbs. The Calcutta edition then goes on at once in vv. 33 ff. to relate the arrival of the celestial bird Garuḍa for the purpose of curing Rāma and his brother. But in Gorresio’s text the following verses are introduced between those which correspond to the thirty-second and thirty-third of the Calcutta edition :

Gorresio, sect. 26, vv. 8, 9, 10, 11<sup>a</sup>.—*Athainam upasangamya Vāyuh karne vacho ’bravīt | Rāma Rāma mahābāho ātmānaṁ smara vai hrīda | Nārāyanas tvam bhagavān Rāxasārthe ’vatāritah | smara sarpa-bhujām devān Vainateyam mahābalam | sa sarpa-bandhād ghorāt tu yuvān̄ sammochayishyati | sa tasya vachanaṁ śrutvā Rāghavo Raghu-nandanah | sasmāra Garuḍām devam bhujagānām bhayāvaham |* “Then Vāyu, approaching him, spoke this word in his ear: ‘Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, recollect thyself in thy heart: thou art the divine

<sup>19</sup> In Gorresio’s edition fifteen more verses (vi. 25, 27-41) follow, in which Sugrīva boasts further of what he will accomplish; but they are not found in the Calcutta edition.

Nārāyaṇa, who hast descended [to earth] on account of the Rāxasas. Call to mind the snake-devouring god the strong Vainateya (the bird Garuḍa); he shall deliver you twain from the dreadful bonds of the serpents.' Hearing Vāyu's words, Rāma called to mind the god Garuḍa, the terrorifier of serpents."

The omission of these verses in the Calcutta edition renders it probable that they formed no part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. But in addition to this fact, another proof to the same effect is to be found in the circumstance that in the verses which follow shortly after in both recensions, Rāma, after being cured by Garuḍa, is represented as enquiring, and consequently, as being ignorant, who his benefactor is, although, according to Gorresio's edition, he had just before called Garuḍa to mind, *i.e.* summoned him. The verses in which this is shewn are as follows (Calc. ed. 50, 37 ff.): *Tam āgatam abhipreya nāgās te vīpradudruvuh | yaīs tu tau purushau baddhan śara-bhūtair mahābalaiḥ | tataḥ Suparnah Kūkutsthau sprishṭvā pratyabhinandyā cha | vimamarśa cha pāñibhyām mukhe chandra-sama-prabhe | Vainateyena saṁsprishṭas tayoḥ samruruhur<sup>20</sup> vranāḥ | suvarṇe cha tanū snigdhe taylor aśu babhūvatuh | 40. Tejo vīryam balaṁ chauja utsāhaścha mahā-guṇaḥ | pradarśanañcha buddhiścha smṛtiś cha dviguṇāt tayoḥ | tāv utthāpya mahā-tejā Garuḍo Vāsavopamau | ubhau cha sasvaje hrishṭau Rāmāś chainam uvācha ha | bhavat-prasādād ryasanaṁ Rāvani-prabhavam mahat | upāyena vyatikrāntau śīghraṁ cha balināu kṛitau | yathā tātaṁ Daśarathaṁ yathā 'jañcha pitāmaham | tathā bharantam āśādyā hṛidayam me prasīdati | 44. Ko bharān rūpa-sampanno divya-srag-anulepanaḥ | "Beholding him arrived, the powerful serpents by whom, in the form of arrows, these two heroes had been bound (or, wounded), took to flight. Then Garuḍa, having touched and saluted the descendants of Kakutstha, soothed with his hands their faces brilliant as the moon. Touched by Garuda, their wounds closed up, and their bodies became speedily sleek and of a beautiful colour. 40. Their fire, strength, force, vigour, and energy became many degrees greater, and their insight, understanding, and memory, were doubled. The powerful Garuḍa raised up and embraced those two [princes] resembling Indra, who were delighted; and Rāma thus addressed him: 'By thy favour, and through thy appliances, we have quickly got over the great calamity inflicted*

<sup>20</sup> *Yathā-pūrvam saṁrūḍha-māṁsā abhūvan | Comm.*

by the son of Rāvana, and have become strong. Since I have found thee, who art as my father Daśaratha, and my ancestor Aja, my heart rejoices. 44. Who art thou,<sup>21</sup> distinguished by beauty, adorned with celestial garlands, and unguents?" etc.

The corresponding passage in Gorresio's edition (sect. 26, vv. 16 ff.) does not, as I have intimated, differ materially from the above, and in it, in like manner, Rāma is represented as enquiring who Garuḍa is.

In reply to Rāma's question Garuḍa tells him (vv. 46 ff.) who he is, says he is his friend, and that no one but himself, whether god or Asura, could have delivered Rāma from the serpents. He finally assures him that he should slay Rāvana and recover Sītā; and then departs after walking round and embracing him (v. 60 : *pradaxinañ tatah kritvā parishvajya cha*).<sup>22</sup>

There is another passage in Gorresio's edition (book vi. sect. 33) in which it is related that after the fall of Prahasta, one of the Rāxasas, Mandodarī, Rāvana's queen, went into the assembly to dissuade her husband from contending any further against Rāma, when she is introduced as saying (v. 25 f.): *Na cha mānusha-mātro 'sau Rāmo Daśarathātmajah | ekena yena vai pūrvam baharo rāxasā hatāḥ |* "Nor is this Rāma a mere man, he by whom singly many Rāxasas have

<sup>21</sup> In his remarks on vv. 40, 41 of the Calc. ed. the commentator considers it necessary to explain how what is there said is consistent with Rāma's divine character : *Dviguṇā Vainateya-sparsāt pūrvato'py adhikāḥ | atra anyair devair aratīryya bhu[ga?]vato Rāmasya mūla-mūrtteḥ rūjñāḥ upakāraḥ sampādito Garudena tūhyarūpata evi bodhyam | . . .* "Though formerly great, their insight, etc., became doubled from the touch of Garuḍa. Here it is to be understood that the assistance was rendered to the divine king Rāma, the root [of all things] by other gods descending to the earth, but [this was effected] through Garuḍa in an inferrible (?) manner." In his remarks on v. 44, the same commentator says: " *Ko bhavōn*" ity ayam praśno 'pi manushya-sarīrochita-vyavahāra eva tat-satyatva-pratyāpanārthaḥ | atra Rāma-samīpā-gamana-paryantam paxy-ākārenāiva āgatya sannidhi-mātreṇa nāga-bandhanāncha nirasya Rāghava-sparsanādy-ar�am (? antam) purushākārena vyavahritavān iti bodhyam | "This question 'who art thou?' also conforms to the usage suitable [to Rāma's assumption of] a human body, and is designed to convince men of its reality. Here it is to be understood that the author accommodates to Rāma's human character the entire narrative from [Garuḍa's] approach, [including] his appearance in the form of a bird, and his removal, by his mere proximity, of the fetters of the snakes, up to his touching Rāma," etc.

<sup>22</sup> From this last circumstance the commentator infers the divine nature of Rāma. His words are: *Pradaxinañ kritvā iti anena divya-devatāvātāro Rāmaḥ iti |* "By these words 'having walked round him, with the right side towards him,' it is intimated that Rāma was a divine being, an incarnation of a celestial deity."

been slain." The same idea is repeated in the two following verses, where the number of the slain and the names of some of them are given.

The passage in which these verses occur, is not, however, to be found in the Calcutta edition, which omits verses 7–51 of the thirty-third, and the whole of the thirty-fourth sections of Gorresio's edition.

In the fifty-ninth section of the same book (Calc. ed.) it is related that Laxmaṇa was wounded by Rāvana with a dart given to the latter by Brahmā (v. 105–7); but that when Rāvana tried to lift his fallen foe, he was unable (v. 109 f.): *Himavān Mandaro Merus trailokyam vā sahāmaraiḥ | śakyam bhajābhyām uddharttuṁ na saṅkhye Bharatā-nujñḥ | śaktyā brāhmaṇyā tu Saumitrīs tādito 'pi stanāntare | Vishṇor amīmāṁsyā-bhāgam ātmānam pratyānusmaran |* "Himavat, Mandara, Meru, or the three worlds with the immortals, might be lifted by him with his arms, but not the younger brother of Bharata in battle. But Laxmaṇa, though smitten on the chest with the dart given by Brahmā, recollects himself to be an incomprehensible portion of Vishṇu." Similar words are again ascribed to him in v. 120: *Vishṇor bhāgam amīmāṁsyam ātmānam pratyānusmaran.* Expressions of the same purport occur in the parallel verses in Gorresio's edition, sect. 36, vv. 86, 88, and 98. The words in v. 88, are *Vishṇor achintyo yo bhāgo mānushaṁ deham āsthitaḥ |* "The inconceivable portion of Vishṇu residing in a human body." The expressions, however, may be later interpolations in both editions.

In the same sect. (59, Calc. ed.) it is related that Rāvana was defeated by Rāma, and compelled to return to Lankā. After his return he thus speaks (sect. 60, v. 5 ff.): *Sarvaṁ tat khalu no moghaṁ yat taptam paramaṁ tapah | yat samāno Mahendrena mānushenāsmi nirjitaḥ | idam tad Brahmaṇo ghorāṁ vākyam māṁ abhyupasthitam | "manushyebhyo vijānīhi bhayaṁ tvam iti tat tathā | dera-dānara-gandharvair yaxa-rāxasa-pannagaiḥ | abadhyatvam mayā proktam mānushebhyo na yāchitam" | tam imam mānusham manye Rāmaṁ Daśarathātmajam | Ixvāku-kula-jātena hy Anaranyena<sup>23</sup> yat purā | utpatsyati hi mad-vaṁśe purusho*

<sup>23</sup> See Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, p. 371: "Whose (Samlhūta's) son was Anaranya, who was slain by Rāvana in his triumphant progress through the nations" (*tato 'naranyas | taṁ Rāvano dig-vijaye jaghāna*). Here, and in the legend related in the Second Vol. of this work, p. 437, note 106, a set of events different from those narrated in the earlier books of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is referred to.

The story of Anaranya is, however, told in the *Uttara Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*,

*rāxasādhama | yas tvāṁ sa-putraṁ sāmūtyam sa-balaṁ sāśva-sūrathim | nihaniṣyati saṅgrāme tvāṁ kulādhama durmate | śapto 'ham Vedavat�ā oha yathā sā dharshitā purā | 11. Seyaṁ Sītā mahābhāgā jātā Janaka-nan-dinī | Umā Nandīśvaraś chāpi Rambhā Varuna-kanyakā | yathokta<sup>24</sup> tan mayā prāptaṁ na mithyā rishi-bhāshitam | etad eva samāgamya yañnam karttum iñhāratha |* “All the extreme austerity that I have undergone is then vain, since I, though the equal of Indra, have been overcome by a man. This is the direful word of Brahmā that has now reached me, [when he said]: ‘know that thy great cause of apprehension is from men. I have decreed thy indestruotibility by gods, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Yaxas, Rāxasas, and Pannagas: but thou hast asked no [security] from men.’ This man I consider to be Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, since I was formerly thus cursed by Anaranya of the race of Ixvāku; ‘There shall arise among my posterity a man who shall slay thec in battle, thou lowest of Rāxasas, and wicked wretch, along with thy sons, ministers, hosts, and charioeteers.’ And I was also cursed by Vedavatī when she was insulted by me: it is she who has been born as the great Sītā, the glādener of Janaka. And that which Umā, Nandīśvara, Rambhā, and the daughter of Varuna<sup>25</sup> uttered, has befallen me. What has been spoken by rishis<sup>26</sup> is never falsified. Wherefore, ye must assemble, and make exertions.””

In this passage it will be observed that there is no express reference to the divine nature of Rāma: and it is conceivable that the original

section 19. Dushyanta, Suratha, Gādhi, Gaya, Purūravas (though, as the commentator remarks, they lived at different periods, yet they all in their own times) submitted, without fighting, to Rāvana on his victorious march through the world. Anaranya, a descendant of Ixvāku, and king of Ayodhyā, however, when called upon either to fight, or acknowledge himself conquered, prefers the former alternative (v. 9); but his army is overcome, and he himself is thrown from his chariot (v. 21). When Rāvana triumphs over his prostrate foe, the latter says that he has been vanquished not by him, but by fate, and that Rāvana is only the instrument of his overthrow (v. 26); and he predicts that Rāvana should one day be slain by his descendant Rāma (v. 29: *Utpatsyate kule hy asminn Ixvākūṇum mahātmānām | Rāmo Dāśarathir nāma yas te prānān harishyati*).

<sup>24</sup> *Yathoktavantah . . . yad uchuh . . . iti pāthāntaram* | Comm.

<sup>25</sup> The legends connected with all these names are briefly referred to by the commentator.

<sup>26</sup> The commentator remarks here: *rishi-padena tapo-yuktā uchyante* | “The word *rishi* denotes persons distinguished by austerity.” It would thus refer to Vedavatī and others.

legend may have represented him as being, even in his human capacity, of sufficient prowess to slay the king of the Rāxasas.

[Most of the legends referred to in the preceding passage are given in the Uttara Kānda, and I shall supply an abstract of them here. That of Anaranya will be found in note 23.]

The rather pretty story of Vedavatī is related in the seventeenth section of that book, vv. 1 ff., as follows : Rāvana, in the course of his progress through the world, comes to the forest on the Himālaya, where he sees a damsel of brilliant beauty, but in ascetic garb, of whom he straightway becomes enamoured. He tells her that such an austere life is unsuited to her youth and attractions, and asks who she is, and why she is leading an ascetic existence. She answers that she is called Vedavatī, and is the vocal daughter (*vāṇmayī kanyā*) of Vṛihaspati's son, the rishi Kuśadhvaja, sprung from him during his constant study of the Veda. The gods, gandharvas, etc., she says, wished that she should choose a husband, but her father would give her to no one else than to Vishṇu, the lord of the world, whom he desired for his son-in-law (v. 12 : *Pitus tu mama jāmatā Vishṇuh kila sūreśvaraḥ | abhipretas trilokeśas tasmān nāsyasya me pitā | dātum ichhati tasmai tu |*). This resolution provoked Sambhu, king of the Daityas, who slew her father, Kuśadhvaja, while sleeping, on which her mother (whose name is not given) after embracing his body, entered into the fire (15). Vedavatī then proceeds (v. 16) : *Tato manorathaṁ satyam pilur Nārāyaṇam prati | karomīti tam evāhaṁ hridayena samudvahē | iti pratijñām āruhya charāni vipulaṁ tapaḥ | . . . 18. Nārāyaṇo mama patir na tv anyaḥ purushottamāt | āśraye niyamām ghorāṁ Nārāyaṇa-paripsayā |* “In order that I may fulfil this desire of my father in respect of Nārāyaṇa, I wed him with my heart.” Having entered into this engagement, I practise great austerity. Nārāyaṇa, and no other than he, Purushottama, is my husband. From the desire of obtaining him, I resort to this severe observance.” Rāvana's passion is not in the least diminished by this explanation, and he urges that it is the old alone who should seek to become distinguished by accumulating merit through austerity; prays that she who is so young and beautiful, shall become his bride; and boasts that he is superior to Vishṇu (v. 24). She rejoins that no one but he would thus contemn

<sup>27</sup> This language offers an exact parallel to that of devout female ascetics in other parts of the world.

that deity. On receiving this reply, he touches the hair of her head with the tip of his finger (27). She is greatly incensed, and forthwith cuts off her hair, and tells him that as he has so insulted her, she cannot continue to live, but will enter into the fire before his eyes. She goes on (v. 31 ff.): *Yasmāt tu dharshitā chāhaṁ trayā pāpātmānā vane | tasmāt tava badhārthaṁ hi samutpatsyati aham (samutpatsyati samut-  
patsye ity arthaḥ | Comm.) punah | nahi śakyah striyā hantum purushah  
pāpa-niśchayah | śāpe trayi mayotsriṣṭe tapasaś cha vyayo bhavet | yadi tr asti mayā kiñchit kṛitaṁ dattam̄ kutaṁ tathā | tusmat tr a-yoni-  
jā sādhvī bhareyañ dharminah sutā | evam uktvā pravishṭā sā jvalitam̄  
jātaredasam | papāta cha diro diryā pushpa-r̄ishṭih samantataḥ | saishā  
Janaka-rājasya prasūtā tanayā prabho | tava bhāryyā mahābāho Vishṇus  
tvāñ hi sanātanah | pūrrvam̄ krodha-hataḥ śatrur yayā 'sau nihatas taya |  
upāśrayitvā sailabhas tava rīryyam amānusham | “‘Since I have been  
insulted in the forest by thee who art wicked-hearted, I shall be born  
again for thy destruction. For a man of evil design cannot be slain by  
a woman; and the merit of my austerity would be lost if I were to  
launch a curse against thee. But if I have performed, or bestowed, or  
sacrificed, aught, may I be born the virtuous daughter, not produced  
from the womb, of a righteous man.’ Having thus spoken, she entered  
the blazing fire. Then a shower of celestial flowers fell from every part  
of the sky. It is she, lord, who (having been Vedavatī in the Kṛita age,  
v. 38) has been born (in the Tretā age, v. 38) as the daughter of the  
king of the Janakas, and [has become] thy bride; for thou art the  
eternal Vishṇu. The mountain-like enemy who was [virtually] destroyed  
before by her wrath, has now been slain by her, having recourse to thy  
superhuman energy.” On this the commentator remarks: *Anena  
Sitaiva Rāvana-badhe mukhyam̄ kāraṇam Rāmē tu hantritram āropitam  
iti sūchitam |* “By this it is signified that Sītā was the principal cause  
of Rāvana’s death; but the function of destroying him is ascribed to  
Rāma.” On the words “thou art Vishṇu,” in the preceding verse, the  
same commentator remarks: *Anena Sītāyā Laxmītvam sphuṭam evoktam |  
tad uktam Parāśara “Rāghavate ‘bhavat Sītā Rukmini Krishna-jan-  
mani” iti |* “By this it is clearly affirmed that Sītā was Laxmī. This  
is what Parāśara says: ‘In the god’s life as Rāma, she became Sītā,  
and in his birth as Kṛi-hna [she became] Rukmini.’”*

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kānda any separate legend about

Umā, but the commentator<sup>28</sup> connects this allusion to her in the preceding passage (vi. 60, 11) with the following story about Nandiśvara, which is thus told in the sixteenth section of the Uttara Kānda (v. 1 ff.): After his victory over Kuvera, Rāvaṇa went to Saravana, the birth-place of Kārttikeya. Ascending the mountain he sees another delightful wood, where his car Pushpaka stops, and will proceed no further. He then sees a formidable dark tawny-coloured dwarf, called Nandiśvara, a follower of Mahādeva, who desires him to halt, as that deity is sporting on the mountain, and has made it inaccessible to all creatures, the gods included (v. 10). Rāvaṇa angrily demands who Sankara (Mahādeva) is, and laughs contemptuously at Nandiśvara, who has the face of a monkey. Nandiśvara who was another body (*aparā tanuh*) of Śiva, being incensed at this contempt of his monkey form, declares that beings, possessing the same shape as himself, and of similar energy, monkeys, shall be produced to destroy Rāvaṇa's race (v. 17 : *Tasmād mad-vīryya-saṁyuktā mad-rūpa-sama-tejasah | utpatṣyanti badhārthañ hi kulasya tara rānarāḥ |*). Nandiśvara adds that he could easily kill Rāvaṇa now, but that he has been already slain by his own deeds (v. 20). Rāvaṇa threatens (v. 23 ff.) that as his car has been stopped, he will pluck up the mountain by the roots, asking in virtue of what power Śiva continually sports on that spot, and boasting that he must now be made to know his danger. Rāvaṇa then throws his arms under the mountain, which, being lifted by him, shakes, and makes the hosts of Rudra tremble, and even Pārvatī herself quake, and cling to her husband (v. 26 : *Chachāla Pārvatī chāpi tadā śliṣṭū Maheśvaram*). Śiva, however, presses down the mountain with his great toe, and along with it crushes the arms of Rāvaṇa, who utters a loud cry, which shakes all creation. Rāvaṇa's counsellors then exhort him to propitiate Mahādeva, the blue-throated lord of Umā, who on being lauded will become gracious. Rāvaṇa accordingly praises Mahādeva with hymns, and weeps for a thousand years. Mahādeva is then propitiated (v. 35), lets go Rāvaṇa's arms, says his name shall be Rāvaṇa from the cry (*rāva*) he had uttered, and sends him away, with the gift of a sword bestowed on him at his request (v. 43).

<sup>28</sup> His words are : *Kailāśa-śikhara-chālana-velāyām Rāvanasya strī-nimittam maranam ity evāṁ-rūpan ity āhuḥ |* "They say that at the time when he shook the summit of Kailāśa a curse was pronounced on Rāvaṇa that he should die on account of a woman."

The legend of Rambhā is narrated in the thirty-first section of the Uttara Kānda. Rāvaṇa goes with his army to Kailāsa, to conquer the gods. He there sees the Rambhā, the most beautiful of all the Apsarases, and is smitten with her charms (v. 20). She says she is properly his daughter-in-law, being the wife of Nalakūvara (son of his brother Kuvera), with whom she has an assignation, and cannot therefore receive his addresses (v. 34). Rāvaṇa says the Apsarases are mere courtesans, without any husbands, and ravishes her (v. 41). She goes and reports the outrage to Nalakūvara (46), who, after touching all his organs of sense (*chaxur-ādindriya-ganañ sarram* | Comm.) with water, launches the following curse against Rāvaṇa: v. 54. *Akāmā tena yasmāt tram balād bhadre pradharshitā* | 55. *Tasmāt sa yuratim anyām nākāmām upayās-yati | yadā hy akāmām kāmārto dharshayishyati yoshitam | mūrdhā tu saptadhā tasya śakalibhavītā tadā* | “Since thou, kind lady, who hadst no passion for him, hast been forcibly insulted by him, he shall not approach any other damsels who does not reciprocate his passion. For when through passion he shall ravish any woman who has no passion for him, his head shall split into seven fragments.” Hearing of this curse, Rāvaṇa resolves to abstain from offering violence to women.

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kānda any story about the daughter of Varuṇa, but the commentator on the text (vi. 60, 11) explains the allusion to her thus: *Varuṇa-kanyakā Puṇjikasthalī tan-nimittum brahmaśāpah strī-dharshane mārana-rūpah* | “The daughter of Varuṇa was Punjikasthalī. On her account, a curse of Brahmā, involving the penalty of death, [was pronounced] on the rape of women.”]

After expressing himself as above (p. 490), Rāvaṇa desires his brother Kumbhakarna (a monster who, owing to the curse of Brahmā,<sup>29</sup> slept for six months at a time, and remained awake for a single day) to be awakened. This is with immense difficulty effected. Kumbhakarna asks (vv. 67 ff.) why they have awakened him, and is told that they stand in dread, not of the gods but of a man, Rāma (v. 72: *mānushān no bhayañ rājan tumulam sampradhāvitam | ityādi*); when he assures them that he will destroy their foes, and himself drink the blood of Rāma and Laxmana. After drinking two thousand jars of liquor, he goes to see and consult with his brother Rāvaṇa; who, in answer to his enquiry, describes to him (sect. 62) the present position of

<sup>29</sup> See sect. 61, v. 28.

affairs, and the necessity there is to obtain his assistance. Kumbhakarṇa, in reply, delivers (sect. 63, vv. 2-21) a moral discourse on the wickedness of Rāvana's conduct, such as we should scarcely have expected from the speaker's antecedents ; and is told by Rāvana in answer (vv. 23-27) that this is not the time for such lectures, but for action, to which he calls upon him to proceed, if he has any regard for him, or pretensions to valour. Kumbhakarṇa then promises (vv. 30 ff. of the same section) to destroy the enemies of his brother. But before this last speech of Kumbhakarṇa, which is given in the forty-second section of Gorresio's recension, that text introduces another speech of the same personage, which occupies vv. 30-53 of the fortieh section, and a further speech of Rāvana which fills the forty-first section ; both of which are wanting in the Calcutta edition, and even in one of the MSS. consulted by Signor Gorresio, as we learn from his Preface, vol. v. p. xlvi.; and might, as he thinks, be omitted without detriment, or perhaps with advantage, to the connexion of the ideas, and the march of the poem. Some account must, however, be given of this speech, as in it Kumbhakarṇa gives the same account of the divine origin of Rāma, as we have already met in the earlier part of the poem (see p. 139 ff., above). He says that one day he had seen the divine sage Nārada, who had told him that he had just returned from an assembly of the gods who had met to take counsel for the destruction of the Rāxasas, on which occasion Brahmā had spoken as follows (sect. x. 40, 44 ff. ed. Gorr.): *Eam ukte tu vachane  
Brahmā devān urācha ha | abadhyatram mayā dattam dera-daityaiścha  
rāxasaiḥ | mānushebhyo bhayaṁ tasya vānarebhyāścha devatāḥ | surāsura-  
samūhe 'pi budhas tasya na vidyate | tasmād esha Harir devaḥ padma-  
nābhas trivikramāḥ | putro Daśarathasyāstu chaturbāhuḥ sanātanaḥ |  
bhavanto vasudhām gatrā Vishnor asya mahātmanāḥ | vānarāṇām tanūṁ  
kritrā sahāyatram karishyatha |* “When [the priest of the gods Vṛihas-  
pati] had thus spoken, Brahmā said to the gods : ‘I have conferred  
[on Rāvana] indestructibility by gods Daityas and Rāxasas : he has, o  
gods, to fear men and monkeys. Nor can he be killed by all the gods  
or Asuras. Wherefore let this god Hāri (Vishṇu) from whose navel  
sprang a lotus, who is thrice-striding, four-armed, and eternal, become  
the son of Daśaratha. You, gods, repairing to the earth, and assuming  
the form of monkeys, shall assist the mighty Vishṇu.’” Kumbhakarna

says that Vishṇu has taken the human form of Rāma, and come to slay them. He therefore advises that Sītā should be restored, and peace made with Rāma, before whom the three worlds bow down.

In reply to this exhortation, Rāvaṇa utters the following defiance of Vishṇu (sect. 41, 2 ff. ed. Gorr.): *Ko 'sau Viṣṇur iti khyāto yasya tvam tāta bibhyase | deratre na namasye tam tathā 'nyān devatā-gaṇān | manush-yatvān gate tasmin kim bhayam trām upasthitam | nityam samara-bhī-tāstu mānushāḥ sumahābala | khādayitṛā tu tān pūrrvaṁ katham paśchād namāny aham | pranāmya mānushām Rāmam Sītām datrā tu tasya vai | hāsyā-bhūtas tu lokānām anuyāsyāmi prishṭhataḥ | Rāgharām tam mahā-bāho dīna-rāpo 'tha dāsa-rat | riddhiṁ cha paśyamāno 'sya kathaṁ sāx-yāmi jīvitum | hrītrā tasya purā bhāryyām mānān kṛitrā sudāruṇam | pranāmed Rāraṇo Rāmam esha te buddhi-nirṇayaḥ | yadi Rāmāḥ svayam Viṣṇur Laxmano 'pi Satakratuḥ | Sugrīvas Tryambakaḥ sāxāt svayam Brahmā tu Jāmbavān | aho śāstrāṇy adhītāni yasya te buddhir idṛiṣi | atītāśramīṇām Rāmām yo namaskarttum ichhasi | deratvām yaḥ parityajya mānushīm yonim āśritah | asmān hantuṁ khilāyataḥ sa sandheyaḥ katham mayā | yadivā Rāgharo Viṣṇur vyaktān te śrotrām āgataḥ | devatānām hitārthaṁ tu pravishṭo mānushīm tanum | sa vānarāṇām rājānām Sugrīvam śāraṇām gataḥ | aho 'sya sadriśām sakhyām tiryaggyoni-gataih saha | vīryya-hīnas tu kiṁ Viṣṇur yaḥ śrītaḥ rīku-vānarān | athavā vīryya-hīno 'sau yena pūrvam mahāsuraḥ | vāmanām rūpam āsthāya yāchitas tripadaḥ padam | Balis tu dīxitō yajñe tena tvām sakhyam ichhasi | yena dattā mahī sarvā sa-sūgara-vanāḥ parvā | upachāra-kṛitā pūrvam sa baddho yajñā-dīxitah | upakāri hatas tena so 'smāṇ raxati vairināḥ | yadā me nirjītā devāḥ svargām gatrā trayā saha | tadā kiṁ nāsti Viṣṇutvām tasya devasya Rākasa | sāmpratām kuta āyataḥ sa Viṣṇur yasya bibhyase | śārīra-raxanārthāya brūshe tvām vākyam idṛiśam | nāyaṁ klīvayitum kālaḥ kālo yoddhuṁ niśāchāra | svāmyam Pitāmahāt prāptām trailokyam vāśa-gaṁ kṛitam | Rāghavam praname kasmād hīna-vīryya-parākramam | tad gachha śayanīyām tvam pīva tvam vigata-jvaraḥ | śayamānām na hanyāt tvām Rāghavo Laxmanas tathā | ahaṁ Rāmam badhishyāmi Sugrīvaḥcha sa-Laxmanām | vānarāṁścha hanishyāmi tato devān mahā-rāne | Viṣṇuñchaiva badhishyami ye cha Viṣṇv-anuyāyinaḥ | gachha gachhasva tat xetraṁ chiraṁ jīva sukhi bhava | bhrātaraṁ tv evam uktvā 'sau Rāvaṇaḥ Kāla-choditaḥ | sāvalepaṁ sa-garjāñcha punar vachanam abravit | jānāmi Sītām dharanī-prasūtām jānāmi Rāmam Madhusū-*

*danañcha | etad hi jāne tv aham asya badhyas tenāhṛitā me Janakātmajaishā<sup>30</sup> | na kāmāchchaira na krodhād dharāmi Janakātmajām | nihato gantum ichhāmi tad Viṣṇoh paramam padam |*

“Who is that being called Viṣṇu, whom thou fearest? In his divinity I reverence neither him, nor any of the other hosts of gods: what fear is this, then, which has seized you, now that he has become a man? Men are always afraid of battle. When I have formerly eaten them, how can I afterwards bow down before them? Paying reverence to the mortal Rāma, and restoring Sītā, how could I,—an object of derision to the universe,—follow behind Rāghava in humility like a slave? and beholding his prosperity, how could I live? This is thy opinion, that after carrying off Rāma’s wife, and manifesting terrible haughtiness, Rāvaṇa should bow down before him! Even if Rāma were Viṣṇu himself, and Laxmaṇa were Indra, if Sugrīva were Tryambaka (Siva), and if Jāmbavat were Brahmā, [I could not do so]. O thou hast [well] studied the Sāstras, thou who so thinkest, and who desirest to make obeisance to Rāma who stands without the four orders of society; who, abandoning his divine nature, has entered into a mortal womb! How can I make peace with him who has come to kill me? Or if it has distinctly reached thy ears that Rāma is Viṣṇu, and has entered into a mortal body for the welfare of the gods, [still] he has resorted [for help] to Sugrīva the king of the monkeys. How suitable is his friendship with brutes! Is then Viṣṇu destitute of valour that he has sought [the aid of] bears and monkeys? Or, he is [certainly] devoid of valour who formerly assuming the form of a dwarf, demanded of the great Asura three paces of ground, while Bali was consecrated for the sacrifice: with such a person thou desirest friendship! He (Bali) who formerly presented to him the whole earth with its oceans, forests, and seas, was bound by him when consecrated for sacrifice! A benefactor was destroyed by him, and he is to deliver us who are his enemies! When I went to heaven with thee and conquered the gods, had not this god then his character of Viṣṇu? Whence has this Viṣṇu now come, whom thou fearest? Thou speakest such words to save thy body [from injury in battle]. This is not the time for timidity, Rāxasa, but for fighting. I have obtained dominion from

<sup>30</sup> A verse similar in most of its clauses to this had previously occurred in sect. 34, 7, of Gorresio’s recension.

Brahmā; the three worlds are subject to me; why should I bow down before Rāma who is destitute of energy and valour? Go, therefore, to thy couch; drink, free from disquiet. Neither Rāma nor Laxmāna will kill thee when thou art sleeping. I shall slay Rāma, and Sugrīva, and Laxmāna, and the monkeys, and then the gods also in a great battle. I shall kill Vishṇu too, and all Vishṇu's followers. Go, go then to thy abode, live long, live at ease.' Having thus, impelled by fate, spoken to his brother with arrogance and noise, Rāvaṇa said again: 'I know Sītā, who is sprung from the earth; I know Rāma and Madhusūdana. And this I know, that I am to be slain by him; and therefore have I carried off this daughter of Janaka. It is not from passion or from anger that I retain her: I desire, being slain, to go to that highest abode of Vishṇu.'

The change of tone in this last short speech is remarkable. The defier of Vishṇu all at once acknowledges his deity and becomes his humble worshipper. This looks like a still later addition to the preceding part of the section, inserted by some editor who considered the earlier portion to be too blasphemous to be allowed to stand without some qualification, or recantation.

Again, after Rāvaṇa's death, Mandodarī, the highest in rank of his queens, in the lament which she utters for her husband's loss, speaks as follows (sect. 113, 5 ff., Calc. ed.): *Sa trām mānusha-mātreṇa Rāmena yudhi nirjitaḥ | na vyapatrapase rājan kim idān rāxasevāra |* 6. *Kathām trailokyam ākramya śriyā vīryyena chānvitam | avishahyaṁ jaghāna tvām mānusho vana-gocharaḥ |* 7. *Mānushāñām avishaye charataḥ kāmarūpiṇaḥ | vināśas tava Rāmena saṁyuge nopapadyate |* 8. *Na chaitat karma Rāmasya śraddadhāmi chamū-nukhe | sarvataḥ samupetasya tava tenābhimarśanam |* 9. *Athavā Rāma-rūpena Kṛitāntaḥ svayam āgataḥ | māyām tava vināśāya vīdhāyāpratitarkitām |* 10. *Athavā Vāsavena tvām dharshito 'si mahābala | Vāsavasya tu kā śaktis tvām drashṭum api saṁyuge |* 11. *Mahābalām mahāvīryyaṁ deva-śatrum mahaujasam | vyaktam esha mahāyogī<sup>31</sup> paramātmā sanātanaḥ |* 12. *An-ādi-madhyā-nidhano mahataḥ paramo mahān | tamasaḥ paramo dhātā ṣaṅkha-chakra-gadādharaḥ |* 13. *Śrīvatsa-vaxā nitya-śrīr ajayyaḥ śāśvato dhruvaḥ | mānushām rūpam āsthāya Vishṇuḥ satya-parākramāḥ |* 14. *Sarvaiḥ pari-vrito devair vānaratvam upāgataiḥ | sarva-lokeśvaraḥ śrimān lokānām*

<sup>31</sup> *Svābhāvika-sarva-śakti-yuktaḥ | Comm.*

*hita-kāmyayā | 15. Mahābalam mahāvīryyaṁ deva-śatrum bhayāvaham | sa-rāxasa-parivāraṁ hatavāṁs tvāṁ mahādyutih | 16. Indriyāni purā jitvā jitam tribhuvanaṁ tvayā | smaradbhir iva tad vairam indriyair eva nirjitaḥ | 17. Yadaiva hi Jana-sthāne Rāxasair bahubhir vṛital | Kharas tu nihato bhrātā tūdā Rāmo na mānushah |*

“5. Art not thou ashamed, o king, to have been conquered by Rāma, a mere man? What is this, lord of the Rāxasas? 6. How did a man frequenting the forests slay thee who hadst assailed the three worlds, who wast distinguished by good fortune and heroism, and unconquerable? 7. That thou who movedst at will, invisible to men, shouldst have been destroyed by Rāma is inconceivable. 8. I do not credit this act of Rāma in the front of the battle, the overthrow by him of thee who wast endowed in every way. 9. Either Death (*Kritānta*) came in the form of Rāma, applying an unimagined magic for thy destruction, (10) or thou hast been overwhelmed by Vāsava (Indra). But what power had Vāsava in battle even to look at thee, who wast (11) the mighty in force and heroism, the glorious enemy of the gods? This was manifestly the great contemplator (*Mahāyogin*), the supreme spirit, the eternal, (12) without beginning, middle, or end, the great Being superior to the greatest, superior to darkness, the sustainer, the wielder of the shell, the discus, and the club, (13) who bears the śrīvatsa on his breast, who enjoys perpetual prosperity, the invincible, everlasting, unchanging, Vishnu, of genuine prowess, who had assumed a human form, (14) and was attended by all the gods in the shape of monkeys. This glorious and resplendent lord of all the worlds, desiring the good of all the worlds, (15) slew thee, the mighty, the heroic, the terrific, enemy of the gods, with thy attendant Rāxasas. 16. Formerly, by subduing thy senses, thou did subduc the three worlds; but thou wast [afterwards, *i.e.* when thou didst carry off Sītā, etc.] overcome by thy senses, which, as it were, remembered [and revenged] that [former] hostility [of thine towards them]. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rāxasas, was slain [by Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal.”

If this quotation from the Calcutta edition be compared with the corresponding passage of Gorresio's text (sect. 95), it will be found that, on this occasion, the former is more diffuse than the latter. Verses 5–8 are nearly the same in both recensions; but instead of one verse (the

ninth) affirming the divine character of Rāma, which we find in Gorresio's edition, there are in the Calcutta recension seven verses, in most of which, at least, the same idea is enforced. The ninth and tenth verses of Gorresio's edition are as follows : 9. *Atharā āma-rūpena Vishnus cha svayam āgataḥ | tara nāśyā māyōbhīḥ pravīśyānupalaxitah |* 10. *Yadaiva hi Janasthāne rāxasair bahubhir vritah | Kharas tava hato bhrātā tadairāsau na mānushhāḥ |* “Or Vishṇu himself came in the form of Rāma, having entered into it unperceived, through supernatural powers, for thy destruction. 10. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rāxasas, was slain by [Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal.” It will be observed that here a verse (the tenth) which corresponds to the seventeenth of the Calcutta edition, immediately succeeds the ninth, and that consequently there is in Gorresio's text no such development of the idea contained in the ninth verse as we find in vv. 10–15 of the other edition. Now if we are to suppose that the original text of the Rāmāyaṇa made no allusion to Rāma being an incarnation of Vishṇu, it might at first sight seem as if the ninth verse of the Calcutta text, which represents Death (*Kṛitānta*) as taking the form of Rāma, was more genuine than the corresponding verse of Gorresio's edition, which declares that Vishṇu assumed the form of that hero. In this case, verses 11 ff. of the Calcutta edition, which represent Rāma as an incarnate deity, would be a subsequent interpolation. But the eleventh and following verses appear, on examination, to hang well together with those which precede; and if the entire passage thus forms one connected whole, we can only (on the hypothesis that Rāma's divine nature was foreign to the original poem) suppose that the interpolation, or alteration, has extended over a wider surface. It is worthy of remark that the hundred and thirteenth section of the Calcutta edition is in other parts also more developed than Gorresio's. Thus after verso 40 of the Calcutta edition, corresponding to verse 28 of Gorresio's, eighteen verses are inserted which are not in the latter, and after verse 59 of the Calcutta edition = verse 29 of Gorresio's, twelve verses are found which are wanting in the latter. From this it would appear that both recensions have, in different places, received developments after they began to be separately handed down, unless, indeed, we are to assume that that followed by Gorresio

omitted passages which had previously existed in the common source of both.

In the passage which I shall next quote, the legend makes no mention of the incarnation of Vishṇu, but specifies the birth of Sītā as the means whereby Rāvana is to be destroyed. After the Rāxasas had been defeated by Rāma and driven back into Lankā, their females loudly bewailed the calamities by which their race had been overtaken. In the course of this lament, they say (sect. 95, vv. 25 ff. Calc. ed.):

*Rudro vā yadi vā Vishṇur Mahendro rā Satakratuḥ | hanti no Rāma-rūpeṇa yadi vā svayam Antakah | hata-pravīrā Rāmena nirāśā jīvite vayam | apaśyanto<sup>32</sup> bhayasyāntam anāthā vilapāmahe | Rāma-hastād Daśagrīvah śūro datta-mahāvaraḥ | idam bhayam mahōghorām samūtpannaṁ na budhyate | taṁ na devā na gandharvā na piśachā na rāxasāḥ | upaśiṣṭam<sup>33</sup> parikrāntum śaktā Rāmena saṁyuge | utsatāśchāpi driṣyante Rāvaṇasya rane rane | kathayanti hi Rāmena Rāvaṇasya nirarhaṇam | Pitāmahena prītena deva-dānara-rāxasiḥ | Rāvaṇasyābhayaṁ dattam manushebhyo na yāchitam | tad idam mānusham manye prāptam niḥsaṁśayam bhayam | jīritānta-karūm ghoram raxasām Rāvaṇasya cha | pīḍya-mānās tu balinā vara-dānena raxasā | dīptais tapobhir vibudhāḥ Pitāmaham apūjayan | devatānām hitārthāya mahātmā vai Pitāmahāḥ | urācha devatās tushṭa idāṁ sarrā mahad rachaḥ | adya-prabhṛiti lokānīś trīn sarve dānara-rāxasāḥ | bhayena prārritā nityam vicharishyanti śāśvatam<sup>34</sup> | daivatais tu samāgamya sārvaiś Chandra-purogamaīḥ | r̥iṣha-dhvajas Tripura-hā Mahādevaḥ pratoshitāḥ | prasannas tu Mahā-devo devān etad rāccho 'bravīl | utpatsyati hitārthām vo nārī raxaḥ-xayāvahā | eshā devaiḥ prayuktā tu xud yathā<sup>35</sup> dānurān purā | bhaya-yishyati naḥ sārvān rāxasa-ghnī sa-rāvaṇān | Rāvaṇasyāpanītena<sup>36</sup> durvinitasya durmataḥ | ayaṁ niṣṭhānako ghorāḥ sōkena samabhiplutāḥ | Tanna paśyāmahe loke yo naḥ sāraṇa-do bharet | Rāghavenopasṛiṣṭānām kālenca yugazaye | “Either Rudra, or Vishṇu, or Indra Satakratu, or*

<sup>32</sup> *Apaśyanto 'paśyantyaḥ ārshāḥ* | Comm.

<sup>33</sup> *Upaśiṣṭām hantum ārabdhām* | Comm. Gorresio's edition has *paritrātum* instead of *parikrāntum*.

<sup>34</sup> This verse is thus given in Gorresio's edition (74, 36 f.): *Adya-prabhṛiti lokeshu ye bhūtā bhaya-varjītāḥ | bhayārttās te punar iha vicharishyanti rāxasāḥ*.

<sup>35</sup> The text reads *xud vyathā*; but the Commentary has *xud yathā*. Possibly the proper reading is *xudhītā*, which Gorresio's edition has.

<sup>36</sup> *Apanītena anayena* | Comm.

Death himself slays us in the form of Rāma. Having had our heroes destroyed by Rāma, we despair of life. Seeing no end of our apprehension, we lament, deprived of our protectors. The heroic Daśagrīva (Rāvana) who had received a great boon [from Brahmā] does not perceive this great cause of alarm which [comes] from the hand of Rāma. Neither gods, nor Gandharvas, nor Piśāchas, nor Rāxasas, are able to deliver (?) him when assailed by Rāma in battle. Portents, too, regarding Rāvana are seen in every battle, which foretell his destruction by Rāma. Pitāmaha, gratified, granted to Rāvana security against gods, Dānavas and Rāxasas, but he did not ask [to be secured] against men. This dreadful danger from men, has now, I think, without doubt arrived, which shall terminate the life of Rāvana and the Rāxasas. The gods when oppressed by the Rāxasa (Rāvana) who was mighty through the boon which [Brahmā] had conferred on him, worshipped Pitāmaha (Brahmā) with ardent austerities. The great Pitāmaha, pleased, addressed this great word to all the deities for their benefit : ‘From this day forward all the Dānavas and Rāxasas shall roam continually through the three worlds, overwhelmed with fear.’ All the gods,<sup>37</sup> with Chandra (the Moon) at their head, assembled and propitiated Mahādeva, whose banner is a bull, and who destroyed Tripura (or, the three cities). He, being pleased, thus spake to them : ‘For your benefit there shall arise a female who shall bring destruction to the Rāxasas.’ This female slayer<sup>38</sup> of Rāxasas, being commissioned by the gods, shall [now] devour all of us, including Rāvana; as Hunger formerly<sup>39</sup> [devoured] the Dānavas. Through the folly of the misguided and wicked Rāvana this dreadful destruction surrounded by affliction has come upon us. Therefore we see no one in the world who shall afford protection to us assailed by Rāma, as it were by Time at the end of the ages.”

Compare with the preceding passage the story of Devavati, extracted

<sup>37</sup> The commentator remarks here : *Evan Brahmanah prāśādāt sabhayatvam atra prāptam | saṁhārādi-krita (?) Rudra-pradānañ tu nāśa evāsmākam ity āhuḥ |* “Thus by the favour of Brahmā, the gods obtained that the [Dānavas, etc.] should be terrified : but the further gift of Rudra, the causer of (?) destruction, etc., is that we shall be destroyed.”

<sup>38</sup> Sītā, according to the commentator. Gorresio’s text has *Saishā daiva-prasṛiṣṭā tu xudhitā Janakātmajā*, etc.

<sup>39</sup> “In a former Kalpa.”—Comm.

above (p. 391 f.) from the *Uttara Kāṇḍa*. Could it have been one form of the legend that Sītā, and not Vishṇu, was the real destroyer of Rāvaṇa?

In an earlier part of the poem it is related that after Rāma had slain the Rāxasa Khara, he was congratulated by the gods in a way which is scarcely consistent with the idea that the poet regarded him as an incarnation of Vishṇu:

*Āranya Kāṇḍa* (or Third Book) 30, v. 27 ff. (Calc. ed.)—*Sa papāta Kharo bhūmāu dāhyamānāḥ śāraṅguṇā | Rudreṇeva vinirdagdhaḥ śvetārāṇye yathā 'ndhakaḥ | sa Vṛittra iva vajrena phenena Namuchir yathā | Balo vendrāśani-hato nipapāta hataḥ Kharaḥ | etasmīnn antare devāś chāraṇaiḥ saha sangatāḥ | dundubhīṁśchābhīnighnīntah pushpa-varshaṁ samantataḥ | Rāmasyopari saṁhṛishtā vavarshur vismitāś tadaḥ | arddhādhika-muhūrttena Rāmena niśitaiḥ śaraiḥ | chaturdaśa sahasrāṇi raxasāñ kāma-rūpi-ṇām | Khara-Dūṣhaṇa-mukhyānām nihatāni mahāmr̥idhe | aho vata mahat karma Rāmasya vidiṭātmanāḥ | aho vīryyam aho dārḍhyām Vish-ṇor iva hi driṣyate | ity evam uktvā te sarve yayur devā yathāgatam |*  
 “Burnt up by the fire of the arrow, Khara fell like Andhaka who was formerly consumed by Rudra in the white forest. He fell like Vṛittra smitten by the thunderbolt, like Namuchi by the foam,<sup>40</sup> or like Bala by the lightning of Indra. At this moment the gods, joined with the Chāraṇas, beating kettle-drums, delighted, rained on Rāma a shower of flowers all round, and [said] in astonishment: ‘In a muhūrtta and a half (two hours) fourteen thousand Rāxasas, changing their shapes at will, headed by Khara and Dūṣhaṇa, have been slain by Rāma with sharp arrows in a great fight. O what a mighty exploit of Rāma, sage in spirit (or, who knows himself)! O, his valour and his firmness are seen to be like those of Vishṇu!’ Having thus spoken, all those gods went as they came.”

The writer of these verses could scarcely have regarded Rāma as an incarnation of Vishṇu, or it would have been superfluous to compare him with that deity. In the corresponding section of Gorresio’s edition (the thirty-fifth) these verses are not given, but the several classes of rishis are introduced as [among other things] saying to Rāma (vv. 105 ff.) that all the gods, Gandharvas, etc., were praising him with triumphal benedictions (*jayaśrbhiḥ*), and that Brahmā and Mahādeva

<sup>40</sup> See above, p. 222, and note 201.

were paying him honour. Rāma is then said to have “made obeisance to the gods whom he saw not far off standing on their celestial cars,” (*namaśchakre vimānasthān dṛishṭvā dūre divaukasah* |).

The following is another passage occurring in the Calcutta edition, but not in Gorresio's, in which Rāma, when about to engage in battle with Rāvana, is recommended by Agastya to utter a hymn to the Sun, which will ensure his victory over his enemy. Not a word is said of Rāma's own divinity, and in fact the use of such a prayer does not seem to harmonize with such a character :

Araṇya Kāṇḍa vi. 106, 1 ff. (Calę. ed.): *Tato yuddha-pariśāntam samare chintayā sthitam | Rāraṇām chāgrato dṛishṭvā yuddhāya samupasthitam | 2. Daivataiś cha samāgamyā drashṭum abhyāgato ranam | upāgamyābravīd Rāmam Agastyo bhagavāns tadā | 3. Rāma Rāma mahābāho śrinu guhyaṁ sanātanam | yena sarrān arin vatsa samare vijayishyasi | 4. Āditya-hṛidayam puṇyam sarrā-śatru-vināśanam | jayārāhaṁ japan nityam axayam paramān śiram | 5. Sarva-mangala-māngalyam sarva-pōpa-pranāśanam | chintā-śoka-praśamanam āyurvardhanam uttalamam | 6. Raśmimantaṁ samudiyantaṁ devāsura-namaskritam | pūjayasva Vivasrantam bhāskaram bhuraneśvaram | 7. Sarvadevātmako hy esha tejasrī raśmi-bhāranuh | esha devāsura-gaṇān lokān pāti gabhastibhiḥ | 8. Esha Brahmā cha Viṣṇuḥ cha Śivāḥ Skandāḥ Prajāpatiḥ | Mahendro Dhanadāḥ Kālo Yamāḥ Somo hy Apāñpatiḥ | 9. Pitaro vasavaḥ sādhyā Aśrināu Maruto Manuḥ | Vāyur Vahniḥ prajā-prāṇaḥ ritu-karttā prabhākaraḥ | 10. Ādityaḥ Savitā Sūryyaḥ kha-gaḥ Pūshā gabhastimān | surarṇa-sadriśo bhānur hiranya-retā<sup>41</sup> divākaraḥ | . . . . . 26. Pūjayasrainam ekāgro deva-devaṁ jagat-patiṁ | etat trigunītaṁ japtvā yuddhesu vijayishyasi | 27. Asmin xane mahābāho Rāraṇām traṁ jahishyasi | evam uktrā tato 'gastyo jagāma sa yathāgatam | etach chhrutrā mahātejā nashṭa-śoko 'bhavat tadā | dhārayāmāsa suprīto Rāghavaḥ prayatātmarān | 29. Ādityam prexya japtivedam paraṁ harsham avāptarān | trir āchamya śuchir bhūtvā dhanur ādāya vīryavān | 30. Rāraṇam prexya hṛishītmā jayārthaṁ samupāgamat | sarva-yatnena mahatā vṛitas tasya badhe 'bhavat | 31. Atha rāvir avadād nīrixya Rāmam mudita-manāḥ paramam prahrishyamāṇāḥ | niśicharapati-saṅxayaṁ viditrā sura-gaṇa-madhyā-gato vachas trareti |*

“The divine Agastya then beholding [Rāma] fatigued with the con-

<sup>41</sup> *Axarādhikyam ārīham* | Comm.

flict, standing anxious in the battle, and in his front Rāvana, who had drawn near to the combat, [Agastya, I say], (2) joining the gods, arrived to see the conflict; and coming near to Rāma, he said : 3. ‘Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, hear the eternal mysterious [prayer], by which, my son,<sup>42</sup> continually muttering it,—(4) the holy *Āditya-hṛidaya* (‘heart of the sun’), which destroys all enemies, brings victory, is undecaying, supreme, beneficent, (5) the auspiciousness of all auspicious things, the destroyer of all sins, the allayer of anxieties and sorrows, the prolonger of life, the most excellent—thou shalt conquer all thine enemies in battle. 6. Worship the rising Vivasvat, the radiant sun, adored by gods and Asuras, the lord of the world. 7. For he possesses the essence of all the gods, is fiery, the producer of rays. He by his beams sustains the gods, the Asuras, and the worlds. 8. He is both Brahmā and Vishṇu, Sīva and Skanda, Prajāpati, Indra, Kuvera, Kāla (Time), Yama, Soma, and the lord of waters (Vaiuṇa), (9) the Pitṛis, Vasus, Sādhyas, Aśvins, Manu, Vāyu, Agni, the breath of creatures, the former of the seasons, the producer of light, Āditya, Savitṛi, Sūryya, moving in the sky, Pūshan, the radiant, of golden hue, the shining, who has golden seed, the maker of the day.” Then follow (vv. 11–15) many other titles of the Sun, succeeded (vv. 15–21) by invocations addressed to him under various appellations, among which is (v. 19) *Brahmeśānāchyutesāya*,<sup>43</sup> “lord of Brahmā, Isāna (Sīva), and Achyuta (Vishṇu).” After some further eulogies of the Sun, Rāma is again exhorted to worship this deity (vv. 26 ff.): “Worship with fixed mind this god of gods, the lord of the world. Having thrice muttered this [hymn], thou shalt conquer in battles; in this moment, o great-armed, thou shalt slay Rāvana.” Having thus spoken, Agastya went as he had come. After hearing this, the vigorous Rāma became then freed from grief; and, with well-governed spirit, bore it in his memory. Beholding the Sun, and muttering this hymn, he attained the highest joy. Having thrice rinsed his mouth, and become pure, the hero took his bow. Beholding

<sup>42</sup> See above, p. 328, how much Brahmā was offended by having this appellation, *vatsa*, “my son,” applied to him by Vishṇu. Could, then, the poet here intend to represent Rāma as possessing a divine nature, when he makes Agastya address him thus?

<sup>43</sup> *Brahmeśānāchyutānām śrīshṭi-saṁhāra-sthiti-kartrīṇām iśāya svāmine | śrīshṭi-sthity-anta-karanīm Brahma-Viṣṇu-Sivātmikām | sañjñānām yāti (?) bhagavān eka eva Janārdanah*” iti smṛitih | Comm.

Rāvana with gladdened spirit, he approached to vanquish him ; and with great intentness became bent upon his slaughter. Then the Sun looking upon Rāma with rejoicing mind, exceedingly exulting, knowing the [approaching] destruction of the chief of the Rāxasas, and going into the midst of the gods, uttered the word ‘speed.’ ”

This extract, as I have said above, is entirely wanting in Gorresio’s edition, in which a verse (the last of its eighty-ninth section) corresponding with the last in the hundred-and-fifth section of the Calc. ed., is succeeded immediately by one (Gorr. 90, 1) corresponding to the fourth verse of the hundred-and-seventh section of the Calcutta edition. The whole of the matter which is wanting in Gorresio may be omitted without detriment to the connection ; and in fact the recurrence at the beginning of the hundred-and-seventh section (Calc. ed.) of expressions repeating in substance what had been said at the close of the hundred-and-fifth would lead to the conclusion that the whole of the hundred-and-sixth section was interpolated. On the other hand, it seems strange that a passage which appears to militate against Rāma’s divine character, should be a later addition. The only conceivable motive for such an interpolation would be to glorify the Sun by the insertion of this hymn in celebration of his praise, an object which does not bear upon the main design of the Rāmāyana.

The following is, on the other hand, a passage which may be understood as ascribing a superhuman nature to Rāma. After Vibhishana had deserted his brother Rāvana, and come over to Rāma’s side, a consultation took place among the friends of the latter, whether the deserter was deserving of confidence or not. Some regarded him with suspicion, but Rāma himself was in favour of receiving him with open arms. In the course of the conversation he asks (Yuddha Kānda 18, 22 f., Calc. ed.): *Sudushṭo vā’py adushto vā kim esha rājanīcharaḥ | sūxmam apy ahitāṁ karttum manu śaktāḥ kathañchana | piśāchān dānavān yaxān prithiryām chāira rāxasān | aṅguly-agrena tān hanyām ichhan hari-ganeshvara |* “Whether the Rāxasa be good or bad, what, even the smallest, injury can he do to me in any way? If I wish, I can destroy Piśāchas, Dānavas, Yaxas, and Rāxasas on the earth, with the tip of my finger.” This mode of expression rather points to an inherent divine power. In Gorresio’s edition the expression is somewhat different. Rāma there says (Sundara K. 91, 3) that

he could destroy all those beings “forthwith, and by the power of a divine weapon” (*sakto 'hañ sahusū hantum divyenastra-balena cha*), which may be understood of a derived power. However this may be, it turned out upon trial that Rāma was unable to dispose of his enemies so summarily, as we have seen above in the case of his conflict with Indrajit (p. 383 ff.).

The termination of Rāma's terrestrial career is thus told in sections 116 ff. of the Uttara Kānda. Time, in the form of an ascetic, comes to his palace-gate (116, 1 ff.), and asks, as the messenger of the great rishi (Brahmā), to see Rāma (v. 3). He is admitted and received with honour (v. 9), but says, when asked what he has to communicate, that his message must be delivered in private, and that any one who witnesses the interview is to lose his life (v. 13). Rāma informs Laxmaya of all this, and desires him to stand outside. Time then tells Rāma (117, 1) that he has been sent by Brahmā to say that when he (Rāma, *i.e.* Vishṇu), after destroying the worlds, was sleeping on the ocean, he had formed him (Brahmā) from the lotus springing from his navel, and committed to him the work of creation (vv. 4-7); that he (Brahmā) had then entreated Rāma to assume the function of Preserver, and that the latter had in consequence become Vishṇu, being born as the son of Aditi (v. 10), and had determined to deliver mankind by destroying Rāvana, and to live on earth ten thousand and ten hundred years; that period, adds Time, was now on the eve of expiration (v. 13), and Rāma could either, at his pleasure, prolong his stay on earth, or ascend to heaven and rule over the gods (v. 15). Rāma replies (v. 18) that he had been born for the good of the three worlds, and would now return to the place whence he had come, as it was his function to fulfil the purposes of the gods. While they are speaking, the irritable rishi Durvāsas<sup>44</sup> comes, and insists on seeing Rāma immediately, under a threat, if refused, of cursing Rāma and all his family (118, 1 ff.). Laxmaya, preferring to save his kinsmen, though knowing that his own death must be the consequence of interrupting the interview of Rāma with Time, enters the palace, and reports the rishi's message to Rāma (v. 8 f.). Rāma comes out, and when Durvāsas has got the food he wished, and departed, Rāma reflects with great distress on the words of Time, which require that

<sup>44</sup> Compare p. 165, above.

Laxmaṇa should die (v. 16). Laxmaṇa, however (119, 2 f.), exhorts Rāma not to grieve, but to abandon him, and not break his own promise. The counsellors concurring in this advice (v. 9), Rāma abandons Laxmaṇa, who goes to the river Sarayū, suppresses all his senses, and is conveyed bodily by Indra to heaven. The gods are delighted by the arrival of the fourth part of Vishṇu (v. 19). Rāma then resolves to install Bharata as his successor, and retire to the forest and follow Laxmaṇa (120, 1 ff.). Bharata, however, refuses the succession, and determines to accompany his brother (v. 8). Rāma's subjects are filled with grief, and say they also will follow him wherever he goes (v. 12). Messengers are sent to Satrughna, the other brother, and he also resolves to accompany Rāma (121, 1–14); who at length sets out in procession from his capital with all the ceremonial appropriate to the "great departure" (*mahā-prasthāna*, 122, 1 ff.), silent, indifferent to external objects, joyless, with Śrī on his right, the goddess Earth on his left, Energy in front, attended by all his weapons in human shapes, by the Vedas in the forms of Brahmans, by the Gāyatrī, the Omkāra, the Vashatkāra, by rishis, by his women, female slaves, eunuchs, and servants. Bharata with his family, and Satrughna, follow, together with Brahmans bearing the sacred fire, and the whole of the people of the country, and even with animals, etc. etc. Rāma, with all these attendants, comes to the banks of the Sarayū (sect. 123). Brahmā, with all the gods, in innumerable celestial cars, now appears, and all the sky is resplendent with the divine splendour. Pure and fragrant breezes blow, a shower of flowers falls. Rāma enters the waters of the Sarayū; and Brahmā utters a voice from the sky, saying: "Approach, Vishṇu; Rāghava, thou hast happily arrived, with thy god-like brothers. Enter thine own body as Vishṇu, or the eternal æther. For thou art the abode of the worlds (*loka-gatiḥ*): no one comprehends thee, the inconceivable and imperishable, except the large-eyed Māyā, thy primeval spouse." Hearing these words, Rāma enters the glory of Vishṇu (*Vaishnavām tejas*) with his body and his followers. He then asks Brahmā to find an abode for the people who had accompanied him from devotion to his person, and Brahmā appoints them a celestial residence accordingly.

Instead of describing any such resumption of his divine nature, the Mahābhārata (Drona-parva, v. 2246) merely speaks of Rāma's going to

heaven with four kinds of creatures (*chaturvidhāḥ prajā Rāmaḥ svargam nītvā divaṁ gataḥ*). The Rāmopākhyāna in the Mahābhārata does not describe the apotheosis of Rāma at all.

The probability that many of the verses in the preceding passages which I have above suspected to be spurious may really be such, is greatly strengthened by the fact that the commentators on the poem themselves note various texts which they regard as interpolated. Thus the commentator on Kishk. K. sect. 43 (Calc. ed.) remarks on 46 ff.: *Itah uttaram kechid "ramante sahitās tatra nārībhīḥ bhāsrara-prabhāḥ"* (v. 50) *ity antāḥ ślokāḥ praxiptāḥ prāchīna-pustakeshv anupalambhād iti Katakah |* “Kataka (a previous commentator) says that after this (forty-sixth verse) some verses ending with the words (in the fiftieth verse) ‘They sport there resplendent, along with their women,’ are rejected, because they are not found in the old copies.”

At the end of the twenty-third section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa, the commentator remarks: *Itāḥ param pañcha-sargāḥ praxiptā bodhyāḥ |* “After this five sections are to be regarded as rejected.” On these five sections, the twenty-fourth to the twenty-eighth, he gives no commentary. In sect. 24, v. 42, Kansa is mentioned by anachronism.

At the end of the forty-second section of the same book the commentator furnishes the following piece of sensible criticism: *Etad-uttaram Bāli-Sugrīvotpatti-pratishthā Rāvaṇasya Sretadvipa-gamaneti-hāsaś cha kapatiyaiḥ (katipayaīḥ?) sargair Agastyoktitayā kvachit pustakeshu driṣyate | tat-pūrra-sargānte era Agastyaśya āśrama-gamanakathanāsaṅgateḥ Kataka-Tīrthādy-anādattatrād mayā'pi nūyākhyātāḥ | Uttare bahavaḥ sargāḥ praxiptāḥ |* “That which follows—viz. the celebration of the birth of Bāli and Sugrīva, and the story of Rāvana’s journey to Svetadvipa—is found in some copies, as being related by Agastya in (?) several sections. But as these sections have not been received by Kataka, Tīrtha, and other [previous commentators], owing to their inconsistency with the account [given] at the end of the previous section (41, vv. 51, 58 ff.) of Agastya’s departure to his hermitage, I have left them uncommented.” Sections 43–47 are accordingly without any commentary.

Again, at the close of section 69, he remarks: *Etad-agre praxiptatvat Kataka-Tīrthābhyām na vyākhyātam | etad uttaraṁ grīdhrolukākhyānāñcha kvachid driṣyate |* “What succeeds has not been explained by

Kataka and Tīrtha on the ground of spuriousness. And the story of the vulture and owl which follows is [only] found in some copies." Sections 70–72 have no comment; and in fact the beginning of section 73 seems to be connected with the end of section 69.

From these extracts it is clear that various passages which are still preserved in the Rāmāyaṇa were regarded by the commentators as spurious because they were not to be found in the oldest MSS. extant in their day, or because they contained something inconsistent with the context in which they occur. The judgment of these commentators is no doubt correct, especially as they must have been well acquainted with the habit which, we need not hesitate to assume, prevailed in their day, as internal evidence proves it to have prevailed in India for many centuries past, of interpolating legendary works such as the Purāṇas and Itihāsas, the style of which, from its simplicity, offers the greatest facilities for imitation. But if such interpolation be admitted by the commentators as practised in their time, it is natural to suppose that it must have been practised at an earlier period also. And the example of the Mahābhārata confirms this supposition.

After reviewing most of the passages, which I have cited above, in which Rāma's divine character is alluded to, as they are given in his own edition, and, in addition, the section which I have cited in p. 148 ff.,<sup>45</sup> Signor Gorresio, remarks as follows (vol. x. Preface, p. xlvi. f.): "What are we to conclude from all this? Notwithstanding the citations adduced, I would not yet venture to pronounce a definitive judgment on this question (whether the idea of the incarnation of Vishṇu in Rāma was an original part of the conception of the poem, or interpolated). The passages quoted only prove that the interpolation, if it be such, has been made with great study and much art. But in order thoroughly to elucidate this question, we must have recourse to other documents, and seek for other proofs and indications than the poem itself supplies. Our sentence, therefore, remains suspended."

The Mahābhārata also contains a history of Rāma, which is told to

<sup>45</sup> On this passage he observes (p. xlvi.): "Among the names here assigned to Vishṇu some of a sufficiently suspicious character are found, such as that of Krishna, which I do not recollect to have discovered in any other part of the poem. Besides, this chapter has no close bond to connect it with the context, and might be removed without the least injury to the poem."

Yudhishtira by the sage Mārkanḍeya, in the Vana-parva, vv. 15872–16602. In this episode it is briefly related (v. 15878 f.) that Daśaratha had four sons, born of his three queens. The birth and history of Rāvaṇa and his brothers are described in much greater detail (vv. 15881–15928), and many particulars are given which do not occur in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, though the Uttara Kāṇḍa contains a similar account. According to the episode in the Mahābhārata, Brahmā had a mental son Pulastya, who again had a son Vaiśravāṇa. The latter deserted his father and went to Brahmā, who as a reward made him immortal and appointed him the god of riches, with Lankā for his capital, and the car Pushpaka for his vehicle. His father, Pulastya, however, being incensed at this desertion of himself, created another son, Viśravas, who looked on Vaiśravāṇa with ill-will. The latter, to pacify his father<sup>46</sup> (v. 15890 ff.), gave him three elegant Rāxasīs to attend on him: Pushpotkaṭā, who had two sons, Rāvaya and Kumbhakarṇa; Mālinī, who bore Vibhishana; and Rākā, who bore Khara, and Sūrpanakhā. These sons were all valiant, skilled in the Veda, and observers of religious rites; but perceiving the prosperity of Vaiśravāṇa, they were filled with jealousy. They accordingly began to practise austerities to propitiate Brahmā, and at the end of a thousand years Rāvaya cut off his own head and threw it as an oblation into the fire (v. 15908). Brahmā then appeared to stop their austerities and offer them boons. He ordained that Rāvaya should have heads and shapes at will, and should be invincible, except by men; that Kumbhakarṇa should, according to his request, enjoy long sleep<sup>47</sup> (*sa rāvre mahatiṁ nigrām tamasā grasta-chetanāḥ*). Vibhishana asks that he may never meditate any unrighteousness, and that the weapon of Brahmā may appear to him unlearned.<sup>48</sup> Having obtained such power, Rāvaya expels Vaiśravāṇa (Kuvera) from Lankā.

<sup>46</sup> Viśravas must be here meant, although according to v. 15883 ff. Viśravas appears to have been born after Vaiśravāṇa, and in consequence of the latter having deserted his father, Pulastya. Vaiśravāṇa means the son of Viśravas, and in v. 15925, Vaiśravāṇa (Kuvera) is said to be the brother of Vibhishana, who must have been the son of Viśravas, as his brother Rāvaya is called in v. 15930. There appears to be some confusion in the account.

<sup>47</sup> This disagrees with the statement in the Rāmāyaṇa (quoted above, p. 394) that he was doomed to long sleep as a curse.

<sup>48</sup> *Aśītañcha bhṛgavan Brahmāstram pratibhātu me* | See the Second Vol. of this work, p. 433.

Vibhīṣhaṇa follows his brother<sup>49</sup> (v. 15925) Kuvera, who retires to Gandhamādana (v. 15921). Rāvaṇa having begun to exercise his power tyrannically, the rishis resort for deliverance to Brahmā (v. 15929 ff.), who promises that as Rāvaṇa could not be killed either by gods or Asuras, the four-armed Vishṇu, the chief of warriors, should descend to earth for his destruction (*tad-artham aratīrṇo 'sau man-niyogāch chaturbhujah | Vishṇuh praharātāṁ śreshṭhah sa tat karma karishyati |*). No account, is, however, given of the way in which Vishṇu was to become incarnate in one or more of the sons of Daśaratha; or how this was accomplished. Brahmā also desired Indra and the other gods to beget on the she-bears and she-monkeys sons who should assist Vishṇu, which they accordingly did. He also gave injunctions to a Gandharvī called Dundubhī, who was born on earth as Mantharā, and stirred up enmity by urging Kaikeyī to claim the succession to Daśaratha's throne for her own son Bharata (vv. 15960 ff.).

This portion of the episode which relates the earlier history of Rāvaṇa, and the means adopted by Brahmā for his destruction, need not have formed an original part of the poem: though an allusion is afterwards made in a later part of it to the monkeys of Rāma's army having been begotten by the gods (v. 16309), where Sāgara, the Ocean, who had appeared to Rāma, is introduced as saying: *Asti tatra Nalo nāma vānarah śilpi-sammataḥ | Tvashṭur derasya tanayo balarān Viśvakarmanāḥ |* “There is there a monkey called Nala, approved by artizans, the strong son of the god Tvashṭri Viśvakarman.”

The main incidents in this episode agree, as far as I have examined them, with those of the Rāmāyaṇa: though there are some minor points in which there is a difference between the two. Thus the larger poem appears (as far as I have looked into it) to say nothing of Mantharā being the incarnation of a Gandharvī, though this is alluded to by the commentator in ii. 7, 1 of the Calcutta edition, in these words: *Atha Sītāyā Laṅkā-pura-praveśām vinā Rāvana-badhasyāśak-*

<sup>49</sup> In v. 16158 f. Vibhīṣhaṇa is said to dwell with a white umbrella, and white garlands, on the Svetaparvata, or, “white mountain,” attended by his four counselors, and apart from his disreputable brothers Kumbhakarṇa, etc., who, naked, with dishevelled hair, and red garlands, frequented the south. In v. 16314, he is said to join Rāma, and it is not mentioned whence he comes; but as his treachery is at first suspected, it might appear to be implied that he came from Lankā, as is expressly related in the Rāmāyaṇa, v. 89, 1, 43, Gorr.; and vi. 17, 1, Calc. ed.

*yatayā tat-siddhaye devaiḥ preritāyāḥ kṛita-kubjā-veshayā Mantharāyā  
Rāmābhisheka-vighna-pravrīttim . . . vaktum upakramate |* “Now since Rāvaṇa could not be killed unless Sītā entered into Lankā,—with a view to the accomplishment of that, he (the poet) begins to relate how Mantharā, who had been sent by the gods, and had taken the disguise of a hunchback, threw obstacles in the way of Rāvaṇa’s inauguration,” etc. Again, as we have already seen, long periods of sleep are said, in the larger poem, to have been inflicted by Brahmā on Kumbhakarṇa as a curse, but in the episode to have been granted as a boon.<sup>50</sup> The account which will be given below from the Mahābhārata, is a sort of reconciliation of these two statements. Another discrepancy noticed by the commentator has been already cited above, p. 352, note 327.

In the sequel of the story, as given in the Mahābhārata, it is said that, after the destruction of Rāvaṇa, and the appearance of the gods to persuade Rāma to take back his wife Sītā, Brahmā offered Rāma any boons he might choose, and that Rāma accordingly desired that he might continue steadfast in righteousness, and unconquered by his enemies; and solicited the resurrection of the monkeys who had been killed by the Rāxasas (vv. 1657 ff.). The poet, who represents Rāma as consenting to receive these boons from Brahmā, could scarcely have regarded him as the Supreme Spirit, as he is declared in some parts of the Rāmāyaṇa to have been (see above, p. 148 ff.).<sup>51</sup>

As I have noticed above, the Uttara Kānda of the Rāmāyaṇa contains an account of the birth, and a sketch of the earlier history, of Rāvaṇa and his brothers, which varies in some particulars from the narrative

<sup>50</sup> The story of Rambhā, which is related in the passage quoted above, is here briefly sketched in these words (v. 16151 ff.): *Nalakūvara-sūpena raxitā hy asi nadini | śapto hy esha purā pāpo badhūm Rambhām parāmṛishan | na śaknoty avaśām nārīm upaitum ajitendriyah |* “Thou art protected, happy one, by the curse of Nala-kūvara. For this wicked being of unrestrained passions (Rāvaṇa) having formerly been cursed when insulting his (N.’s) wife Rambhā, is unable to approach a helpless woman.”

<sup>51</sup> My attention has been drawn by a brochure of Professor M. Williams, which is passing through the press, to another passage in the Mahābhārata where Rāma is mentioned. He is there (Drona-parva 2224–2248) celebrated in the most hyperbolical language, as where he is said (v. 2235) to “have transcended all beings, rishis, gods, and men,” but no reference appears to be made to his possessing a divine nature. The word *rīvara* applied to him in v. 2242 appears to mean only “lord,” and not to be employed in the sense of “god.”

in the Mahābhārata. We are there told how after Rāma had returned to Ayodhyā, and taken possession of the throne, the rishis assembled to greet him, and Agastya, in answer to his questions, recounted many particulars regarding his old enemies. In the Kṛita Yuga (or Golden Age) the austere and pious Brahman-rishi Pulastya, a son of Brahmā, being teased with the visits of different damsels, proclaimed that any one of them whom he again saw near his hermitage should become pregnant. This had not been heard by the daughter of the royal-rishi Trīṇavindu, who one day came into Pulastya's neighbourhood, and her pregnancy was the result (sect. 2, vv. 14 ff.). After her return home, her father, seeing her condition, took her to Pulastya, who accepted her as his wife, and she bore a son who received the name of Viśravas (v. 32). This son was like his father, an austero and religious sage. He married the daughter of the muni Bharadvāja, who bore him a son, to whom Brahmā gave the name of Vaiśravaṇa = Kuvera (sect. 3, vv. 1 ff.). He performed austerity for thousands of years, when he obtained from Brahmā as a boon, that he should be one of the guardians of the world [along with Indra, Varuṇa, and Yama] and the god of riches (vv. 11 ff.). He afterwards consulted his father Viśravas about an abode, and at his suggestion, took possession of the city of Lankā, which had formerly been built by Viśvakarman for the Rāxasas, but had been abandoned by them through fear of Vishṇu, and was at that time unoccupied (vv. 23 ff.). Rāma then (sect. 4) says he is surprised to hear that Lankā had formerly belonged to the Rāxasas, as he had always understood that they were the descendants of Pulastya, and now he learns that they had also another origin. He therefore asks who was their ancestor, and what fault they had committed that they were chased away by Vishṇu. Agastya replies (vv. 9 ff.) that when Brahmā created the waters, he formed certain beings,—some of whom received the name of Rāxasas,—to guard them. The first Rāxasa kings were Heti and Praheti (v. 14). Heti married a sister of Kāla (Time). She bore him a son Vidyutkeśa (v. 17), who in his turn took for his wife Lankaṭankatā, the daughter of Sandhyā (v. 21). She bore him a son Sukeśa, whom she abandoned, but he was seen by Siva, as he was passing by with his wife Pārvatī (v. 27 ff.), who made the child as old as his mother, and immortal, and gave him a celestial city. Pārvatī, too, gave as a boon to the Rāxasa women the

power of immediate conception and parturition (v. 30). Sukeśa married a Gandharvī called Devavatī (sect. 5, v. 3), who bore three sons, Mālyavat, Sumāli, and Māli (v. 6). These sons practised intense austerities (v. 9), when Brahmā appeared (v. 12) and conferred on them invincibility and long life (15). They then harassed the gods (16). Viśvakarman gave them a city, Laṅkā, on the mountain Trikūṭa, on the shore of the southern ocean, which he had built at the command of Indra (v. 25). They marry the three daughters of the Gandharvī Narmadā. Mālyavat's wife, Sundarī, bears Vajramushṭi, Virūpāxa, Durmukha, Suptaghna, Yajnakopa, Matta, Unmatta, and one daughter Analā (v. 35 ff.). Sumāli's wife, Ketumatī, bears Prahasta, Kampana, Vikaṭa, Kālikāmukha, Dhūmrāxa, Daṇḍa, Supārśva, Sanhrādi, Pradyasa, Bhāsakarṇa, and four daughters, Rākā, Pushpotkaṭā, Kaikasi, and Kumbhināsi (v. 39 ff.). Māli's wife, Vasudā, bore Anala, Nila, Hara, and Sampāti (v. 43). The three Rāxasas, Mālyavat and his two brothers, then began to oppress the gods, rishis, etc.; who (sect. 6, v. 1 ff.) in consequence resort for aid to Mahādeva ("the creator and destroyer of the world, the unborn, imperceptible, the support of all worlds"), who, having regard to his protégé Sukeśa (the father of Mālyavat, etc., see above), says that he cannot kill the Rāxasas (v. 10); but advises the suppliants to go to Vishṇu, which they do (v. 12), and receive from him a promise that he will destroy their enemies (v. 21). The three Rāxasa kings, hearing of this, consult together (v. 23 ff.), and proceed to heaven to attack the gods (v. 46). Vishṇu prepares to meet them (v. 63). The battle is described in the seventh section. The Rāxasas are defeated by Vishṇu with great slaughter, and driven back to Laṅkā, one of their leaders, Māli, being slain (v. 42). Mālyavat remonstrates with Vishṇu, who was assaulting the rear of the fugitives, on his unwarriorlike conduct, and wishes to renew the combat (sect. 8, v. 3 ff.). Vishṇu replies that he must fulfil his promise to the gods by slaying the Rāxasas, and that he would destroy them even if they fled to Pātāla (v. 7 ff.). The battle is renewed, but Mālyavat and Sumāli are driven into Laṅkā (v. 20), and being unable to withstand Vishṇu, at length retire to Pātāla (v. 22). These Rāxasas, Agastya says, were more powerful than Rāvaṇa, and could only be destroyed by Nārāyaṇa, i.e. by Rāma himself, the eternal indestructible god (v. 24 ff.). Sumāli with his family lived for a

long time in Pātāla, while Kuvera dwelt in Laṅkā (v. 29). In section 9 it is related that Sumāli once happened to visit the earth, when he observed Kuvera going in his chariot to see his father Viśravas. This leads him to consider how he might restore his own fortunes. He consequently desires his daughter Kaikasi to go and woo Viśravas (v. 12), who receives her graciously. She becomes the mother of the dreadful Rāvaṇa (v. 29), of the huge Kumbhakarṇa (v. 34), of Sūrpanakhā, and of the righteous Vibhishana, who was the last son (v. 35).<sup>52</sup> These children grow up in the forest. Kumbhakarṇa goes about eating rishis (v. 38). Kuvera comes to visit his father (v. 40), when Kaikasi takes occasion to urge her son Rāvaṇa to strive to become like his brother (Kuvera) in splendour. This Rāvaṇa promises to do (v. 45). He then goes to the hermitage of Gokarṇa with his brothers to perform austerity (v. 47). In section 10 their austere observances are described. After a thousand years' penance, Rāvaṇa throws his head as an offering into the fire (v. 10). He repeats this oblation nine times after equal intervals, and is about to do it the tenth time, when Brahmā appears (v. 12), and offers a boon. Rāvaṇa asks immortality, but is refused (17). He then asks that he may be indestructible by all creatures more powerful than men; which boon is accorded by Brahmā (v. 22), together with the recovery of all the heads he had sacrificed, and the power of assuming any shape he pleased. Vibhīṣhaṇa (nearly as in the Mahābhārata, see above, p. 411) asks as his boon (v. 30 f.) that "even amid the greatest calamities he may think only of righteousness, and that the weapon of Brahmā may appear to him unlearnt," etc. (*paramāpad-gatasyāpi dharme mama matir bharet | aśixitañcha brahmāstram bhagavan pratibhātu me*<sup>53</sup>). The god grants his request, and adds the gift of immortality. When Brahmā is about to offer a boon to Kumbhakarṇa, the gods interpose, as, they say, he had eaten seven Apsarases and ten followers of Indra, besides rishis and men; and beg that under

<sup>52</sup> This account varies from that of the Mahābhārata (above, p. 411), according to which the mothers are different, and Khara (who is not named here), is also a son of Viśravas.

<sup>53</sup> The commentator explains these last words thus: *aśixitām sad-gurūpadēśām viñāpīty arthaḥ | brahmāstram brahma-vidyā | etad varanām aśesha brahma-vidyā-siddhi-pratibandhaka-nivrittaye |* "Unlearnt, that is, [may it appear to me], even without the instruction of a good teacher. The weapon of Brahmā is the science of Brahma (or of the veda). This choice of a boon seeks the removal of all obstacles to the attainment of divine knowledge."

the guise of a boon stupefaction may be inflicted on him. Brahmā thinks on Sarasvatī, who arrives, and by Brahmā's command (*Vāṇi tvaṁ Rāxasendrasya bhava rāg-devatepsitā*) enters into Kumbhakarṇa's mouth, that she may speak for him. Under this influence he asks that he may receive the boon of sleeping for many years, which is granted (v. 45).<sup>54</sup> When, however, Sarasvatī has left him, and he recovers his own consciousness, he perceives that he has been deluded (v. 47). Kuvera, by his father's advice, gives up the city of Laṅkā to Ravana (sect. 11, v. 39 ff.).

The Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 41, vv. 44 ff., contains in its description of the monkey Hanumat's history the following testimony to his literary merits:

**44.** *Asau punar vyākaraṇām grāhiṣyān sūryonnukhaḥ prashṭu-manūḥ kapīndraḥ | udyad-girer asta-giriṁ jagāma grantham mahad dhārayan aprameyah |* 45. *Sa-sūtra-r̥itti-artha-pudam mahārthām sa-sangrahaṁ sidhyati vai kapīndraḥ | na hy asya kaśchit sadṛiśo 'sti śāstre raiśāradē chhanda-gatau tathāira | sarrāsu r̥idyāsu tapo-vidhāne praspardhato 'yām hi guruṁ surānām |* “44. Again the chief of monkeys (Hanumat), measureless, seeking to acquire grammar, looking up to the sun, bent on enquiry, went from the mountain where the sun rises to that where he sets, apprehending the mighty collection—(45) viz., the aphorisms (*sūtra*), the commentary (*r̥itti*), the vārttika (*arthapada*), of extensive contents, and the sangraha [of Vyāḍi]. The chief of monkeys is perfect, no one equals him in the śāstras, in learning, and in ascertaining the sense of the Scripture, [or in moving at will]. In all sciences, in the rules of austerity, he rivals the preceptor of the gods.”

The following is the commentary on the above passage: *Udyad-girer mahad granthām dhārayan arthataḥ pāṭhataś cha grihṇan | dhārayan aprameya iti nūd-abhāva ārshah | sūrya-sāmmukhyārthaṁ tāvad gama-nam |* 45. *Ko 'sau granthas tatrāha sa-sūtreti | sūtram ashtādhyāyī-*

<sup>54</sup> The commentator remarks here: *eram ity atra shaṇ-mīśād arvūk jāgarāṇām neti niyamah | tad-adhikam api nidrā tu bhavaty eveti vara-svarūpam bodhyam | ata eva shaṇ-mīśān svapitī pūrvamī Vibhishāṇoktyā varshāny anekānīti Kumbhakarṇoktyā cha pūrvoktasya ne virodhah |* “In these words of Brahmā (v. 45) there is no condition that Kumbhakarṇa should wake after six months, but it is understood as the nature of the boon that he might sleep for even a longer time. Wherefore, although it was formerly said by Vibhishāṇa that ‘he sleeps six months,’ and Kumbhakarṇa here speaks of sleeping many years, there is no discrepancy between the latter and the former.”

*laxanam | vrittis tatkālika-sūtra-vṛittiḥ | artha-padam sūtrārtha-bodha-ka-pada-vad vārttikam mahārtham mahābhāshyam Patañjali-kritam | sa-sangraham Vyādi-krita-saṅgrahākhyā-grantha-sahitam | sidhyati vai siddho bhavati śāstrāntareshv apīty arthaḥ | tad evāha | na hy asya śadrisaḥ śāstre kāśchit chhanda-gatau pūrvottara-mīmāṃsā-mukhena vedārtha-nirṇaye vaisārade rādushye | viśishya narama-vyākaraṇa-karttā Hanūmān iti prasiddhir iti Katakaḥ | ayañ Gurum praspardhate |*

“From the mountain where the sun rises, ‘holding,’ apprehending in sense and in text ‘the great collection.’ The absence of the reduplicated *n* in *dhārayan aprameyah* is vedic (*ārsha*). He went to face the sun.

45. In the words ‘with the sūtras,’ etc., he describes what the book was. The sūtras mean the eight books of Pāṇini (*ashṭādhyāyī*). The *vṛitti* is the contemporaneous gloss on the sūtras (*sūtra-vṛitti*). The *artha-pada*, ‘of extensive contents,’ is the *vārttika*, ‘the mahābhāshya composed by Patanjali, containing sentences explaining the sense of the sūtras. ‘With the *sangraha*,’ means with the book called *Sangraha*, composed by Vyādi. ‘He is perfect’ means he excels in other śāstras also, as the author goes on to say; ‘for no one is like him in the śāstras, in ascertaining the sense,’ in determining the meaning of the Veda by the mouth of the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṃsā. ‘In skill,’ i.e. in learning. When specifying, it is well known that Hanumat was the ninth author of Grammar; such is Kataka’s explanation.”

The other eight grammarians are mentioned by Colebrooke—Essays ii. pp. 39, 48.

*Page 159, line 15.*

The word Ākhandala occurs in R. V. viii. 17, 12, and the words are quoted in the Nirukta iii. 10, *Ākhandala pra hūyase*; “o Ākhandala, thou art invoked.” It is rendered by “destroyer” in Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon.

*Page 195, lines 11 and 27.*

Instead of “*mārjāliyāya*,” read “*mārjāliyāya*.” When I rendered this word by “cat,” the only significations of it of which I was aware, were those given in Wilson’s Dictionary. I have since accidentally noticed it mentioned in a sentence of Sāyaṇa’s Commentary on R. V. i. 1, 4 (*prāchyādi-chatur-dig-anteshv āhavanīya-mārjāliya-gārhapatyā-*

*gnidhriya-sthāneshv agnir asti*), as the name of one of the four sacrificial fires. The word also (as Professor Aufrecht has pointed out to me) occurs in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 5, 32, where it is explained by the commentator. Instead, therefore, of "the cat," read in line 27, "the Mārjālīya fire."

*Page 206, line 5 from the bottom.*

Krishṇa, when applied to by Duryodhana, as well as by Arjuna, for aid in the impending conflict, promises succour to them both, but allows Arjuna the first choice :

Udyoga-parva, vv. 147 ff.—*Mat-saṁhanana-tulyānāṁ*<sup>55</sup> *gopānām arbu-*  
*dam mahat | Nārāyanā iti khyātāḥ sarre saṅgrāma-yodhināḥ | te vā yudhi-*  
*durādhārshā bhavantv ekasya sainikāḥ | ayudhyamānāḥ saṅgrāme nyasta-*  
*śastro 'ham ekataḥ | ābhyaṁ anyataram Pārtha yut te hṛidyataram ma-*  
*tam | tad eviñitāṁ bhavān agre prarāryas trañ hi dharmataḥ |* “Let  
 one of you either take those invincible soldiers, the great hundred  
 millions of herdsmen called Nārāyanas, whose bodies are equal to my  
 own, and who are all fighting men : or let him take, on the other  
 hand, myself who do not engage, in battle, and have laid aside my  
 weapons. Do thou, son of Pṛithī, first choose the one of these two  
 things which is most acceptable to thee ; for thou art justly entitled to  
 the preference.”

Arjuna selects Krishṇa himself, “the unborn Nārāyanā, destroyer of  
 his foes, who had been at his will born among men” (*Nārāyanam*  
*amitraghnaṁ kāmāj jātam ajām nrishu*), though he was not to fight.  
 Duryodhana chose the army of warriors.

*Page 222, last line of note 201.*

The story of Indra destroying Namuchi with foam is also told in the Mahābhārata, Salya-parva (vv. 2434 ff.): *Namuchir Vāsavād bhitāḥ*  
*sūryya-raśmiṁ samāviśat | tenendraḥ sakhyam akarot samayañchedam*  
*abравित | “na chārdrena na śushkena na rātrau nāpi chāhani | badhish-*  
*yāmy asura-śreshṭha sakhe satyena te śape” | evāṁ sa kṛtvā samayaṁ*  
*dṛishṭvā nihāram iśvarah | chichhedāsya śiro rājann apām phenena*  
*Vāsavāḥ | tach chhīro Numucheś chhinnam prishṭhataḥ Sakram anviyāt |*

<sup>55</sup> The word *saṁhanana* occurs also in Drona-parva, v. 147.

*bho mitrahana pāpeti bruvāñān Sakram antikāt | evam sa śirasā tena chodyamānah punah punah | Pitāmahāya santapta etam arthaṁ nyavedayat | tam abravīt loka-gurur arunāyām yathāvidhi | iṣṭropasprīsa devendra tīrthe pāpa-bhayāpahē |* “Namuchi being afraid of Indra, entered into a ray of the sun. Indra formed a friendship with him, and uttered this agreement: ‘I shall neither slay thee with wet nor with dry, neither in the night nor in the day; I swear in truth to thee, my friend, thou most eminent of Asuras.’ Having made this agreement, the lord Vāsava (Indra), beholding a fog, [when it was neither night nor day], cut off his head with the foam of the waters [which was neither wet nor dry]. That head of Namuchi, after being cut off, followed close after Indra, calling out, ‘o wicked slayer of thy friend.’ Being thus again and again pressed by the head, and being distressed, he [Indra] represented the matter to Pitāmaha (Brahmā). The lord (or teacher) of the world (Brahmā) said to him: ‘Having sacrificed, touch [the waters] in the Aruṇā, that sacred spot, which removes sin and fear,’ ” etc.

Page 245, line 30.

“No mortal,” etc. These words are differently explained by the commentator, thus : *Jarāsandhenā abhāgah asvīkrītah | purushataḥ mūrdhābhishikteshu purusheshu | tena sarve vaśīkrītāḥ ity arthaḥ |* “*Abhāgah* means ‘unappropriated’ by Jarāsandha. *Purushataḥ* means ‘among anointed kings.’ The sense is, that ‘all have been subdued by him.’ ”

Page 253, line 12.

Compare R. V. viii. 22, 14, in p. 265.

Page 293, line 2.

*Rukma-vedi-nibhāḥ.* In Rāmāyaṇa iii. 32, 5, Rāvaṇa is described as *rukma-vedi-gatam*, which the commentator explains as *rukma-vedim prāptām hiranyeshtaka-chitām vedim prāptam*, “mounted on a platform of golden bricks.”

Page 310, line 10.

In her lamentation for Rāvaṇa (Rāmāyaṇa vi. 113, Calc. ed.), his queen, Mandodarī, among other attributes which she ascribes to him,

speaks of him (v. 49) as *jetārañ lokapälānāñ xepitārañ Saṅkarasya cha*, “conqueror of the guardians of the world, and easier down (or, contemner) of Saṅkara.” Saṅkara could not therefore have been looked on by the writer of this as the Supreme Deity. From the story of Nandiśvara quoted above, p. 393, it will have been seen, however, that Rāvana was really no match for Sankara.

*Page 344, line 20.*

I have not observed any mention of the *Linga* in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, but in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 36, v. 42 f., the following lines occur : *Yatra yatra cha yāti sma Rāvano rāxasēśarāḥ | jām-būnadamayañ lingam̄ tatram̄ tatra sma nīyate |* 43. *Bālukā-redi-madhye tu tal lingam̄ sthāpya Kāraṇāḥ | arahayāmāsa gandhaiś cha pushpaiś chāmrīta-gandhibhiḥ |* “Wherever Rāvana, lord of the Rāxasas, went, a golden *linga* was carried thither. Placing that *linga* in the midst of a pedestal of sand, Rāvana worshipped it with incense, and flowers of ambrosial odour.”

The commentator remarks on v. 43 : *Aiśvaryya-kāmanayā sauvarṇa-līnga-pūjā[yās?] tantreshūkteḥ |* “For it is prescribed in the Tantras that a golden *linga* should be worshipped when any one desires sovereignty.”

*Page 350, line 15.*

For “verse 26,” read “verse 28.” In Manu vii. 38 the following verse occurs : *Vriddhāñscha nityāñ sereta vīprāñ veda-vidāḥ śuchin | vriddha-sevī hi satatañ raxobhir api pūjyate |* “Let [the king] constantly reverence old and pure Brahmins, skilled in the Vedas ; for he who continually reverences the aged is honoured even by the Rāxasas.” Can this verse refer to the character *vriddha-sevī* given to Atikāya in the passage (Rām. vi. 71, 26) quoted in the text? If so, the passage in Manu must be posterior in date to the Rāmāyaṇa. Or has this character been given to Atikāya in consequence of the verse of Manu? or have the two passages no connection? The coincidence is at least curious.

*Page 354, last line.*

The following is a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit as

given in the thirty-second and following sections of the Yuddha Kānda. Rāvana in the course of his expeditions goes to Indra-loka. Indra becomes afraid and resorts to Vishṇu (sect. 32, 6) whom he glorifies as the Creator and Destroyer, and asks his aid (v. 13). Vishṇu replies that he could not interfere without killing Rāvana,—which he is unable to do on account of the boon conceded to the Rāksasa chief by Brahmā (v. 18); but he would slay him at the proper time (v. 20). A battle takes place between the gods and Rākasas (v. 26). The eighth Vasu Sāvitra comes on the field (vv. 34 and 43), fights with Sumāli, and kills him, reducing to ashes his bones and all the rest of him (sect. 33). The Rākasas are rallied by Indrajit, and the gods put to flight. Indra's son, Jayanta, enters the fray. After his son's apparent destruction (v. 23)—though he in reality only disappears—Indra himself comes upon the scene, and captures Rāvana (sect. 34, v. 18 f.). Meghanāda (son of Ravana), afterwards called Indrajit, becoming invisible by his magical power, binds Indra (v. 27). The gods, headed by Brahmā, go to Lankā (sect. 35). Brahmā praises Indrajit's valour, and declares that he shall be called Indrajit (“the conqueror of Indra”). Brahmā then asks that Indra shall be released. Indrajit, as a condition, requires the boon of immortality. This Brahmā refuses. Indrajit then asks that if he offers a sacrifice to Agni he shall obtain Agni's car, and that while he is mounted on that chariot he shall be immortal; but if he shall not have finished the rite, he is to be liable to destruction (see above, p. 354). Brahmā agrees to this, and Indra is released. Brahmā then tells Indra (vv. 18–42) that he had incurred this misfortune because he had corrupted Ahalyā, the first woman, whom Brahmā had made and had given to the sage Gautama. She, however, would be restored to purity by the vision of Vishṇu incarnate in Rāma, and Indra himself was to offer a Vaishnava sacrifice (see pp. 249, 353, above, and compare the forty-eighth and forty-ninth sections of the Twelfth Book of the Rāmāyaṇa, ed. Schl.; and a similar purification of Indra for another sin, above p. 420). I quote the verses in which Brahmā here describes the creation of the first woman Ahalyā:

Sect. 35, 19 ff.—*Amarendra mayā buddhyā prajāḥ śrīshṭas tathā  
prabho | eka-varṇāḥ samābhāshā ekā-rūpāś cha sarvaśāḥ | tāśāṁ nāsti  
viśesho hi darśane laxane 'pi vā | tato 'haṁ ekāgra-manāś tāḥ prajāḥ  
samachintayam | so 'haṁ tāśāṁ viśeshārthaṁ striyam ekāṁ vinirmame |  
yad yat prajānām pratyāgaṁ viśiṣṭāṁ tat tad uddhritam | tato mayā*

*rūpa-guna*ir *Ahalyā strī vinirmitā* | “O chief of immortals (Indra), all creatures were by my understanding formed by me of one caste, of the same speech, and of one form in every respect. There was no distinction of them in appearance or characteristic (sexual) mark. I then with intent mind reflected on these creatures. In order to distinguish them I formed one woman. Whatever there was most distinguished (excellent) in the several members of [different] creatures was taken [to compose her]. A woman faultless (*ahalyā*) in form was then fashioned by me.”

*Page 363, line 3 from bottom.*

Professors Aufrecht and Müller have been good enough to furnish me with the text of this Durgā-stava, or Rātri-sūkta, which, in the Sanhitā MSS. of the R. V., follows a hymn addressed to Night (the 127th of the Tenth Mandala=Ashṭaka viii. 7, 14). I will first give the text with a translation of the genuine hymn to Night (R. V. x. 127) and then quote the Parīśiṣṭā :

R. V. x. 127.—1. *Rātri ri akhyad āyatī pūrutrā devī axabhiḥ* | *riś-  
vāḥ adhi śriyo 'dhita* | 2. *Ā uru aprāḥ amartyā nirato devī udvataḥ* |  
*jyotiṣhā bādhate tamāḥ* | 3. *Nir ū srasāram askṛita ushasam devī āyatī* |  
*apa id u hīsate tamāḥ* | 4. *Sā no alya yasyā rayāñ ni te yāmann avix-  
mahi* | *rrīxe na vasalīñ rayāḥ* | 5. *Ni grāmāśo avicata ni padvanto ni  
paxināḥ* | *ni śyonāśaś chid arthinaḥ* | 6. *Yāraya vrikyañ vrikāñ yaraya  
stenañ ȳrmye* | *athā nah sutarā bhava* | 7. *Upa mā pepiśat tamāḥ krish-  
ṇañ ȳuktam asthita* | *ushaḥ riñā iva yātaya* | 8. *Upa te gāḥ iva ā  
akarañ vriñishra duhitār divah* | *rātri stomañ na jīgyushe* | “The divine  
Night arriving, hath shone in many places with her eys; she has  
revealed all her splendours. 2. The immortal goddess has widely filled  
the lower and the upper regions: by light she destroys the darkness.  
3. Arriving, the goddess has driven away her sister the Twilight: the  
darkness is dissipated. 4. Be to-day [favourable] to us who have come  
into thy course, as birds to their nests in a tree. 5. Men, cattle, and  
even suppliant hawks have entered in thither. 6. Drive away, o  
Night, the she-wolf and the wolf: drive away the thief: and carry  
us safely across [thyself]. 7. Darkness enveloping (?) me, dark and  
palpable, has beset me: do thou, Ushas, drive it away like one who is  
bound [to do so]. 8. I have prepared for thee a hymn, as it were a

present of cows, like [an encomium] for a conqueror. Receive it, o Night, daughter of the Day."

1. (= Nir. iv. 29.; A. V. 19, 47, 1; and Vāj. S. 34, 32)—*Ārātri pār-thivāṁ rajah pitur aprāyi dhāmabhiḥ | divah sadāñsi bṛihati vi tishṭhase ā tveshaṁ varttate tamah |* 2. (A. V. 19, 47, 3) *Ye te rātri nrīhaxaso yuktāśo<sup>56</sup> naratir nara | aśitih sāntv ashṭā uto te sapta saptatiḥ |* 3. *Rātrim prapadye jananīṁ sarva-bhūta-niveśanīṁ<sup>57</sup> | bhadrāṁ bhagavatīṁ kṛishṇāṁ viśvasya jagato niśām |* 4. *Sānvetesāñīṁ sañyamanīṁ graha-naxatra-mālinīṁ | prapanno 'haṁ śivāṁ rātrīṁ bhadre pāram aśimahi bhadre pāram aśimahi oṁ namaḥ |* 5. *Stoshyāmi prayato devīṁ śarāṇyāṁ bahvricha-priyām | sahasra-sammitāṁ Durgāṁ Jātavedase sunavāma somam |* 6. *Sānty-arthaṁ tad dvijātīnāṁ ṛishibhiḥ somapā śritāḥ (samupāśritā?) | ṛig-vede traṁ samutpannā rātīyato nida-hāti vedāḥ |* 7. *Ye tvāṁ deri prapadyante brāhmaṇā. havya-rāhanīṁ | avidyā bahuridyā vā sa naḥ parshad ati durgāṇi viśrā |* 8. *Agni-varṇāṁ śubhāṁ saumyāṁ kirttayishyanti ye dvijāḥ | tān tārayati durgāṇi nāvera sindhuṁ duritā 'ty Agnih |* 9. *Durgeshu vishame ghore saṅgrāme ripu-saṅkate | agni-chora-nipāteshu dushta-graha-nitāraṇe |* 10. *Durgeshu vishameshu tvāṁ saṅgrāmeshu vaneshu cha | mohayitvā prapadyante teshāṁ me abhayaṁ kuru teshāṁ me abhayaṁ kuru oṁ namaḥ |* 11. *Keśi-nīṁ sarva-bhūtānāṁ pañchamīti cha nāma cha | sā māṁ samā niśā devī sarvataḥ pariraxatu sarvatuḥ pariraxatu oṁ namaḥ |* [v. 12 is the same as the verse quoted by Weber in the text (p. 363), beginning *tām agni-varṇām*, etc.] | 13. *Durgā durgeshu sthāneshu śāṁ no devīr abhishtaye | ya imāṁ Durgā-stavam punyam rātrau rātrau sadā paṭhet | rātriḥ kuśikah saubharo rātri-stavo gāyatrī | rātri-sūktāṁ japed nityāṁ tat-kālam upapadyate |*

I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for some assistance in correcting the corrupt text and in explaining parts of this composition.

"1. O Night, the terrestrial atmosphere was filled with thy father's rays (?). Thou, the mighty one, pervadest the celestial mansions, and thick darkness prevails. 2. Night, may the man-beholders which are united with thee<sup>58</sup> be 99, 88, or 77. 3. I approach Night, the mother

<sup>56</sup> For *yuktāśah*, the A. V. reads *drashṭārah*, "seers."

<sup>57</sup> This, Professor Aufrecht remarks, is imitated from R. V. i. 35, 1: *rātrīṁ jagato niveśanīṁ*.

<sup>58</sup> Or, according to the reading of the A. V., "May thy man-beholders, lookers, be," etc.

who finds a home for all creatures, kind, divine, dark, the night of the whole world. 4. I have approached the auspicious Night, who causes men to enter [their abodes], who controls, who is invested with a garland of planets and stars. O gracious night, may we reach the opposite shore! may we reach the opposite shore! 5. Intent, I will praise the divine Durgā, who affords a refuge, who is beloved by the Bahvṛichas (priests of the Rig-veda ceremonial), who is equal to a thousand. Let us pour forth soma to Jätavedas (Fire). 6. Thou who art resorted to by rishis for the expiation of twice-born men, hast thy origin in the Rig-veda. [Agni] burns up the wealth of him who injures us. 7. The Brahmans, learned or ignorant, who resort, o goddess, to thee, the carrier of oblations,—may he transport us over all difficulties. 8. Agni transports over all evils [though] hard to be traversed,—as with a boat across the ocean,—those twice-born men who shall celebrate the fire-coloured, auspicious, beautiful goddess. 9. Bewildered (?) in difficulties, in dire perplexity, in battle, in trouble from enemies, in visitations of fire, and thieves, for the prevention of inauspicious planets, (10) in difficulties, perplexities, battles, and forests, men resort to thee. Give us security from these things, give us security from these things! 11. [I praise] her the long-haired [?], among all creatures, and whose name is Panchamī. May this goddess every night preserve me in every way. (12. The same as the verse already quoted in the text, p. 363, line 11). May the divine (?) Durgā be propitious for our good in difficult places. He who always every night reads this holy Durgā-stava,—(the night, Kuśika, Saubhara, the rātri-stava, gāyatrī),—he who continually mutters the rātri-sūkta, arrives at that time."

It will be seen that the sense of some parts of this production is not very clear, but to ascertain it is of little consequence.

*Page 365, line 3.*

These same tongues of fire are also mentioned in a hymn to Agni, in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, sect. 99, vv. 52 ff.: *Yā jihvā bhavataḥ Kālī kāla-niṣṭhā-karī prabho ṣṭ bhayāñ[tayā?]naḥ pāhi pāpebhyaḥ aihi kāch-cha mahābhayaṭ | 53. Karāli nāma yā jihvā mahā-pralaya-kāraṇam | tayā na pāhi ityādi | 54. Manojarā cha yā jihvā laghimā-ṣūṇa-laxanā | tayā ityādi | 55. Karoti kāmam bhūtebhyo yā te jihvā Sulohitā | tayā*

*ityādi* | 56. *Sudhūmra-varṇā yā jihvā prāṇināṁ roga-dāyikā* | *tayā*  
*ityādi* | 57. *Sphulinginī cha yā jihvā yataḥ (?) sakala-pudgalā* | *tayā*  
*ityādi* | 58. *Yā te Viśvā sadā jihvā prāṇināṁ śarma-dāyinī* | *tayā*  
*ityādi* | “52. By thy tongue Kālī, the final destroyer [of the world],  
 preserve us from sins and from great present alarm. 53. By thy  
 tongue Karālī, the cause of the great mundane dissolution, preserve  
 us, etc. 54. By thy tongue Manojavā, which is distinguished by the  
 quality of lightness, preserve us, etc. 55. By thy tongue Sulohitā,  
 which accomplishes the desires of creatures, preserve us, etc. 56. By  
 thy tongue Sudhūmravarṇa, which inflicts diseases on living beings,  
 preserve us, etc. 57. By thy tongue Sphulinginī, the loveliest of all,  
 preserve us, etc. 58. By thy tongue Viśvā, which always bestows  
 blessings on living beings, preserve us, etc.

In the course of this hymn to Agni he is said (v. 41) to have been formed eightfold: *Tvāṁ ashṭadhā kalpayitvā yajñam ādyam akalpayan* | “Having formed thee in eight ways, they performed the earliest sacrifice.” Does this refer to the legend from the Brahmanas given in pp. 283–289? Again, we are reminded of some characteristics which are ascribed to Rudra in the Satarudriya vv. 2 and 11 (above, pp. 268, 269) by the expressions which are applied to Agni in the seventieth verse of this hymn: *Yat te Vahne śivam rūpaṁ ye cha te  
 sapta-hetayaḥ* | *taiḥ pāhi nah stuto dera pitā putram ivātmajam* | “When thou art lauded, Agni, preservo us by thine auspicious form,  
 and by thy seven shafts, as a father preserves his own son.”

In v. 63 Agni is said to have “stretched out the whole universe, and, though one, to exist in manifold shapes” (*tvayā tataṁ viśvam idam  
 charācharam IIutāśanaiko bahudhā tvam atru*).

ADDITIONAL NOTE on page 115, line 9.

In the Calcutta edition, section 29, the reading here is different, as the words *Kaśapo 'bravīt* are succeeded by the following: *Adityā devatā-nāṁcha mama chaivānuyāchitam* | *varaṁ varāda suprīto dātum arhasi  
 suvrata* | “Bestow in thy good pleasure the boon solicited by Aditi, by  
 the gods, and by me. Sinless lord, become the son of Aditi,” etc. etc.,  
 as in Schlegel. Then after the line *Sokūrttānāṁ tu devānāṁ sāhāyyam*

*karttum arhasi* comes the following : v. 18. *Ayañ siddhāśramo nāma  
prasādāt te bharishyati | siddhe karmani deveśa uttishtha bhagavann  
itah |* 19. *Atha Viṣṇur muhātejā Ādityāñ samajāyata | vāmanāñ  
rūpam āsthāya Vairochanim upāgamat |* 20. *Trīn padān atha bhixitvā  
ityādi |* “‘By thy grace this shall be the hermitage of the perfect.  
When thy work is accomplished, arise hence, o divine being.’ Then  
the glorious Viṣṇu was born of Aditi. Assuming the form of a  
dwarf, he approached the son of Virochana, and begging three paces  
of ground,” etc. It will be observed that an attempt is here made to  
connect the legend of the birth of Viṣṇu from Kaśyapa and Aditi  
with the story of the dwarf incarnation more closely than it is con-  
nected in Schlegel’s edition ; for first, Kaśyapa is made to allude to the  
“hermitage of the perfect,” as if he were himself present there, of  
which nothing is said in Schlegel’s edition ; and secondly, the transi-  
tion from the digression about Viṣṇu’s birth as the son of Kaśyapa  
and Aditi back to the story of the dwarf incarnation is more cleverly  
managed here than in Schlegel’s edition, as here the words *evam uktah  
surair Viṣṇuh* (“being thus addressed by the gods, Viṣṇu,” etc.)  
which in Schlegel’s edition (v. 17) carry us back to v. 8, and ignore  
all that intervenes, are omitted. It will also be noticed that another  
verse (the one quoted at the commencement of this note) is introduced  
at the beginning of Kaśyapa’s address to Viṣṇu, in which the gods  
are mentioned as fellow-suppliants with Kaśyapa. This alteration  
also appears to have been made to facilitate the transition from the  
interpolated lines back to the main story.

It is to be observed, however, that the readings of the Calcutta edition  
differ from those of Schlegel’s in several respects at the beginning of  
the section also.



## INDEX OF PRINCIPAL NAMES AND MATTERS.

---

### A

Achhāraka (priest), 73  
 Aditi, 10 ff., 101, 116, 118,  
     120, 163, 193, 212, 223,  
     307, 407  
 Aditya, 23  
     — is lord of Brahmā,  
     Vishnu, and Rudra, 405  
 Aditya-hṛidaya, a hymn,  
     405  
 Adityas, 12 f., 101  
 Aeschylus, Prom. Vinet., 57  
 Agastya, 404, 409, 411  
 Agni, 8, 21, 23 ff., 50, 53,  
     57, 189, etc.  
     —, texts in praise of, 98  
     — one of the triad of  
         gods, 134  
     — breaks down cities,  
     262  
     — identified with Bhava,  
     Sarva, Rudra, etc., 282  
     — enamoured of Rishis'  
     wives, 294  
     — his tongues, 364, 425  
 Ahalyā, 41, 422  
 Ahvriti, 215  
 Aitareya Brähmana—  
     1, 1,—114  
     1, 7,—113  
     1, 30,—114  
     2, 3,—113  
     6, 15,—73, 108  
 Akhandala (Indra) 159  
 Ambikā, 257, 360 f.  
     —, sister of Rudra,  
     according to the Yajur-  
     veda (see Umā), 267  
 Anakadundubhi, name of  
     Vāsudeva, 231  
 Anaranya, 389 f.  
 Aniruddha, grandson of  
     Krishna, 370  
 anrita-deva, 347  
 Anṣa, 12

### Aparṇā (see Umā), 367

Apsaras, 288  
 Apsaras obtained by  
     Kshattriyas slain in  
     battle, 235  
 Apsavases, 394  
 Arbuda, 94  
 Arjuna, 153, and passim  
 Arjuna Kārtavīryya, 215  
 Ariyā Bhaṭṭa, 97  
 Aryaman, 12, 68  
 Asura, 95  
 Asuras, 51, 108, 126, etc.  
     — — —, their cities, 168,  
     187  
 Asuri, 109  
 Asvamedha or horse-sacri-  
     fice, 113 ff.  
 Asvins, 39, 41, 66, etc.  
 Atharva-sīras, 145  
     — quoted, 298  
 Atharva-veda, translated or  
     explained—  
         2, 1, 3,—5  
         2, 27, 6,—276, 341  
         3, 16, 1,—264  
         3, 20, 4, 7,—83  
         4, 2, 1—8,—13 f.  
         4, 2, 6, 7, 8,—16  
         4, 21, 7,—262  
         4, 30, 5,—266  
         5, 21, 11,—276  
         5, 25, 5,—83  
         5, 33,—83  
         6, 93, 1, 2,—277, 341  
         7, 26, 1—3,—58  
         7, 26, 4—7,—51  
         7, 42, 1, 2,—263  
         7, 44, 1,—71  
         7, 50, 6,—93  
         7, 79, 4,—14  
         7, 80, 3,—14  
         7, 87, 1,—277, 300,  
             341 f.  
         8, 2, 7,—277, 341  
         8, 5, 10,—277, 341

### Atharva-veda *continued*—

8, 8, 11,—277  
 9, 7, 7,—277  
 9, 10, 17,—66  
 10, 1, 23,—277, 341  
 10, 3, 9,—10  
 10, 7, 25,—10  
 10, 7, 7 ff.,—16  
 10, 8, 2, 11, 44,—17  
 11, 2, 1—31,—277 ff.,  
     341  
 11, 6, 9,—281, 341  
 12, 4, 17,—281, 341  
 13, 2, 26,—5  
 13, 4, 4, 26 28,—281,  
     341 f.  
 15, 5, 1—7,—281  
 18, 1, 40,—258  
 19, 10, 9,—73  
 20, 17, 5,—92  
 20, 87, 3,—90  
 20, 89, 7,—93  
 20, 99, 2,—90  
 20, 106, 26,—77  
 20, 111, 1,—77  
 20, 114, 1,—90  
 20, 126, 1,—93

Atigrāhyas, 53  
 Atikāya, son of Rāvaṇa, 350  
 Aupamanyava, 76  
 Aurnavābha, 55 ff., 84, 131  
 Avindhya, minister of Ra-  
     vāṇa, 350

### B

Badari, 157, 196, 205, 215,  
     244  
 Bali, 116 ff., 397  
 Balarāma, 208, 220 f.  
 Banerjea's dialogues on  
     Hindu philosophy, 42  
 Benfey's glossary to Sāma-  
     veda, 10, 54, 70, etc.  
     — translation of R.V.,  
     54

- Bhagavadgita, 367  
 ——— quoted, 46  
 Bhāgavata Purāṇa quoted,  
   1, 3, 7,—31  
   1, 3, 16,—23  
   2, 1, 16 ff.,—9  
   2, 5, 34,—38  
   • 2, 10, 10,—38  
   3, 12, 28 ff.,—40  
   3, 20, 12 ff.,—36  
   3, 26, 50 ff.,—37  
   4, 1, 47 ff.,—317  
   4, Sections 2–7,—317  
   6, 6, 24, 36,—106  
   8, Sections 15–23,—  
     119–131  
   8, 23, 29,—62  
   8, 24, 4 ff.,—33  
   10, 1, 21 ff.,—216  
   10, 33, 27 ff.,—42  
     151, 216  
   10, 34, 8,—212  
   10, 64,—147  
 Bhagiratha, 307  
 Bhadrakūlī, 353  
 Bhaga, 12, 69  
   ——, eyes knocked out,  
     168, 195  
 Bharadvāja, 83, 414  
 Bharata, 146  
 Bhava, 277 ff.  
 Bhavānī, 343  
 Bhishmaka, 179  
 Bhogavati, 216  
 Bṛigu, 118  
   —— reviles Rudra, 321  
 Bṛigus, 10, 122  
 Bhuvana, 7 f.  
 Bhū, 12  
 Boar incarnation, 23, 29–34  
 Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexi-  
   con, passim  
 Brahmā, 17, 25, passim  
 Brahmā, 3, 9, 16, 26 f.  
   —— born in an egg,  
     26  
   —— sprung from æther,  
     29  
   —— becomes a boar, 29,  
     34, 374  
   —— called Nārāyaṇa,  
     27, 32, 34, 137  
   —— becomes a fish, 33  
   —— sprung from lotus  
     in Vishnu's navel, 37,  
     193, 226, 407  
   —— his sexual inter-  
     course with his daughter,  
     38 ff.
- Brahmā the first god in the Trimūrti, 137, 237  
   —— grants boons to Rāvana and Atikāya, etc.  
     140, 350, 395, 411, 416  
   —— informs Rāma of his divinity, 150  
   —— created by Rudra,  
     156  
   —— worships Linga and Rudra, 161, 163  
   —— acts as charioteer to Rudra, 186 f., 190  
   —— grants boon to Tāraka's sons, 187  
   —— praises Krishṇa in a hymn, 199  
   ——, son of Vāsudeva,  
     201  
   —— mediates between Vishnu, or Krishṇa, and Rudra, 204, 236  
   —— promises to Rudra a share in sacrifices, 314  
   —— present at sacrifices, 140, 315, 317, 318  
   ——, father of Daxa, 317  
   ——, his dispute with Vishnu allayed by the Linga, 327 ff.  
   —— is a form of Rudra, 330  
   ——, Rudra springs from his forehead, 331  
   —— identified with the soul of the universe, 375  
   —— curses Kumbha-karna, 394  
   ——, his promise to the gods, 402  
   —— Aditya called his lord, 405  
   —— asks Vishnu to become Preserver, 407  
   —— welcomes Rāma to heaven, 408  
   ——, mental father of Pulastya, 411, 414  
   —— offers boon to Rāma 413  
   —— creates the first woman, 422  
     (Sec Hiranyagarbha, Prajāpati, Viśvakarman.)
- Brahmanaspati, 10, 66, etc.  
 Brihad Aranyakā, 20, 21,  
   102  
 Brihaddevatā, 1, 13, 135
- Brihaspati, 58  
 Burnouf's Bhāgavata Pu-  
   rāṇa, 33
- C
- Chaitraratha forest, 193,  
   215  
 Chandakauśika, rishi, 248  
 Chārvāka, rāxasa, friend of Duryodhana, 250  
 chāturmāsyā, 49  
 Chāxusha Manvantara, 105  
 Chihāndogya Upanishad,  
   quoted, 10, 373  
 Churning the ocean for amrita, 307  
 Colebrooke's Essays, 57, 97,  
   208, etc.
- D
- Dadhīchi, 314 ff.  
 Daityasenā, 292  
 Dambhodhībava, 198  
 Dānavas, 33  
 darsā, 49  
 Daxa, 10 f., 24, 101  
   ——, his sacrifice destroyed,  
     168, 203, 226, 312–324  
   —— reviles Siva, 318  
 Dawn, daughter of Prajā-pati, 39  
 Devakī, mother of Krishṇa,  
   152, 182, 221, 222  
 Devarāta, 147  
 Devasenā, 292  
 Devavatī, 415  
 Devī, see Umā  
 Devī-māhātmya quoted,  
   370 ff.  
 Dhātri, 12  
 Diti, mother of Daityas,  
   218, 307  
 Durgā, see Umā  
 Durgā-śtava, 363, and App.  
   p. 423  
 Durga, commentator on Nirukta, 347, etc.  
 Durgati, 363  
 Durvāsas, 165, 167, 169,  
   208, 407  
 Duryodhana disbelieves Krishṇa's divinity, 180 ff.  
   —— desires to celebrate rājasūya 249  
   —— celebrates Vaish-nava sacrifice, 249 f.  
 Dvārakā, 216  
 Dwarf incarnation, 67

**E**

Egg (mundane), 20 ff., 26 ff., 34 ff.  
Ekalavya, 212  
Ekaparnā, 367  
Ekapāṭalū, 367  
Emūsha, 24  
Evamūrayat, 70

**G**

Gandhamādana, 198, and *passim*  
Gāndhāras, 208, 212  
Gandharva, 98  
Gangā, her descent, 307  
Gangādvāra, 243, 314  
Genesis, 41  
Gods, *passim*  
—, how they became immortal, 48  
—, how they became superior to the Asuras, 51  
Gokarna, 242  
Goldstücker's Pāṇini, 4  
Gopis, 43  
Gorresio's Rāmāyaṇa, *passim*  
— opinion regarding Rāma's incarnation, 410  
Govinda, see Krishṇa  
Grahas, 53

**II**

Habakkuk iii. 6.—61  
Hansa, 329  
Harivamsa—  
35,—27  
43,—331  
171,—105  
549,—11  
589,—106  
940,—366  
3237,—369  
7418,—72  
9423,—370  
10235,—307  
10660,—236  
11548,—105  
12425,—28  
12456,—105  
Sections 183 and 184,—147  
Hayagriva, 33  
Heti, 414

Himalāya, 194, 227, etc.  
Hiranyagarbha, 3, 13 f., 27 f., 157, 298, 327  
Hiranyakasipu, 159, 180  
Hiranyakapura, 199

**I**

Immortality acquired by the gods, 48 ff.  
Incarnation of a portion of Vishṇu, 216 f.  
— of white and black hairs of Vishṇu, 218  
Indha, 20  
Indische Studien, 41, 109, 334, 357, 365  
Indra, 13, 20, 23, 41, 44, 53, 57, 58, 64, 78, etc.  
—, texts in which his greatness is declared, 85-94  
— celebrated jointly with Vishṇu, 64, 72, 75  
— with other gods, 94  
— conquered by Indrajit, 122  
Indrajit, son of Rāvana, 349, 353 ff., 383 ff., 422  
Interpolated passages, 409  
Iravati, 215  
Isaiah xi. 22; xlv. 12, 18,—75  
— xi. 5,—158

**J**

Jamadagni, 147, 268  
Jāmbavat, 126  
Jāmbavatī, wife of Krishṇa, 158  
Jambha, 197, 208, 212  
Janaka, 46, 390  
Jana-loka, 126, 327  
Jarā, rākṣasi, a household goddess, 247  
Jarāsandha, 171, 179, 208 f.  
— intends human victims for Rudra, 244 ff.  
— slain by Bhīma-sena, 247  
—, his birth related, 247  
Jārūthī, 215  
Jayadratha, 154 f.  
— worships Rudra, 243

Journal of American Oriental Society, 41, 337  
Jvara (fever), 313  
Jyo'ishtoma, 53

**K**

Ka (Prajāpati) 13, 120  
Kaikasi, mother of Rāvana, 416  
Kaikeyi, 146  
Kailasa, 308, and *passim*  
Kaitabha, a demon, 193, 371  
Kaivalya Upanishad, 304, 359  
Kulanemi, an asura, 216  
Kūli, 352, 355, 364 (See Unū.)  
Kansa, 208, 216, 409  
Kapardin, epithet of Rudra, 254, 339, etc.  
— of Pūshan, 254  
— of the Tritsus, 254  
Karīli, 364 (See Umā)  
Karna, 185, 191  
Kūrttikeya, his birth according to Mahābhārata, 291  
— to Rāmāyaṇa, 306  
Karuśha, 178  
Kaserumat, 215  
Kaśyapa, 11, 23, 29 f., 103, 116, 118, 120, 268, 310  
Kataka, commentator on the Rāmāyaṇa, 409  
Kātyāyani, 362, etc.  
Kausalyā, 144, 146  
Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa, 359  
Kena Upanishad quoted, 357  
Kesi, a demon, 292  
Khandava, 112, 209  
Khara, 411  
Kirāta, form of, taken by Rudra, 194  
Krūthā, 215  
Krisṇu, 64, 265  
Krishṇa, his adulteries, 41 ff.  
—, his self-consciousness, 150  
— identified with Rāma, 151, 410  
—, the son of Devakī and pupil of Ghora, 152

Krishna renders homage to Mahādeva, 153 ff.  
 — receives boons from Mahādeva and Umā 163 f.  
 — performs a ceremony for a son, 226  
 — recommends worship of Durgā, 170  
 —, his divine nature disputed by Sisupāla, Duryodhana, Karna, and Sātya, 170 ff.  
 —, explanation of his names, 183  
 — as the rishi Nārūyana, 155, 192 ff.  
 —, his supernatural power and various exploits, 208 ff.  
 — produced from one of the hairs of Vishṇu, 216 ff.  
 — identified with the Supreme Spirit, 43, 201, 222 ff.  
 — produces Brahmā and Rudra, 226  
 — one with Rudra, 226, 236  
 —, his fight with Rudra, 236 ff.  
 — goes to Dvāravatī from fear of Jarāsandha, 245  
 —, summary of the views regarding him, 238 ff.  
 Krittikās, 292  
 Kuhn, his opinion quoted, 360  
 Kullūka on Manu, 3, 27  
 Kumāra, appellation of Agni, 284  
 Kūmarīla Bhatta, 41  
 Kumbhakarṇa, brother of Rāvana, 394, 411, 416  
 Kūrma Purāna, 316  
 Kuruxetra, 110, 112  
 Kuvera, 308, 310, 411, 414

L

Lankaṭankatū, 414  
 Lassen's Indian Antiquities, 206, 240, 343, and *passim*  
 Laxmī, *passim*  
 — ascends to heaven, 408

Laxmī, 384, 392  
 Linga Purāna—  
 1, 3, 28 ff.,—36  
 1, 4, 59 ff.,—34  
 1, 17, 5,—325  
 1, 18, 8,—330  
 Linga worship, 161, 343 ff., 356, 421  
 Lokamṛtiṇa, 49

M

Madhu, a demon, 193, 371  
 Mādhuki, 109  
 Mahābhārata quoted,  
   Adi-parva—  
     1215,—183  
     2519,—103  
     7019,—243  
     7306,—220  
     8196,—209  
   Sabhi-parva—  
     582,—251  
     626,—244  
     653,—245  
     729,—247  
     861,—246  
     869,—235  
     1333,—180  
   Vana-parva—  
     461,—192  
     471,—214  
     481,—118  
     615,—180  
     1513,—194  
     6051,—241  
     8166,—242  
     8349,—242  
     10209,—310  
     10316,—41  
     11001,—241  
     12797,—33  
     14287,—293  
     14427,—291  
     15274,—249  
     15777,—243  
     15872,—411  
     15999,—242  
     16148,—350  
     16492,—350  
   Virata-parva—  
     178,—369  
 Udyoga-parva—  
     130,—206  
     320,—222  
     1875,—210  
     1917,—196  
     2523,—180

Mahābhārata *continued*.  
 Udyoga-parva—  
     3459,—198  
     3501,—104  
     4418,—184  
 Bhishma-parva—  
     793,—170, 367  
     796,—367  
     2932,—199  
 Drona-parva—  
     382,—207  
     401,—159  
     419,—199  
     2355,—206  
     2838,—153  
 Karna-parva—  
     1625,—185  
 Sātya-parva—  
     3619,—250  
 Sānti-parva—  
     1500,—223  
     1748,—244  
     3655,—235  
     10226,—313  
     10272,—314  
     12943,—117  
     13133,—225  
     13171,—54  
     13228,—183  
     13229,—77  
     13265,—201  
     13337,—205  
 Anusāsana-parva—  
     590,—156  
     1160,—344  
     6295,—226  
     6397,—158  
     6889,—158  
     7092,—104  
     7232,—310  
     7356,—231  
     7402,—165  
     7510,—344  
 Aśvamedhika-parva—  
     1536,—233  
 Mahādeva, see Rudra  
 Mahā-loka, 126, 327  
 Mahat, 35 ff.  
 Mahendra, 130  
 Mahidhara, 6, 13, 15  
 Māli, 415  
 Malinī, 411  
 Mālyavat, 415  
 Mandodari, Rāvana's queen 388, 398  
 Mantharū, 412 f.  
 Manu quoted, 25, 26, 30, 41, 102, 128, 137  
 Manu, 71, 76

- Manu Svāyambhuva, 11  
 Manu Vaivasvata, 29, 100,  
     231  
 Marīchi, 29 f., 103  
 Mārkandeya Purāna, 285 f.  
     370 ff.  
 Mārttānda, 10 f., 101, 373  
 Maruts, 58, 61, and *passim*  
 Matsya Purāna, 41  
 Meghnāda, son of Rāvana,  
     384, 422  
 Meru, 35, and *passim*  
 Mitra, 12, 58, 64, etc.  
 Muṇjavat, 268  
 Müller, Sanskrit literature,  
     3, 15, 41, 90, 95, 100, etc.  
     —, translation by, in  
       Zeits. D. M. G., 91  
 Mundaka Upanishad, 24,  
     364  
 Mura, 208, 213  
 mūradēva, 347
- N
- Nagnajit, 208, 212  
 Nairuktī, 133  
 Nalakūvara, son of Kuvera,  
     395, 413  
 Namuchi slain by Indra  
     with foam, 222, 403, and  
     in Appendix, p. 420  
 Nahum i. 3.—55  
 Nandiśvara, 319, 393  
 Nara, 26, 28, 104, 155,  
     192 ff.  
 Nārālī, 26, 28  
 Naraka, an asura, 212, 215  
 Nārāyaṇa, 27, 32, 38, 104,  
     155, 192 ff.  
 Nārāyānas, cowherds so  
     called, 206  
 Nārāyanīya Upanishad, 361  
 Narmadā river, 122  
 Nidrā Kālarūpiṇī, 369  
 Nighantu 2, 10,—90  
     —, 2, 17,—64  
 Nikumbhilā, place of sacri-  
     fice, 352 f.  
 Nilakantha, commentator  
     on Mahābhārata, 221,  
     224  
 Nilarudropaniṣad quoted,  
     305  
 Nirīti, 68, 263  
 Nirukta quoted—  
     4, 15,—341  
     1, 20,—59
- Nirukta *continued*—  
     2, 6, 7,—63  
     2, 10,—7  
     2, 13,—102  
     3, 7,—135  
     3, 21,—17  
     4, 19,—60  
     5, 8, 9,—76  
     5, 11,—70  
     6, 15,—7, 9  
     6, 17,—71  
     6, 22,—65  
     7, 4 ff., —56, 131  
     7, 25,—64  
     7, 29,—101, 103  
     9, 9,—133  
     10, 10,—87  
     10, 26,—5, 7  
     10, 27,—7  
     10, 32,—97  
     11, 23,—11  
     12, 19,—55  
     12, 23,—61  
     12, 26,—266  
     12, 36,—101  
     13,—100  
     13, 1,—61, 91  
     14, 1,—61  
     14, 10,—7  
     14, 12,—81  
     14, 21,—66
- Nishad, a sort of treatise,  
     224  
 Nishādas, 273
- O
- Ogha, 213
- P
- Pādma Kalpa, 32  
 Panchajana, an asura, 209  
 Pañchavīṁśa Brāhmaṇa,  
     113  
 Pānchi, 109  
 Pāṇini, 343, 418  
 Parameshtīn, 17, 23  
 Paraśurāma, 146, 191, 198,  
     244, 310  
 Parīṅha, 112  
 parīśrit, 49  
 Patjanya, 71, 98  
 Pārvati, sec. Umā  
 paśubandha, 49  
 Pasūpati, 273, 279 (See  
     Rudra.)  
 pāśupata weapon, 145 f.
- Pīṭha, 208  
 Prabhāsa, 215  
 Pradhāna, 3, 35, 195 (See  
     Prakṛiti.)  
 Pradyumna, son of Krishṇa,  
     370  
 Prāgjyotishas, 178, 212,  
     215  
 Prahrāda, 129  
 Praheti, 414  
 Prajāpati, 3, 7, 15 ff.  
     — created by the  
     gods out of seven men,  
     20, 21  
     — creates the Veda,  
     20  
     — waters,  
     20, 374  
     — born in an egg,  
     22  
     — becomes a tor-  
     toise, 23  
     — produced Agni  
     from his mouth, 24  
     — is Daxa, 24  
     —, supporter of uni-  
     verse, 24  
     — seeks to conquer  
     worlds, 25  
     — carnally desires  
     his own daughter, 39,  
     44  
     —, half of him mor-  
     tal, 47  
     —, father of gods  
     and asuras, 52  
     — gives names to  
     Kumāra, 284, 288  
     — produces Agni,  
     Vāyu, Aditya, Chandra-  
     mas, and Ushas, 288  
     —, gods spring from  
     him, 291  
 Prajāpati in a secondary  
     sense applied to Kas-  
     yapa, Manu, etc., 120,  
     231  
 Prakṛiti, 173 (See Pra-  
     dhāna.)  
 Pralambha, 208  
 Prasūti, 317  
 Prathas, 83  
 Prayati, 4  
 Priṣṇi, 260 f., 276  
 Priṣṇigarbha, 223  
 Pulastya, 411, 414  
 Puṇjishṭhas, 273  
 Purandhi, 66  
 pūrṇamāsa, 49

Purusha, 9, 17, 35 ff., 120, 195  
Purusha Nārāyaṇa, 25  
Purusha-sūkta, 9, 25  
Purushottama of the Chedis, 251  
Pūshān, 58, 66, 257, etc.  
Pushpotkāṭa, 411  
Pūtanā, female demon killed by Kṛishṇa, 175

## R

Raghuvanṣa quoted, 46, 120  
rajas, 9, 60 ff.  
Rajendralāl Mittra, 373  
rājasūya sacrifice, 171, 249  
Rāma, represented as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, 142 ff.  
—, his miraculous birth discussed, 145 f., 377 ff., 412  
— ignorant of his own nature, 150  
— told by Brahmā who he is, 150  
—, the gods anxious about him, 381  
— congratulated by gods, 403  
— says he can easily destroy Rāxasas, 406  
— wounded by Indrajit, 383  
— recovers his senses, 385  
— told by Vāyu who he is, 386  
— does not know Gaṛuda, 387  
— defeats Rāvana, 389  
— defied by Rāvana, 396  
— utters a hymn to the Sun, 404  
—, his divinity owned by Mandodari, 399  
—, his ascent to heaven, 407 f.  
Rāmāyaṇa quoted—  
i. 1, 18,—377  
i. 3,—377  
i. 8, 1,—143  
i. 11, 1,—143  
i. 11, 20,—144  
i. 12,—144  
i. 13, 36, 54,—144

Rāmāyaṇa continued—  
i. 14, 1,—138  
i. 18, 8 ff.,—378  
i. 19, 10 ff.,—145, 378  
i. 25, 10,—305  
i. 31, 2 ff.,—114  
i. 32, 2 ff.,—115  
i. 36, 13,—366  
i. 36, 20,—306  
i. 38,—306  
i. 43,—307  
i. 45,—307  
i. 45, 26,—43  
i. 18, 16 ff.,—41  
i. 66, 7,—312  
i. 75, 14,—118  
ii. 110, 2 ff.,—29  
ii. 119, 2 ff.,—29  
iii. 23, 19,—382  
iii. 30, 20,—381  
iii. 30, 27,—403  
iii. 30, 36,—313  
iii. 70, 2,—313  
iv. 5, 30,—312  
iv. 40, 54 ff.,—376  
iv. 43, 46,—409  
iv. 43, 54,—375  
iv. 41, 27, 16 ff.,—308  
iv. 44, 117,—375  
v. 12, 39,—313  
v. 24, 46,—353  
v. 89, 6 ff.,—310, 355  
v. 91, 3,—406  
vi. 7, 18,—349  
vi. 18, 22,—406  
vi. 19, 38 ff.,—353  
vi. 33, 113,—354  
vi. 33, 25,—388  
vi. 40, 44,—395  
vi. 41, 2,—396  
vi. sections 45–50,—383  
vi. 51, 17,—412  
vi. 54, 23,—318  
vi. 55, 88,—312  
vi. 59, 105,—389  
vi. 60, 5,—389  
vi. 60, 67,—394  
vi. 63, 2,—395  
vi. 63, 13,—354  
vi. 64, 11,—354  
vi. 65, 12,—355  
vi. 66, 2,—355  
vi. 71, 26, 31,—350  
vi. 72, 62,—350  
vi. 73, 37,—312  
vi. 76, 93,—312  
vi. 84, 14,—356  
vi. 86, 14,—355

Rāmāyaṇa continued—  
vi. 85, 12,—354  
vi. 87, 1 ff.,—355  
vi. 93, 30,—350  
vi. 93, 58,—350  
vi. 95, 25,—401  
vi. 96, 10,—351  
vi. 106, 1,—404  
vi. 111, 24,—350  
vi. 113, 5,—398  
vi. 113, 112,—350  
vi. 119, 1,—148  
vii. 4, 9,—374  
vii. 16, 1,—393  
vii. 17, 1,—391  
vii. 17, 35,—384  
vii. 23,—409  
vii. 30, 2,—353  
vii. 31, 20,—394  
vii. 35, 12 ff.,—354  
vii. 41, 44,—417  
vii. 42,—409  
vii. 69,—409  
vii. sections 2 11, 414  
vii. sections 116–123,  
—407  
Ramlīhā, an apsaras, 394, 413  
Rathantara, 83  
Ratnagarbla, commentator on Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 318  
Rāvana's birth, 411, 416  
—, his austerities, 411, 416  
— obtains boon from Brahmā, 140, 411, 416  
— drives Kuvera from Lankā, 411  
— acts tyrannically, 412  
—, Brahmā promises his destruction, 412  
— wounds Laxmana, 389  
— defeated by Rāma, 389  
—, his reflections, 390  
— insults Vedavati, 391  
—, his arms squeezed by Rudra, 393  
— ravishes Rambhā, 394  
— defies Viṣṇu, 396  
— burned with Brahmanical rites, 360  
Rāxasas, passim  
—, their origin and early history, 414

- Rāxasas, did they specially worship Rudra? 349
- Rig-veda quoted—
- Mandala First—
    - 2, 2,—66
    - 6, 4,—264
    - 7, 3,—85
    - 10, 11,—162, 369
    - 22, 16-21,—51 ff., 84, 339
    - 22, 17,—64
    - 22, 18,—67
    - 22, 19,—65
    - 24, 8,—95
    - 27, 10,—252, 333
    - 27, 13,—100
    - 32, 1,—58
    - 32, 6,—89
    - 33, 11,—264
    - 34, 11,—17
    - 43, 1 6,—79, 253, 338f
    - 45, 2,—17
    - 50, 7,—61, 96
    - 51, 2,—58
    - 51, 13,—91
    - 52, 8, 12 14,—85
    - 55, 1,—86
    - 59, 5,—90, 98
    - 61, 7,—58, 80
    - 61, 9,—86
    - 63, 7,—90
    - 64, 2, 254, 338
    - 61, 3,—281
    - 81, 4,—264
    - 81, 5,—86
    - 85, 1,—251, 338
    - 85, 7,—58
    - 90, 5, 9,—58
    - 90, 7,—61
    - 94, 5,—61
    - 95, 3,—82
    - 96, 3,—24, 71
    - 102, 8,—86
    - 103, 2,—86
    - 105, 8,—318
    - 108, 9,—60
    - 111, 1 11,—254, 335, 337 ff.
    - 121, 2,—87, 94
    - 122, 1,—257
    - 126, 1,—133
    - 129, 3,—257, 338
    - 154, 1-6,—58 ff., 64, 71, 84, 87
    - 155, 1-6,—64 ff., 84
    - 156, 1-5,—65, 84
    - 160, 4,—96
    - 161, 6,—61
    - 164, 30,—66
  - Rig-veda *continued*—
  - Mandala First—
    - 167, 4,—318
    - 180, 7,—347
    - 181, 3,—71
    - 186, 10,—66
  - Mandala Second—
    - 1, 3,—66, 84
    - 1, 6,—257, 339, 342
    - 1, 8,—100
    - 1, 9,—100
    - 3, 11,—264
    - 12, 1, 2, 9, 13,—13, 87
    - 12, 9,—86
    - 15, 1 3,—58, 87, 94
    - 15, 2,—86
    - 22, 1, 66
    - 27, 1,—101
    - 27, 10,—95
    - 27, 10,—101
    - 28, 10,—65
    - 33, 1 15,—258, 233, 335, 338 f.
    - 34, 2,—260, 338
    - 34, 11,—73
    - 38, 8,—373
    - 38, 9,—260
  - Mandala Third—
    - 2, 5,—260
    - 6, 4,—59, 67
    - 17, 1,—72
    - 18, 5,—71
    - 26, 7,—61
    - 30, 9,—88
    - 32, 7 9,—67, 88
    - 41, 3,—89
    - 47, 1,—264
    - 54, 14,—67, 84
    - 55, 10, -67
  - Mandala Fourth—
    - 1, 6,—5
    - 2, 4,—67
    - 3, 1, 6,—260, 339
    - 3, 7,—67, 84
    - 6, 6,—5
    - 16, 5,—89
    - 18, 11,—68, 84
    - 30, 1,—86, 89
    - 50, 2,—71
    - 55, 1,—68
  - Mandala Fifth—
    - 2, 1,—284
    - 3, 1 3,—68, 84
    - 41, 2,—261
    - 42, 11, 15,—261, 339
    - 46, 2 4,—69
    - 51, 9,—69
    - 51, 13,—261
    - 52, 16,—261, 339
  - Rig-veda *continued*—
  - Mandala Fifth—
    - 59, 8,—261
    - 60, 5,—262, 338
    - 63, 5,—61
    - 81, 3,—61
    - 83, 8,—5
    - 87, 1, 4, 8,—69, 84
  - Mandala Sixth—
    - 11, 2,—6
    - 16, 39,—262
    - 17, 7,—86, 89
    - 17, 10,—80
    - 17, 11,—70
    - 20, 2,—70
    - 21, 9,—70
    - 28, 7,—262, 339
    - 30, 1,—86, 89
    - 31, 2,—89
    - 38, 3,—89
    - 48, 14,—70
    - 49, 10,—262, 338
    - 49, 13,—71, 84
    - 50, 2,—11
    - 50, 4,—262, 339
    - 50, 12,—71
    - 66, 3,—262, 339
    - 69, 1-8,—65, 71 f., 84
    - 70, 1,—95
    - 72, 2,—88, 91, 96
    - 74, 1, 4,—263, 339
  - Mandala Seventh—
    - 3, 5,—68
    - 10, 4,—263
    - 20, 1,—264
    - 20, 4,—86, 89
    - 21, 3 8,—315, 348
    - 31, 7,—88
    - 32, 16, 22, 23,—86, 90, 299
    - 35, 6,—263, 339
    - 35, 9,—73
    - 36, 5,—263
    - 36, 9,—73
    - 37, 2,—264
    - 39, 5,—73
    - 40, 5,—73
    - 41, 1,—264
    - 44, 1,—74
    - 46, 1-4,—264, 338 f.
    - 56, 1, 2,—264, 339
    - 58, 5,—265
    - 59, 12,—267
    - 65, 3,—128
    - 78, 4,—264
    - 82, 5,—93
    - 86, 1,—95
    - 86, 4,—264
    - 87, 1,—95

*Rig-veda continued—*  
 Mandala Seventh—  
 87, 2,—88  
 93, 8,—74  
 98, 3,—86, 90  
 99, 1-7,—62, 72, 74,  
     84  
 100, 1-6,—71, 75 f.,  
     84  
 101, 4,—98  
 104, 3,—373  
 104, 14, 24,—347  
 Mandala Eighth—  
 1, 21,—58  
 3, 6,—90  
 6, 18,—10  
 9, 12,—77, 84  
 10, 2,—77  
 12, 16, 25-27,—77, 84  
 13, 20,—265  
 14, 13,—222  
 15, 8-10,—77, 84  
 20, 3,—73  
 20, 7,—264  
 20, 17,—265, 339  
 21, 13,—13, 86, 90  
 22, 13, 14,—265  
 25, 5,—71  
 25, 11-14,—78, 340  
 26, 5,—253  
 27, 8,—78  
 29, 1-10,—78 f., 84  
 30, 1,—100  
 31, 10,—78, 339  
 32, 10,—71  
 35, 1, 14,—79  
 36, 4,—90, 91  
 37, 3,—90  
 42, 1,—95  
 48, 3,—299  
 51, 2,—65  
 57, 1,—74  
 59, 5,—91  
 61, 3,—265  
 64, 12,—93  
 66, 4,—70  
 66, 10,—23, 80, 84  
 67, 5,—91  
 72, 7,—80  
 77, 3,—88  
 77, 4,—91  
 78, 5,—92  
 82, 11,—92  
 85, 5,—58  
 86, 9,—92  
 87, 2,—92  
 89, 3, 4,—281  
 89, 12,—68, 84  
 90, 11, 12,—96

*Rig-veda continued—*  
 Mandala Ninth—  
 4, 1,—99  
 33, 3,—80  
 34, 2,—80  
 45, 5,—78  
 56, 4,—80  
 61, 16,—98  
 63, 3,—80  
 65, 20,—80  
 83, 5,—99  
 86, 28-30,—66, 98 f.  
 89, 6,—99  
 90, 5,—80  
 96, 5,—81, 84, 99, 100  
 96, 10,—100  
 96, 14,—100  
 97, 16,—90  
 97, 24,—99  
 100, 6,—81  
 100, 8,—99  
 107, 7,—99  
 109, 4,—99  
 112, 4,—348  
 114, 3,—101  
 Mandala Tenth—  
 1, 3,—81, 84  
 7, 6,—5, 8  
 8, 6,—100  
 10,—41  
 39, 11,—265  
 42, 9,—93  
 43, 5,—92  
 45, 1,—82  
 48, 3,—92  
 61, 4-7,—39  
 61, 19,—284  
 64, 8,—265  
 65, 1,—82  
 66, 3,—265  
 66, 4, 5,—82  
 67, 2,—94  
 70, 2, 3,—253  
 72, 1-9,—10, 101, 102  
 75, 9,—135  
 81, 1-7,—4-7  
 82, 1-7,—5-7  
 86, 1,—93  
 86, 16, 17,—348  
 88, 11,—103  
 90,—239  
 90, 2,—92  
 90, 16,—21  
 92, 5, 9,—266, 338  
 92, 11,—82  
 93, 4, 7,—266  
 94, 2,—135  
 95, 4, 5,—17  
 99, 1-8,—346 ff.

*Rig-veda continued—*  
 Mandala Tenth—  
 111, 1 5,—86, 88, 93,  
     94, 96  
 113, 1, 2,—82, 84  
 121, 1-10,—13  
 121, 5,—61  
 125, 6,—266, 339  
 126, 5,—266  
 127,—423  
 128, 2,—83  
 129, 1-7,—3, 4  
 133, 2,—86, 94  
 134, 1,—22, 86, 94  
 136, 1, 7,—266  
 138, 3,—86  
 139, 5,—61, 98  
 141, 3, 5,—83  
 149, 1,—87, 88, 94, 96  
 169, 1,—267  
 180, 2,—59  
 181, 1-3,—83  
 184, 1,—83  
 Rishyaśringa, 144  
 Roth's Illustrations of Ni-  
     rukta, 5, 8, 9, 12, 55, 59,  
     and elsewhere  
 Rohini, 221 f.  
 Rudra as represented in  
     the Rig-veda, 252-267  
     in the  
 Yajur-veda, 267-276  
     in the  
 Atharva-veda, 276-282  
     in the  
 Brähmanas, 282-291  
     in the  
 Upanishads, 296, 305  
     in the  
 Rāmāyana, 138, 146,  
 148, 305-313, 349 f.  
     in the  
 Mahābhārata, 153-170,  
 187 ff., 195 f., 203 f.,  
 227 ff., 291 ff., 313-  
 317  
     in the  
 Bhāgavata Purāna, 317-  
 324  
     in the  
 Vishṇu Purāna, 331  
     in the  
 Linga Purāna, 324-331  
     in the  
 Harivansha, 331  
     identified with Ag-  
     ni, 283 ff.  
     he fights with  
 Vishṇu, 147, 204

- Rudra identified with Krishna, 236  
 —— his unchastity, 160  
 —— his linga, 161  
 —— worshipped by Krishna and Arjuna, 153 ff.  
 —— by Brahmā and Vishnu, 161 ff.  
 —— the creator of Brahmā and Vishnu, 156, 162, 164, 329  
 —— sprung from Brahmā, 331  
 —— sprung from Krishna, or Vishnu, 193, 225 ff., 230  
 —— identified with Vishnu, 195, 204, 226, 237, 330  
 —— with the Supreme Spirit, 155 f.  
 —— destroys Dava's sacrifice, 168, 203, 312-324  
 —— destroys cities of the Asuras, 168, 187  
 —— his vigour increased by hymns, 190  
 —— his third eye formed, 227  
 —— his names applied to Vishnu, 229  
 —— prevalence of his worship as described in the Mahābhārata, 241 ff.  
 —— seizes victim at sacrifice, 241  
 —— human victims intended for him, 245 ff.  
 —— father of Maruts, 254, 256 ff.  
 —— curses Kandarpa, 305  
 —— his connubial intercourse with Umā, 306  
 —— formerly general of the gods, 306  
 —— receives Gangū on his head, 307  
 —— swallows poison, 308  
 —— his abode, 309  
 —— identified with Viśvakarman, 309, 316, 317  
 —— his linga appears and allays a dispute between Brahmā and Vishnu, 324 ff.
- Rudra, his linga worship, 161, 343-356  
 —— summary of the views regarding him, 332-343  
 Rudrāṇī, 343  
 Rudra Prajāpati, 39  
 —— Vāstospati, 39  
 Rukminī, wife of Krishna, 158, 165, 179, 212
- S
- Saint John's Gospel iii. 8, —14  
 Saivas, 320  
 Sakti, 323  
 Śākapūni, 55 ff., 84, 131  
 Salya, king of the Madras, 185 ff.  
 Śāṅkha-veda, 54, 66, 69, 71, 75, 77, 80, 81, 90, 91, 92, 94, 96, 98, 99, 252, 264  
 Sambara, 75  
 Śambhu, 36  
 Sanaka, 32  
 Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa vi. 1 ff.—286, 342  
 Śāṅkhyā, 3  
 Saprathas, 93  
 Sarasvatī, 69, 359 ff., 368  
 Saru, 68  
 Sarva, 273, 277  
 Sarvāṇī, 343  
 Satagnī, a magical weapon, 212  
 Satapatha Brāhmaṇa quoted—  
 i. 2, 5, 1 ff.—107  
 i. 7, 3, 8,—282, 342  
 i. 7, 3, 18,—51  
 i. 7, 4, 1 ff.—38  
 ii. 1, 1, 3,—19  
 ii. 1, 4, 27,—107  
 ii. 2, 2, 8,—50  
 ii. 2, 4, 1,—24  
 ii. 4, 4, 1,—24  
 ii. 6, 2, 9,—268  
 iii. 1, 3, 3,—12, 102  
 iii. 9, 4, 20,—23  
 iv. 5, 4, 1 ff.—53  
 iv. 5, 7, 2,—47  
 vi. 1, 1 ff.—19, 342  
 vi. 1, 2, 8,—102  
 vi. 1, 2, 13, 27,—19  
 vi. 1, 3, 7 ff.—283,  
 342
- Satapatha Brāhmaṇa continued—  
 vi. 2, 1, 1,—19  
 vi. 3, 1, 18,—62  
 vi. 7, 1, 17,—21  
 vi. 8, 1, 14,—24  
 viii. 4, 1, 19,—13  
 viii. 4, 3, 5,—23  
 viii. 5, 2, 21,—20  
 ix. 1, 1, 1 ff.—289, 342  
 ix. 1, 1, 6 ff.—290  
 ix. 2, 2, 2,—19  
 ix. 5, 1, 12 ff.—51  
 x. 1, 3, 1 ff.—47  
 x. 1, 4, 1,—47  
 x. 2, 2, 1, 5,—21  
 x. 4, 3, 1 ff.—48  
 x. 4, 4, 1,—50  
 xi. 1, 6, 1 ff.—15, 21  
 xi. 1, 2, 12,—50  
 xi. 1, 6, 14,—19  
 xi. 2, 3, 1,—25  
 xi. 2, 3, 6,—50  
 xi. 5, 1, 1,—17  
 xi. 6, 3, 8, 1—02  
 xiii. 2, 4, 1,—24  
 xiii. 6, 6, 1,—25  
 xiii. 7, 1, 1,—25  
 xiii. 7, 1, 14 ff.—309  
 xiv. 1, 1, 1 ff.—109  
 xiv. 1, 2, 11,—23  
 xiv. 8, 1,—219  
 xiv. 8, 6, 1,—21  
 Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 141,—22  
 —————— p. 150,—41  
 Satarudriya, 155, 167 f., 268 ff., 289  
 —————— its object explained, 334  
 Sātarūpā, 41  
 Satrughna, 146, 408  
 Saubha, a magical city, 209, 212, 215  
 Saumya adhvarya, 49  
 Sauvīras, 178  
 Sāvarnī, manvantara, 97  
 Savitri, 62, 69, 260, etc.  
 Sāyana, 10, 12, 55, 59, 60, and elsewhere  
 Sāyangriha muni, 215  
 Schlegel's Rāmāyaṇa, pas- sim  
 Sesha, 96  
 Siddhāntas, 97  
 Siddhānta-siromāṇi, 97  
 Sīpivishta, 75, 76

- siśinadeva, sense of the word, 345 ff.  
 Siśupala disputes Krishna's claims to honour, 170 ff., 248  
 — his previous history, 175 f., 180  
 — slain by Krishna, 179  
 Sitū, daughter of Janaka and wife of Rāma, passim  
 — threatened by Rākasīs, 352  
 — sees Rāma wounded, 385  
 — was formerly Vedavatī, 392  
 — born for Rāvana's destruction, 401  
 — enters the fire, 149  
 Sīvā, wife of Angiras, 295  
 Skambha, 10, 16 f.  
 Soma, 44, 81, 98 f., 189, 358  
 Soma-giri, 375  
 Speech, 20  
 Śrīdhara Svāmin, 43  
 Stevenson on ante-brahman. rel. of Hindus, 344  
 Sukṣa, 414  
 Sumitrā, 146  
 Sunahsepa, 253  
 Sunāman, 208  
 Supārśva, minister of Rāvana, 350  
 Surasenas, 208  
 Sūrpanakhā, 411  
 Sūrya, 25, 53, 57  
 — texts in praise of, 96, 404  
 — one of the triad of gods, 134  
 Svadhā, 4  
 — sense of, 264  
 Svarāt, 37  
 Svāyambhuva, 11  
 S'vetāvata Upanishad, quoted, 297
- T
- Taittirīya, 60  
 — Aranyaka, 114, 361, 374  
 Tanūnapat, 8  
 Tapo-loka, 126  
 Tīrtha, a commentator on the Rāmāyaṇa, 409
- trikadruka, 67, 87  
 Trimūrtti, 135  
 Trita Aptya, 77  
 Triad of Agni, Vāyu (or Indra), and Sūrya, 53, 134, 367  
 — of Brahmā, Vishnu, and Rudra, 237  
 Trijāta, a rāvasi, 385  
 Tryambaka, 268  
 Turghna, 112  
 Tushitas, 105  
 Tvashtri, 69
- U
- Udaya-giri, or Udaya-parvata, 66, 376  
 Ugrasena, 212  
 Ukhthya ritual, 79  
 Umā, Haimavatī, 357 ff.  
 —, daughter of Haimavat, and Menā, 366, 367  
 —, how she got her name, 367  
 —, her names and attributes, 367 ff., 370  
 — born as a child of Yaśodā, 369 ff.  
 — connected with Vishnu as Mahāmāyā, 370  
 — identified with the Supreme Spirit, 372  
 (See Aparṇā, Devī, Durgā, Kālī, Karātī, Pārvatī, Satī, Yoganidrā 154, 161, 163 f., 170, 227 f., 257, 267, 291, 296, 304, 306, 313 324, 343, 356 372, 393.)  
 Upamanyu, 158  
 Upendra, 130  
 Usanas, 124, 129, 353  
 Uttānapad, 11 f.  
 Uttānapāda, 11  
 Uitunga muni, 233  
 Uttara Kurus, 375
- V
- Vāch, 40  
 Vaishnava rite, 249, 35b, 422  
 Vaisravana, 411  
 Vaitarṇī river, 241  
 Vaivasvata Manvantara, 105
- Vājasaneyi Sanhitā translated—  
 3, 57-63,—267, 360  
 5, 15,—57  
 6, 3,—64  
 8, 45,—5  
 10, 20,—14  
 12, 102,—14  
 13, 4,—13  
 16, 1-66,—268 ff., 297, 311  
 17, 17 23,—4  
 17, 25-31,—5  
 23, 3,—14  
 25, 12, 13,—13 f.  
 27, 25, 26,—14  
 32, 4,—300  
 32, 6, 7,—14  
 33, 71,—3  
 33, 48, 49,—69  
 37, 5,—22
- Vajramushti, 415  
 Varchin, 75  
 Varuna, 12, 41, 58, 64, 209, etc.  
 —, his majesty celebrated, 95  
 —, his bonds or neoses, 127 f., 213  
 Varuṇa's daughter, 390, 391  
 Vaśishtha, 29  
 Viśudeva, 182, 231, and passim  
 Viśudeva of the Pundras, 251  
 Viṭa, 14, 66  
 Viyu, 25, 57  
 — one of the triad of gods, 134  
 Vayu Purāṇa quoted, 317  
 Vedas depreciated by Nāṇavāg, 320  
 Vedavatī, 391  
 Vibhishana, 311, 364, 385, 406, 411, 416  
 Vidhātī, 71  
 Vidyutkesa, 414  
 Vindhyaivali, 125, 129  
 Virāt, 37, 41, 127, 329  
 Viśeṣha, 37  
 Vishnu, 23, 27, 29, 35, 189  
 — as represented in the Rig-veda, 54-83  
 —, his three steps, 55 ff., 376, f.  
 —, his rank in the Rig-veda compared with other gods, 84-101

Vishnu as an Aditya, 101-106, 138	Vishnu Purāna <i>continued</i> —	Weber's dissertation on Umā, 357 ff.
as described in the Brāhmaṇas, 107-114	i. 4, 1 ff.,—31	Westergaard's dissertation on Indian history, 343
a dwarf, 108	i. 7,—324	Whitney's remarks on Rudra, 337 f.
the sacrificee, 110	i. 7, 1,—30	Wilkinson, Mr. L., 97
his incarnation as a tortoise, 23, 308	i. 7, 6,—331	Wilson's Sāṅkhya kūrikā, 35
as a boar, 29 33	i. 7, 12,—30, 41	Vishnu Purāna, 35, 41, 43, 96, 104, etc.
as a dwarf, 114-131	i. 7, 26,—30	, his remarks on Rudra, 332 ff.
as Rāma, 138-146, 377-413	i. 8, 9,—324	Y
his incarnation as Krishna, 142, 151, 173, 181 ff., 216 ff.	i. 15, 90 ff.,—104	Yajñikāḥ, 133
, how regarded in the Rāmāyaṇa, 138 ff., 377 ff.	iii. 1, 118	Yajush, 83
as one with the Supreme Spirit, 148	v. 1, 1 ff.,—217 ff.	Yajushmatī, 49
ights with Rudra, 147	v. 26, 1,—179	Yama, 41, 277
Vishnu Purāna translated, i. 2, 21 f.,—3	Viśravas, 411, 414	Yamī, 41
i. 2, 45,—34	Viśvakarman, 4 ff., 20, 129, 146, 169, 201, 308 ff., 317, 412, 414	Yāska, see Nirukta
i. 3, 1 ff.,—31	Viśvāmittra, 44	Yātudhānīs, 272
	Virabhadra, 317	Yogamīdrā, 370 f.
	Virochana, 116	Yudhiṣṭhīra, <i>passim</i>
	Vivasvat, 12 f., 29 f.	purposes rā-
	Vṛutas, 273	jasūya, 244
	Vṛihasīpра, 75	
	Vṛitra, 68	
	W	
	Waters, 15-22, 26 ff.	
	Weber's dissertation on Rudra, 334 ff.	

END OF PART FOURTH.



